

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

VOL. II.—SECOND SERIES.

1885-1886.

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund.



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

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P R E F A C E.

THE present volume comprises the monthly transactions of the Society from March, 1885, to May, 1886, inclusive, the meetings in July, August, and September having been omitted.

Besides the regular proceedings which are recorded, there are seven Memoirs, — that of Mr. NATHANIEL THAYER, by Dr. George E. Ellis ; that of the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, by Colonel John D. Washburn ; that of RALPH WALDO EMERSON, by Dr. James Freeman Clarke ; that of the Hon. DAVID SEARS, by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr. ; that of the Rev. WILLIAM S. BARTLET, by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter ; and those of Rear Admiral GEORGE H. PREBLE and Mr. JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY, by Dr. Andrew P. Peabody.

The longest paper which is here printed is that communicated by the late Mr. CHARLES C. PERKINS, — whose loss is widely mourned by the lovers of music and art, — and it has a special interest as its preparation was the last literary labor which he performed before he was suddenly taken away.

For the illustrations which add to the attractiveness of this book, the Society is indebted to several friends. The portrait of Mr. Thayer is a gift from his family ;

that of Mr. Salisbury is from his son; that of Mr. Emerson is from Dr. Edward W. Emerson; the likeness of Governor Dudley has been presented by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr.; and that of Mr. Sears has been furnished by Mrs. William Amory. The representation of the Flag which was carried by the minute-men of Bedford into the Concord fight—procured through the efforts of Mr. Jenks—is striking in itself, and interesting for the historic associations that cluster about it.

The past year has been made memorable in the history of the Society by the munificent bequest which has been left to it by one whose portrait, given by his wife, is rightfully placed as the frontispiece to this volume, and whose Memoir appropriately closes the book. Endeared to those who knew him by his sterling qualities of character, he has accomplished what no one—not even himself—ever believed possible. The story of his life is a romance. It seems almost incredible that a poor boy, whose father was scarcely able to afford him an education, should have become a distinguished benefactor of the academy which he entered as a beneficiary; and that, while devoted wholly to scholarly pursuits, he should likewise have been by far the most liberal donor to an Historical Society which has had many men of wealth among its members, since he has given to it more than seven times as much as the largest contributor to its resources. Reluctant to be known for his deeds of kindness while he lived, he has left the world without permitting any one to thank him for what he has now bestowed. But, though not one of the living will see the full benefit which will accrue from his noble bequest, this Society, which he has selected as the depositary of his literary materials gathered

by painstaking labor through half a century, and which he has endowed with his entire fortune, will faithfully execute its trust, and will ever hold in honor and grateful remembrance the name of this conscientious, patient, persevering, disinterested man, biographer, and antiquary.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

CAMBRIDGE, September 27, 1886.

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was issued, March 27, 1885.*

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH MEETING, 1885.

THE stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at No. 30 Tremont Street, Boston; and the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, was warmly welcomed as he again occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting by the Recording Secretary was read and approved.

The gifts to the Library during the past month were reported by the Librarian.

The PRESIDENT then addressed the Society as follows:—

I was in doubt, Gentlemen, until almost the last moment, whether I could be here this afternoon. Our long iron stairway presents a formidable impediment to my still feeble limbs. The March winds and snows were even a more serious consideration to one not yet entirely free from aches and ills. But when I remembered that illness had already kept me away from this chair for three or four months, and that haply I should be in the way of occupying it, as your President, only once more after to-day, I could not resist the impulse, even at some risk, to make my appearance.

I come, however, without any formal introductory Paper, and must trust to my friend Dr. Ellis—to whom we are already so much indebted, and to whom I owe a special acknowledgment for making my place good, if not more than good, for so many months—to supplement anything that I may be able to say, either as to the living or the dead.

The dead, alas! claim our first notice this afternoon, as too often heretofore. Since our last monthly meeting we have lost two notable names from our Resident roll,—that of John C. Phillips and that of George Henry Preble.

The death of Mr. Phillips at the early age of forty-six is a subject for real sorrow in our community. With our own Society he had been associated but a few years. A lineal descendant of the Rev. George Phillips, the famous Puritan minister of Watertown in 1630,—the companion and friend of Governor Winthrop, who came over with Winthrop and the Charter, and catechised and preached on board the "Arbella" on the voyage,—he could not fail to take an interest in the earliest history of Massachusetts. I remember his showing me, with pride, an original autograph sermon of that distinguished ancestor and excellent man, when I was visiting him in his beautiful library some years ago. I believe he had other Phillips manuscripts, which we may hope will not be wholly lost to our Collections hereafter.

His later lineage, too, was of a kind to make him observant of whatever contributed to the honor and welfare of our Commonwealth. His family name is associated, as we know, with some of our most celebrated academies and institutions. Andover and Exeter owe their famous schools to the bounty and beneficence of the Phillipses. The Observatory of Harvard University was principally endowed by one of the same name and blood. The statues which adorn our squares are, many of them, from a Phillips Fund. He himself had given the generous sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to the Phillips Academy at Andover at their centennial celebration in 1878, and an equal amount to the Phillips Exeter Academy on a similar occasion. And it is within my own knowledge that he had supplied most important and liberal pecuniary and personal aid to other institutions, at moments of special need. I was associated with him as one of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, of which he has been the Treasurer for several years past, and to which he has rendered valuable service. I was associated with him, also, in the management of the new Children's Hospital, of whose board he was the Vice-President at his death, and of which he had been a most efficient and liberal supporter.

A graduate of Harvard in the class of 1858, there are those here who can bear witness to his character as a student, as well as to his worth as a man, better than myself; but I cannot but feel that our community has sustained a great loss in his early death, for which I desire to record my personal sorrow.

Of Admiral Preble, Dr. Ellis has a peculiar right to speak, as he was one of his parishioners in Charlestown for many years, and always an intimate friend. He was an officer in our Navy for half a century, and had seen much service in peace and in war. He did not wholly escape the injustices which resulted from suspicions and jealousies during our late civil struggle; but he was vindicated by a Court of Inquiry, or Court-martial, and no shadow rests on his long and honorable record. Meantime his contributions to History have been numerous and important.

His "Flag of the United States and other National Flags," in a volume of eight hundred octavo pages, with many illustrations, is a work of the highest interest, full of patriotic incident, and exhibiting great research. His more recent "Chronological History of the Origin and Development of Steam Navigation," in nearly five hundred octavo pages, has also much valuable matter, which can hardly be found anywhere else in so convenient and condensed a form. In sending me a copy of this volume last summer, he spoke of having been forced, by the impatience of the publishers, to issue it without the opportunity of correcting and completing it as he desired. But it is a highly creditable volume, and exhibits great interest in the subject as well as a thorough acquaintance with all its details.

I forbear, however, from dwelling longer on his works or his career, in the assurance that they will be dealt with more worthily by others. I cannot fail to remember, however, that on one of his last visits to me at Brookline last autumn, when I was already somewhat of an invalid, he left with me for examination a magnificently bound volume which proved to contain my orations at Bunker Hill and at Yorktown in 1881, which he had been at the personal cost and labor of illustrating sumptuously with portraits and engravings of the men and the scenes to which the orations referred, and

which can hardly be surpassed by any volume of the same kind. He regarded it as one of the gems of his large and valuable library.

I could not but regret that the state of my health precluded my attendance at the funeral of friends for whom I had so warm an esteem and regard as Admiral Preble and Mr. Phillips; but our Society was fitly represented at both.

DR. ELLIS said that there was something singularly modest and worthy in the character of Admiral Preble, who was a most accomplished officer, and a high-minded, excellent, and honorable man.

DR. PEABODY spoke of him as commanding at once respect and affection, as thoroughly patriotic, and as leaving a memory of enduring honor with all who knew him.

Appropriate resolutions were then passed; and the Rev. E. G. Porter was appointed to prepare a memoir of Mr. Phillips, and Dr. Peabody to write one of Admiral Preble.

The Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., of Virginia, the agent of the Peabody Fund; and Amos Perry, of Providence, Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, were elected Corresponding Members of the Society.

Messrs. George B. Chase and Augustus T. Perkins were appointed a Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts; and Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., Judge Lowell, and the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall were appointed a Committee on Nominations.

In announcing the latter committee the PRESIDENT said:—

I desire to repeat distinctly and emphatically what I said at the last Annual Meeting, that, having now been President for thirty years, I must rely on being excused from further official service. The uncertainties of my health and the positive infirmities which are already upon me constrain me to withdraw from the chair. The Nominating Committee will do me the favor to take notice of this decision.

The Catalogue of the Cabinet being now in press, it was voted, on motion of Mr. C. C. Smith, that the cost of publishing be charged to the income of the Richard Frothingham Fund, and that the words "Published at the Charge of the Richard Frothingham Fund" be placed on the titlepage of the volume.

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Dr. ELLIS communicated, on behalf of Patrick Grant, Esq., a diary kept by his grandfather, the Hon. Jonathan Mason, of a trip he made to Savannah in the winter of 1804-1805, which is here printed.

Jonathan Mason, the author of the diary, was the son of Jonathan Mason, a successful merchant, and of Miriam, daughter of Benjamin Clark, and was born in Boston Sept. 12, 1756. He was educated at the Boston Latin School and at the College of New Jersey in Princeton, where he graduated in 1774. Before he had graduated he was entered as a student in the office of Josiah Quincy, Jr., and was recommended for admission as an attorney of the Superior Court in 1779.¹ He gained distinction at the bar, and was a very prominent Federalist, being a member of the Legislature and of the Governor's Council, and United States Senator from 1800 to 1803, when he declined re-election and was succeeded by John Quincy Adams. He was afterwards a member of Congress from 1817 to 1821. He married Susannah, daughter of William Powell, of Boston, and had a large family of children. He died in Boston, Nov. 1, 1831, aged seventy-five.

The journey of which the diary gives an account was made in Mr. Mason's own carriage, with four horses and two out-riders. Mrs. Mason and his daughters Miriam and Anna (afterwards Mrs. David Sears and Mrs. Patrick Grant) accompanied him.

Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1804. Left Boston at ten o'clock. Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Dowse,² with my brother and sister Perkins,³ and pleasantly. In the afternoon rode to Medfield and paid a visit to Mr. Prentiss.⁴ This good man we found fairly encircled with a wife and nine

¹ The Record Book of the Suffolk Bar, learnedly edited by Mr. George Dexter, states, under date of July 26, 1774, that Mr. Quincy has liberty "to take into his office Mr. Joshua Thomas and Mr. Jonathan Mason as clerks; Mr. Mason's term to be computed from the time he shall come into Mr. Quincy's office, as he has not yet graduated at College." Where he studied after Mr. Quincy's death is not recorded, as there is a break between 1774 and 1779, but it is said to have been with John Adams. His recommendation for admission as an attorney, however, was on motion of Perez Morton, afterwards Attorney-General of Massachusetts. See Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, vol. xix. pp. 152, 153. — Eds.

² At Bankside in Dedham, well known in recent years as the residence of the late Edmund Quincy, whose family inherited it from the Dowses. — Eds.

³ Thomas Perkins, of Boston, had married a sister of Mrs. Mason.

⁴ The Rev. Thomas Prentiss, D.D. (H. C. 1766), minister of Medfield. He died in 1814. — Eds.

children, very happy and contented, with little more than enough to keep them either decent or in health. Perhaps there is no family in this country where the same number are more happy, where the means are so small. Returned, and after drinking coffee, am much pleased to find that the tears upon the cheeks of my children, occasioned by their departure from those they love, are fast giving way to smiles and merriment. We do not forget our friends, but our passions subside and excitement ceases. The weather delightful, and prospects flattering. Clarke's house [at Medfield] decent, — disposition good.

Wednesday, Nov. 7. Rode this day thirty-two miles, mostly on the turnpike, beginning about thirty miles from Boston. Pleasant day, no accident, merry without care, and safe arrived at Thompson [Connecticut] at a Mr. Manchester's, whose daughters are pretty and fine persons, wanting only tinsel, fashion, and perhaps less *nature*, to make them what Bostonians would esteem fine women. This country [is] abounding in pleasant prospects, sufficient to assure you that in mid-summer, with the dress of Nature, it must be beautiful to the eye of the traveller.

Thursday, Nov. 8. Arrived, after a journey of thirty-two miles, at Coventry at the house of a Mr. Brigham. Literally in this tavern no ostentation, but everything the best of its kind, and aided by the landlady, who shows to you one of the best dispositions in the world. She fills your table with good things, and she does this quickly. She smiles upon you with an anxiety to make you comfortable and happy. She makes you happy. You meet with more than you expected, and your feelings are gratified, with your appetite also. The country in general hill and dale; fine tract of land, and great plenty discovered among all the farmers. Road good, but not so good as a turnpike ought to be.

Friday, Nov. 9. Unpleasant, and snow with hail and rain. Reached Hartford [at] one o'clock; arrived at Lee's tavern, and passed the day pleasantly with my family. Fair within, though foul and rainy abroad.

Saturday. Passed the turnpike to New Haven, thirty-four miles, one of the best and straightest in New England. It goes through a delightful country, and had the weather been pleasant, it would have added greatly to the landscape; rode it in seven hours. Ten miles from New Haven stopped in the wood at the tavern. Poverty and difficulty, but peace, contentment, and affection in an extraordinary manner exhibited. Grandfather, grandmother, mother, and child by the name of Doolittle. I ought not to except from this group a black kitten, which the little child, seven months old, had been accustomed to pull, pinch, and squeeze until the animal had become sensible of it, and delighted in suffering it. Well persuaded I am that no man could use the same freedom with the same impunity, — but the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb.

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Tarried the Sunday at New Haven. In the morning visited the Episcopalian church and heard preach a Dr. Hubbard,¹ a murderer of sense and language. I pity his parish; they must have hearts prone to virtue, or I am sure he will never point the road or give peace to the doubtful breast. Our morning misfortune was compensated in the afternoon by a great deal of eloquence and devout learning from Dr. Dwight.² Much as I have heard of the sermonizing talent of this gentleman, it far surpassed my expectations. Methodical, eloquent, ingenious, forcible, and in language chaste, extremely energetic, he commands universal attention from his audience, and you cannot leave this church without retaining a great proportion of his sermon for meditation. Invited Jonathan Trumbull and William Smith of South Carolina³ to dine with me at Mr. Butler's, and the company of each of them was desirable from their polite and easy deportment. This day, fine weather and drying roads. Much prosperity appears throughout this town. It is said it increases. This may be in a degree, but I do not think equal to Hartford. I grow daily an enemy to all wooden houses, and excepting the colleges, one or two churches, and a single dwelling-house, the whole of this city is wooden.

Passed, on Monday, from New Haven to Stamford, forty-two miles; a good road and delightful country. Stratford, Fairfield, Newfield, and Norwalk, all of them pretty towns, contiguous to the Sound and enjoying the advantages of the ocean and the land; their soil too good to be neglected, the sea gives a stimulus to their industry and makes good sailors of their spare young men. The buildings in all these towns carry evident marks of property and wealth, and indicate much fashion and taste. Comfortably lodged at Mr. Davenport's at Stamford; and almost all the inns we have passed have obliged us to admire the improvement, the abundance, the cleanliness, and the civility of the country and the accommodations.

Tuesday, Nov. 13. Early in the morning arrived at Rye, where we learned that Gouverneur Morris⁴ had left orders and directions for us to dine with him. We accordingly arrived at his château about three o'clock, and were ushered into a large company, two of which had been married but a few days, and this was a wedding dinner. Sixty and twenty-eight; a little disparity, but balanced by a good house and a

¹ The Rev. Bela Hubbard, D.D. (Y. C. 1758), Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven. For a more favorable account of him, see Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. v. p. 234. He died in 1812. — Eds.

² The well-known Dr. Timothy Dwight, at this time President of Yale College. — Eds.

³ These were probably students in Yale College. — Eds.

⁴ Gouverneur Morris (C. C. 1768), the distinguished Federalist statesman, lived at the Manor House of Morrisania, near Rye, New York. He had been in the Senate with Mr. Mason. He died in 1816. — Eds.

plentiful fortune, — convenient things to a young lady at twenty-eight. We met also Mr. King,¹ and Mr. Samuel Ogden² and his lady and daughter; also Mr. Hammond and lady and two sisters. We passed Tuesday and dinner on Wednesday with great sociability and mirth, added to splendor in the extreme. My friend is a real aristocrat, and he lives literally like a nobleman. You are continually attracted by a profusion of plate, gold, and mirror. He has all this world can give him but a good wife and amiable children; and with all his possessions he is to be added to the many proofs of the folly of those who leave themselves in the want of those good things in the latter part of life, when they are absolutely necessary to constitute our happiness. He also laments that he did not, twenty years since, unite his talents with some corresponding female mind to make each other happy.³

On Wednesday evening we arrived at New York, at Mrs. Avery's. Bad, cold, and snowy weather, which lasted for two days.

Thursday. Visited the panorama representing the battle of Alexandria and the death of Abercrombie. This may be well done, but to me it gave no pleasure. It must be either a more scientific or fashionable man to admire this painting, — it appears to me confusion without design, — and wholly to trace the actual position of the armies and comprehend their situation and manœuvres, also the face of the country; all which it is said to exhibit tolerably well.

Friday. Visited the Academy of Arts and their casts, with the Museum. These are good imitations, it is said, and they appear to show talent. Their originals must be wonderful specimens of ancient sculpture and of the progress of the arts. The Museum is not worth mentioning.

The progress of this city is, as usual, beyond all calculation, — seven hundred buildings erected the last twelve months; and Broadway, beyond all dispute, is the best street for length, width, position, and buildings in America. Foreigners say few in Europe exceed it. The people are rich, live well, and fashionable, by no means handsome, mostly of Dutch extraction. Their mode of business and their talents, by comparison with other cities, in my opinion, suffer. They have not so much information so generally diffused as the New England States have, and their present paucity of characters to fill their offices shows it. Mr. De Witt Clinton⁴ is the head of the ruling party in this State, and this is proof enough to any person open to conviction.

¹ Undoubtedly Rufus King, the celebrated Federalist leader. — Eds.

² Brother-in-law of Mr. Morris. — Eds.

³ In 1809, at the age of fifty-seven, Mr. Morris married Anne Cary, daughter of Thomas Randolph, of Virginia. See Sparks's *Life*, vol. i. p. 494. — Eds.

⁴ De Witt Clinton, who had been for a short time in the Senate with Mr. Mason, was now mayor of the city of New York. Eight years later the Federalists supported him as candidate for President against Mr. Madison. — Eds.

Sunday. At Mrs. Avery's, opposite the Battery. Have been delighted with the display of vessels bound to sea as they have passed in succession. Six ships have been near the Battery at one and the same time, not one hundred yards from the window. They must all pass in review in order to fall down to the Hook.

Dined on Friday with Mr. King; Judge Benson,¹ Mrs. Low, and Mr. Murray, etc., present. We had here a great portion of society, — less etiquette, of course.

Monday. Dined with Mr. Mumford,² Mr. S. Jones, Jr.,³ and Mr. Ledyard present; and in the evening attended the play. Mr. Cooper⁴ played "Macbeth," a *chef-d'œuvre*. His talents are really great in that line, but most miserably supported.

Tuesday. Dined at Mr. F. Winthrop's,⁵ a pleasant society and much conviviality. The evening we passed at Mr. Abraham Ogden's,⁶ with still more pleasure and less etiquette. Mrs. Ogden is a favorite in all countries; naturally amiable, and [with] great feminine beauty, unaffected. You here saw the mother at the head of the table, with six or eight children around; her heart literally overflowing with gratitude for these blessings at her period of life. A great deal of affection displayed in this circle. It convinces me that bachelors and old maids are sorry kind of animals. It is the mother of Mrs. Ogden's husband, and the attention they all paid to her convinced me that she was deserving of it.

Wednesday, Nov. 21. Dined with Mr. Rogers;⁷ Mr. and Mrs. King, Mr. and Mrs. Trumbull,⁸ Mrs. Robinson, and [a] number of gentlemen present; a very pleasant day. In the evening at the theatre; play,

¹ Egbert Benson (C. C. 1765), a leading Federalist. He was a Member of Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court of New York, Chief Justice of the U. S. Circuit Court (created in 1801), and President of the New York Historical Society. He died in 1833. — Eds.

² Probably Gurdon Saltonstall Mumford, Member of Congress from New York, 1805-1811. — Eds.

³ Samuel Jones (C. C. 1790), afterwards Chancellor of the State of New York and Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the city of New York. He died in 1863. — Eds.

⁴ Thomas Apthorpe Cooper, an English actor who had considerable reputation as a tragedian at the beginning of this century. He ultimately settled in this country. He died in 1849. See Clapp's Record of the Boston Stage, p. 61. — Eds.

⁵ Francis Bayard Winthrop, an elder brother of the Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop of Boston. — Eds.

⁶ Abraham Ogden (C. C. 1793), a merchant of New York, is probably the person referred to. — Eds.

⁷ Mrs. Lamb, in her "History of New York" (vol. ii. p. 522), speaks of "the distinguished merchant brothers Fitch, Henry, Moses, and Nehemiah Rogers, three of whom founded three great mercantile houses in New York." — Eds.

⁸ Probably John Trumbull, the painter, now residing in New York. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Mason's. See his Autobiography, p. 245. — Eds.

"Jane Shore,"—Lord Hastings, Cooper; Mrs. Melmoth,¹ Alicia; and Mrs. Johnston, Jane Shore. I see not many handsome ladies in this city, most of them comely; but the inhabitants generally cannot be said to be handsome. They live well and are hospitable. They are wealthy; they feel conscious of all their advantages, and they rate them full high. There are a great many young men in the city, but not disposed to matrimony.

Thursday, Nov. 22. Dined at Judge Benson's, and the evening at Mr. Oliver Kane's, with a brilliant party of ladies and gentlemen, and among them Mr. Thomas Morris² and lady.

Friday, Nov. 23. Dined at Mr. King's; and the evening, the play, "Hamlet."

Saturday. At Governor [?] Crawford's; Mr. and Mrs. Robinson. Pleased with him; she is much too indifferent to have admirers, upon whom she has no claims save those of wealth.

Sunday, 25th. Passed the evening with Mr. Mumford and his lady pleasantly.

Monday, 26th. Dined with J. R. Livingston;³ prettily entertained. This day about eight hundred militia in uniform, in celebration of the evacuation of the city by the British troops. They made a soldier-like appearance, but I do not think equal to the volunteer companies of Boston, but superior to our militia. They are made up of the draymen and the mechanics in general. They were reviewed by the mayor of the city. I am more and more convinced that we live as comfortably, as conveniently, as generously, and as sumptuously as our neighbors, and we manage our commercial and fiscal operations as well.

I received a polite card from the Corporation to their public dinner on this day; but being engaged with my family, I declined it. The weather has been uncommonly fine, as mild as August, and the roads as good as in that month. One day may reverse this scene and all our comforts in travelling; but we set our faces against misfortune. Purchased a head of General Hamilton and sent it to Boston. Was fortunate enough to hear of the arrival of the "Pembroke" at New York, one hour previous to my departure.

Tuesday Evening. Wrote to T. Perkins, mentioning the head of Hamilton which I had sent, and the arrival of the "Pembroke," and put it in the Brunswick post-office.

Wednesday, 28th. Still finer day; rode this day forty miles to Trenton, through a pleasant, pretty country; fine orchards and good wheat in many places. Anna left at Brown's, Woodbridge, a pair of gold earrings.

¹ A celebrated actress in her day. She died in New York in 1822. — Eds.

² Thomas Morris, Member of Congress from New York, 1801-1803. — Eds.

³ John R. Livingston, a brother of Chancellor Livingston. — Eds.

Thursday. The weather still continues as good, and with ease we rode into Philadelphia by three o'clock. Stopped at Mrs. Lawson's, but could not be accommodated to my mind, and accordingly removed to Mrs. Jones's, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. The country round astonishingly improving, and a very fine turnpike, finished for thirteen miles and intended for Trenton.

Friday. Passed the evening at G[eorge] Harrison's; called at the Museum with my daughters, and passed the day generally in receiving visits and rambling [about] the city. Received letter from Mr. Perkins, and one from Susan and Jonathan.¹ Wrote to Ann Barry and Mr. Perkins.

Monday. Visited the Hospital and Philosophy Hall. Invited to tea by R. Peters² and lady, but engaged to dine by T. Willing³ and lady.

Tuesday. Passed the evening at Mr. Dallas's,⁴ — a Kent, so called. Mrs. Cadwallader, Miss Biddle, and Miss Bird, with a Mr. Miller, sang glees and catches and trios to admiration.

Wednesday. Dined with Mr. Dallas, and passed the evening at theatre.

The increase of this city is still astonishing. I am persuaded, though the citizens deny it, that they do not trade so much or so well as New York, and that their commercial capital is lessening; yet having been in the habit of building for several years past, the masons and carpenters and tradesmen from their past earnings are able and obliged to employ their journeymen and themselves in putting up houses for rent and sale. There is not a gentleman in the city that has built this year past, and yet whole squares have been covered during that time; five hundred houses the last year. The circle and the beauty of ladies of New York bear no comparison with this city. I am repeatedly reminded of this observation. The ladies here resemble their city; pretty, regular, and refined. Their beaux must be imported, for at this moment they are only as one to five in numbers, and [as] ordinary as they are scarce. I can say nothing in behalf of the young men who are growing up. Their scarcity gives them advantages which they do not improve. A stranger passing through does not hear of politics. The

¹ Jonathan Mason, Mr. Mason's younger son, and a well-known and much-respected citizen of Boston, died Feb. 21, 1884, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. — Eds.

² Richard Peters, the first Judge of the U. S. District Court for Pennsylvania. He died in 1828. — Eds.

³ Thomas Willing, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, and a prominent politician. He died in 1821, aged eighty-nine. — Eds.

⁴ Alexander James Dallas, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury, and father of George Mifflin Dallas, Vice-President of the United States and Minister to Great Britain. He died in 1817. — Eds.

Federalists are beaten and out of date and conversation. There is a third party who are opposing Governor McKean,¹ and who will finally overthrow him. Next month the four Judges of the Supreme Court — men of respectability, integrity, and talent, gray in the service of their country — are to be tried upon an impeachment for having acted oppressively in punishing a Republican for contempt of court.² This State [is] under the control of ignorance and Jacobinism. If it changes, it must be for the better, and perhaps it may be the first to let a little blood.

Visited the gunboats which are building. What they are and what they are for, nobody seems to know. They apologize for that evident enmity which the Southern people possess to a navy. Their day must be short; and the growth of this country and its demands, in a very few years, will scout all such feeble puerile performances. A navy must grow out of our woods, and ride in our harbors, or our trade will not be protected and our country forever insulted. We are verging fast to that state of things when there must be a new mixture, and out of which will come new combination, perhaps energetic, stable, and with the properties of durability.

Thursday. Dined with Mr. G. Harrison, and passed the evening very pleasantly at the assembly. Again reminded, by the presence of many lovely women, of their superiority, in beauty, affability, and manners, to those of New York. A man would suppose that where so much worth was so visible, there would be more matrimony, but the reverse is true; and among many, one cause is the dress and extravagant ideas of the ladies themselves. The generality of young men of our country are not able to support the rank and grade which the ladies assume, particularly in dress; and they are so easy of access, so naked in their charms, that they destroy and satiate desire where they would wish to enkindle it.

Friday. Dined with Mr. Breck,³ and passed the evening there. A very large set of ladies and gentlemen in the evening, with good music.

Saturday. Dined with Mr. Richard Willing, and passed the evening at Mrs. Jackson's. The fine women of this city are, in the estimation of the young gentlemen, Miss Willcox, Miss Boardley, Miss Keene, Miss Stewart. There are innumerable pretty ones, but not all of them accomplished. To do common justice, there are many and more than

¹ Thomas McKean, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and Governor from 1799 to 1808; a warm supporter of Jefferson. He died in 1817, aged eighty-three. — Eds.

² They were tried before the Senate of Pennsylvania in January, 1805, and acquitted; the prosecution failing to secure the requisite two-thirds vote. — Eds.

³ Samuel Breck, formerly of Boston, who survived till 1862, when he died at the age of ninety-one. His *Reminiscences*, edited by Mr. H. E. Scudder, were published in 1877. — Eds.

enough to make society happy and sought after, — many more than in any city in America.

Sunday. Dined with Mr. Thomas Butler, and passed the evening with Mrs. Edwards and Miss Clarkson; prettily entertained at both these places. Their tea-parties abound with ladies and good music, duets and trios, with young gentlemen and ladies. Mr. Nicholas and Mr. Miller two of the finest singers I have for a long time heard, perhaps not equalled since the days of Captain Phillips. This evening also much gratified with the society of Mrs. Izard, or the Widow Shippen, whose prophecy and dream that in the course of her life she should have eighteen feet of husband has come to pass, her third and present husband making, with the two preceding ones, eighteen [feet] three inches.

Monday. Disappointed of all invitation (having refused several) in expectation of attending a splendid party (dance) at the Marquis Casa Yrujo's,¹ to which we had been early invited. The ambassador himself waited upon us; but the lady (Miss Sally McKean that was) expected the first compliment of [a] call from Mrs. Mason, to which I could not consent, — in my estimation it being etiquette false, foolish, and assumed. We accordingly gave up her party and attended the theatre.

Tuesday. Dined with Mr. Paul Siemen, a bachelor, who gave a splendid entertainment to a party of ladies and gentlemen in compliment to Mrs. M——. We passed the beginning [of] the evening with our friend Harrison, and after supper went to a private dance given by the Miss Gratzes, three pretty and accomplished Jewesses.

On Wednesday morning, in a snow-storm not troublesome, we left the city of Philadelphia, in company with Mr. Goldsborough² and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Steel, and their two daughters. These two families, polite and agreeable, had been our companions at Mrs. Jones's from our first entrance to the city. We lodged together at Christiana, and on Thursday morning separated with great reluctance, — they for the town of Cambridge, in Dorset [Dorchester] County, on the Choptank River, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and we for Baltimore. They had uniformly been very assiduous and equally successful in pleasing me and mine; and their invitations to see them on our return were pressing and, I believe, sincere. I am at present much prejudiced in their favor, and have much desired to see them and their Eastern Shore.

¹ The Marquis D'Yrujo, Spanish Minister to the United States, married a daughter of Governor McKean of Pennsylvania. Their son the Duke of Sotomayor became prime minister of Spain. — Eds.

² Charles W. Goldsborough was Member of Congress, 1805-1817, and Governor of Maryland, 1818-1819. This may have been he. — Eds.

We jogged on to Baltimore, cold but without accident. At Havre de Grace we feasted upon the canvas-back in perfection. We were agreeably surprised here by the arrival of our friend Mr. William Crafts¹ in the stage, with letters from our friends from Boston. They were all well. But there is no pleasure without its alloy; he brought to us the afflicting intelligence of the death of Bishop Parker.² Alas, poor man! his honors were yet green upon him; elected to that honor only four months since, he has been summoned to another tribunal, leaving behind him a widow and thirteen children. He may be said literally to have left nothing of this world's goods behind him but his sermons and his cassock. He who feeds the ravens will be a father to this widow and her orphan children.

On Friday we arrived at Baltimore without anything interesting in country, prospect, or occurrence worthy recording. The country to the very suburbs is the poorest I ever saw in my life, not habitable and not inhabited excepting by those who cannot live anywhere else. Supped with our friend Crafts, who has engaged to provide us lodgings at Charleston.

Friday. This evening still continues snowing, and induces us to acknowledge and repeat our great good fortune in arriving at this moment, when the roads have been so excellent. . . .

Saturday. Extremely stormy and tempestuous the whole day, but on Sunday an entire change of weather. The morning opened with an unclouded sky and a bright sun, — cold and clear, promising better weather and the continuance of good roads. Dined this day with Luther Martin, Esq.,³ and passed an hour in the evening with my good friend Bishop Carroll.⁴

Monday. Paid to Bishop Carroll three hundred and fifty dollars, moneys received for him from the Rev. Mr. Chevreuse [Cheverus] at Boston. . . .

Tuesday. Dined with Colonel Howard.⁵

Wednesday. Dined with Mr. Cook, and passed the evening with Mr. Sherlock.

¹ William Crafts (H. C. 1805), afterwards a distinguished member of the Charleston Bar. He died in 1826. — Eds.

² Dr. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and the second bishop of Massachusetts, died Dec. 6, 1804, having only been consecrated on the 14th of the previous September. — Eds.

³ The celebrated lawyer and Democratic politician. He died in 1826. — Eds.

⁴ Dr. John Carroll, the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, consecrated at Lulworth Castle in England in 1790. He died in 1815. For an account of Mr. Chevreuse, or Cheverus, afterwards a Cardinal, see Memorial History of Boston, vol. iii. p. 516. — Eds.

⁵ Colonel John Eager Howard, a Revolutionary soldier and distinguished Federalist, had been in the Senate with Mr. Mason. He died in 1827. — Eds.

Thursday. Breakfasted with Colonel Rogers,¹ dined with Mr. [Robert] Gilmor, and passed the evening with Mrs. S. Smith.²

Friday. Dined with Mr. Thompson, and by desire passed the evening there also.

In the course of this week we have received the attentions of almost the whole city, and also marks of great hospitality. This place is growing in extent, in wealth, and in luxury. They live in splendor, though their houses from bad management are cold and uncomfortable. Like to New Yorkers and the Philadelphians, [and] perhaps the Bostonians, they are well pleased with themselves, their city, and its prospects. Nothing can be equal to it; and they suffer you, with great *sang-froid*, to tell them so. They swallow flattery as they do their food, — with a good appetite. They are not so refined in their manners as the Philadelphians, more so than the New Yorkers. They have many handsome women, enough for any man of reflection to lament the scarcity of young men to match with them; it appears as though three fourths must be maids, and old ones. They appear to be of all nations, kindred, and tongues. They are well-bred, hospitable, and social. Their city will be handsome, but their country round barren and unpleasant. One side, however, which is filled and diversified with country-seats, is an exception. Hill and dale and prospect, and ground made fruitful by great expense, with woods, make this extremely pretty. Colonel Rogers's situation, in particular, is beautiful, and great taste displayed both in the building and the grounds. . . .

Very much like Boston, the city, as a city, has not much to amuse a traveller. The library and assembly-room is [are] resorted to as clever in their kind. Unquestionably, however, their dispositions and their opportunity to gratify their disposition will, in time, enlarge and ornament their city with public buildings that shall have style, grandeur, and expense to recommend them.

We left Baltimore on Saturday, the 22d of December, and as fine a day as could be chosen to travel in. We rode with great ease to Annapolis, thirty-three miles before sunset, much pleased with the prospect, which small hill and dale covered with firs and pines will most commonly produce. Now and then pleasant openings, and always good road. We arrived at Caton's Tavern, and our first impressions were received from what we here experienced, — the remains of ancient prosperity. Baltimore has, by its trade and commercial advantages, totally destroyed this place; and nothing but the seat of government

¹ Colonel Nicholas Rogers, died in 1822. His beautiful estate near Baltimore, referred to farther on, was purchased from his son Lloyd Nicholas Rogers, in 1860, for a public park, now known as Druid Hill Park. — Eds.

² General Samuel Smith was United States Senator from Maryland from 1803 to 1815. — Eds.

and six or seven ancient independent families keep it from being wholly deserted. Such also was the tavern, — a large house, indicative of former times, large glass (all of them patched and broken), creaking windows, and broken-panelled doors; innumerable servants, and yet no attendance, filthy and ragged. And such also was the general appearance of every building in this place, — no fences, decayed courtyards, hogs in their gardens, and universal *finale*. The place is upon the Chesapeake, beautifully situated, and in summer and spring the climate fine. They have a handsome State-House, costly, but not agreeable to rule or proportion. They have also a college,¹ dwindled into a bad grammar-school. I saw at their church [St. Anne's] on Sunday, a fine day, just twenty-two persons and a parson.

On Sunday, 23d, we dined with Mr. Charles Carroll² and his family, consisting of Mr. Caton and lady and four daughters, Mr. Harper³ and lady, a Mr. Lloyd,⁴ Mr. Low, and the celebrated Miss Wheeler of Norfolk. We were received and entertained with great hospitality and splendor, and the day in every respect exceeded our expectations. Mrs. Caton and Mrs. Harper both treated us with the lady-like, polite deportment, and we are equally indebted to Mr. Harper for his attentions. Miss Wheeler is accomplished and informed, mistress of two or three languages, musician, and with much acquirement; but she is learned and stiff in her manner, and not so handsome as expectation had portrayed her. She is precise, and verging towards thirty. She is an accomplished girl, but not a lovely one. She courts your attentions; and to please, you must admire, and say so.

Sunday Evening. Snowed considerably, but not so bad as to prevent our leaving Annapolis on Monday morning and arriving late in the evening, through a tedious road and barren country, at Washington at the house of my old friend Mr. James Barry, where we were welcomed by Mr., Mrs., and Anna and Mary Barry.

On Tuesday morning [Christmas day] I waited upon the President and Vice-President⁵ to escape censure, and attended afterwards at the Catholic Church at Georgetown. We passed a week at this hospitable mansion, witnessing daily the most marked and flattering tokens of

¹ St. John's College. — Eds.

² Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Three of his granddaughters, the daughters of the Mr. Richard Caton here mentioned, married English peers, — the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Stafford, and the Duke of Leeds. — Eds.

³ Robert Goodloe Harper (Coll. N. J. 1785), the distinguished Maryland lawyer and statesman, married a daughter of Mr. Carroll. He died in 1825. — Eds.

⁴ The Lloyds have long been one of the wealthiest and most influential families on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. James Lloyd was United States Senator from 1797 to 1800, and Edward Lloyd from 1810 to 1826. — Eds.

⁵ Jefferson was now President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President. — Eds.

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their hospitality and friendship. They were unremitted in their desires to prolong our stay and to make it agreeable.

On Wednesday evening, January 2 [1805], we passed the evening with Mrs. Peters, and once again realized her friendly professions. Mrs. Peters is really a fine woman. We here also saw a sister of Ann Stewart's by the name of Ariadne Stewart, — *pas grand' chose*. January 1, New Year's day, a large fall of snow, and for three or four days after as extreme cold as I ever felt it in Boston. Every river near and round this country was frozen sufficiently for carriages to pass and re-pass; and for three nights successively water has frozen in our rooms, though a fire has been in the same chamber.

Thursday, Jan. 3. Crossed the ferry at Georgetown, taking with us my friend Ann Barry; and such was the extreme severity of the weather that we were obliged to lay by at Alexandria the succeeding day. Visited Mrs. Deblois's in the evening, agreeable to invitation, and politely received among the beaux and belles of Alexandria. We had intended to have visited Mount Vernon and Mr. Lewis's; but so deep was the snow and ice that we concluded it would be best to proceed on, and accordingly, on Saturday, January 5, we parted with Ann with tears and regret, and made our first stage at Colchester. We lodged at Dumfries, a small village, but nothing worthy of remark.

This day, Sunday, we have passed on, and are now at Fredericksburg in a dirty inn by the name of Estis, — at the Columbian Inn. The house is full of slaves, and nobody is served or attended to. The country hitherto gives no entertainment to the travel; without soil, without houses, you see nothing but hills, barren, interspersed with pines, a few negro huts, and a solitary road through a country without fences and without cultivation. At Washington we obtained of Stewart [Stuart], the celebrated painter, a promise to paint two of my girls; and with the intercession of Joseph Russell and Dr. Eustis,¹ he finished the heads of Anna and Miriam, and flattered them with perfect likenesses.² Washington City is as it has been; it does not improve, and is filled with dissensions. It is hated as a rival by Georgetown and Alexandria, who with equal cordiality hate each other. Every mean, base passion is displayed in the conduct of these different parts of the same district to each other, in their government and their matters of police, insomuch it would puzzle wiser heads than Congress to legislate for them with wisdom. It will end in secession or a legislature for Columbia. Poor

¹ William Eustis, at this time a Member of Congress, afterwards Secretary of War, and one of the few Democratic Governors of Massachusetts. He died while holding that office, in 1825. — Eds.

² These portraits are now in the possession, respectively, of Mr. Grant and of Mrs. William Amory. From a memorandum in the diary it appears that Mr. Mason paid two hundred dollars for the two. — Eds.

Judge Chase was on the anvil. He made his appearance at the bar of the Senate without a chair or a table. He was obliged to ask for both; he asked also for time until the first day of the next session, and they have assigned the 4th of February next to immolate him. Unfortunately for this man, his manner is arbitrary and ungracious; he always wanted the *suaviter*, and he has no friends but those who are friends to his cause. The man is not beloved; and he will fall without tears, though not without remark.¹

Monday, Jan. 7, 1805. After leaving Fredericksburg, situated as it is beautifully upon the Rappahannock, which you pass by means of a bridge from Falmouth, we proceeded early in the morning for the Bowling Green, and from thence, the remainder of the day, to T. Sutton's, in Caroline County, thirty-four miles through a fine country,—very fine roads, sandy, and without the hills between Dumfries and Fredericksburg. We have scarcely ascended a hill to-day. The country very well cultivated, and many very large plantations. The holly and the pride of India very plenty, growing in the open air. On a plantation, a few days since, some of the negroes refused the orders of the overseer; and he shot one, wounded another, and a third drowned himself,—the blessed effects of slavery.

Tuesday, Jan. 8. Proceeded on in the morning, and reached Richmond in the afternoon. We searched in vain for three hours for a place to sit down in. Though four taverns in the town, they are all crowded and full, and we finally were obliged to put up in a private house for the night, and sleep on the floor. This was occasioned by the session of the legislature, and the meeting of the stockholders of the Virginia Bank, from all parts of Virginia. With nothing to do at home, they flock to Richmond in search of news and variety.

Wednesday, Jan. 9. Were admitted by special favor into the Eagle Tavern, and in the evening were introduced to a public ball, given by the members of the Legislature to the ladies of Richmond, by his Excellency Governor Page² and his lady, having previously taken tea at Mrs. McKenzie's.

Friday. Dined with Mr. Giliat, and were prettily entertained. On Thursday it rained excessively the whole day, and confined us to the house.

Saturday. Dined with Mr. Gallego, and in the evening at Governor Page's.

¹ Samuel Chase of Maryland, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1796 till his death in 1811, had been impeached by the Democratic House of Representatives for alleged misconduct on the bench. His manners were especially complained of. He was acquitted; a majority of the Senators, but not the requisite two-thirds, voting for conviction. — Eds.

² John Page, Governor of Virginia, 1802-1805. He died in 1808, aged sixty-five. — Eds.

Sunday, 13th. Dined with Mr. Giliat. Saturday we passed over the basin of the canal to view the water descending in torrents over the falls of the river. This town is most beautifully situated, very much resembling that of Boston,—much the finest site in Virginia. The State House is handsome,—a model, though imperfect, of the Temple of Minerva. They have a large building, ornamental and of stone, as a public warehouse for the reception of tobacco, a penitentiary of still larger size, and a public armory. The canal is the great friend and promoter of this place. It brings by the falls all the produce of the upper country, and with little more expense will carry it by locks down to the heavy vessels at tide-water. Some of the society in Richmond is really good; the ladies well bred and well educated. There is much hospitality; but in manners the gentlemen are far, very far, behind the ladies. From the use of coal and the tribes of negroes their labor is badly managed, and their city wears the appearance of filth and dirt. The coarse, affected Republican manners, which set at defiance education and decency, seem to be overspreading the country. Is it prejudice, or are not the Northern States one hundred years in advance of this country in convenience of living, in civility of manner, and in the art of passing life with happiness, equality, and affection? Their houses in general are badly constructed for winter, and badly provided. You are oftentimes frozen in a warm climate, and every winter colder in Richmond than in Quebec. The slaves of this country are its curse; their nature, their manners, their disposition, and even their color operate upon society wherever they abound. The citizens live in fear, and [to] avert the evil, to lessen the danger, and to thin their population, employs the time and expense of the Government annually. Commerce is fast increasing, and the profits of their trade will soon show themselves in an extension of their city and in fine houses. James River is a source of wealth, and requires only industry and the use of it to give to every adventurer wealth. But their government is purely democratic; talent and even principle seem to have retired. Ignorance, prejudice, jealousy, and every envious passion are making their appearance in their slow but sure operations, and the result is known only above. The poor Federalist is poor indeed; his voice is no more heard, and he lives only at the mercy of his enemies. Still power and influence is in motion. The first Republicans are fast moving from their seats to give place to those more violent, and will suffer perhaps more conspicuously than those now deemed Federalists until government becomes anarchy, and anarchy from necessity becomes again a government. I think this State, in this revolutionary circle, is equally forward with any State in the Union.

Monday, 14th. Dined with Colonel Gamble; *Tuesday, 15th,* with Mr. Wickham;¹ *Wednesday, 16th,* with William McKenzie.

¹ John Wickham, a distinguished lawyer of Richmond, who afterwards rose

Wednesday Morning. Visited the Armory, a large elegant brick building for the manufacture of arms; and it was in excellent order, — great specimen of skill and industry. It employs about one hundred men, who work by the musket, and is carried on by water from the canal. It is oftentimes astonishing to the traveller to see at once the aggregate of many years' invention and of different men, witnessed in this very manufactory, and also in a flour-mill, belonging to a Mr. Rutherford, which we also passed through and viewed. The wheat is received into a large funnel from the wagon, where it is weighed; from thence, by water, it is carried backwards and forwards up to the garret and back again into all parts of the building, in every kind of shape, heated and cooled until it is completely changed into flour, and ready for the barrel, and it is there packed by the same power. Their Penitentiary is another very beautiful public building, planned by Mr. Latrobe; and it is now full, with probability of increase. They have also handsome stone buildings, owned by the State, for the reception of tobacco. The penitentiary and its principle is [are] not popular, and I think [they] will be abolished in June. Their canal is profitable, and will finally be locked to the Rockets, so called, — the tide-water.

Thursday, Jan. 17. Left this very hospitable town for Petersburg, and with a beautiful day, extremely mild, we arrived at Petersburg about six o'clock. Wretched roads, and through a miserable country. Petersburg is situated upon the Appomattox River, and pleasantly, though not equal to Richmond. The village is flourishing, though principally wood. It is checked in its growth, owing to its being under the control of a single individual by the name of Bowling, who owns the fee of the whole town and as far on all sides as the eye can reach. He rents a vast number of houses and lots; the remaining land upon ground rents. The trade is increasing, and they have a branch bank of the mother State bank at [of] Virginia. Very much indebted we were [at Richmond] to the families of Gallego, Scot, and Giliat, and Mr. McKenzie. They gave us their society the whole week, and filled us with good things at our departure.

Friday, Jan. 18. Extreme bad weather, and Mrs. Mason being indisposed we rested, and the next morning, it having cleared away and frozen the whole country by its severity, we began our motions, and lodged at the house of a Mr. Stark, a man who had seen much better days. Both he and his wife mingled with their present occupation much civility and dignity of manners, in no way restrained or distant, but familiar, properly so, and hospitable. We were comfortable and refreshed, and about nine on Sunday left it for the next stage, which was Ruffin's; and without any disparagement to the last, I could say to the leadership of the Virginia Bar. Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1825. He died in 1839. — Eds.

that both man and wife were really well bred and elegant in their manners. We had every little rarity, such as pies, quinces, etc., and in half an hour left them, with sincere regret that it was not consistent with our plans to stay longer. We lodge this evening, Sunday, the 20th, at Drummond's; a good house and a rich man, — one who has taken up this mode of life as appurtenant to other views. He also owns the line of stages to Raleigh; he has one or two other plantations, and is a wealthy planter. He reminds me of Holmes at the Bowling Green; he wants his country travelled through, and he is ambitious of its good name. From Petersburg here, nothing can be said in favor [of] the soil, the prospect, or the roads; they are all execrable.

Wednesday, 23d. Now at Raleigh, one hundred and fifty miles distant from Petersburg; and for three days past experienced as cold weather as I ever did at Boston. At Warrenton the water in every bowl and basin in the house, in rooms with large fires, froze solid during the night. The oldest inhabitants never experienced a colder night. The roads as bad as possible, and their houses literally comfortless, from the slight manner they are built, and the scandalous inattention to their windows, which in every instance have more or less panes of glass out. The country on the road affords nothing at which the traveller can either amuse or inform himself with. One continued wood of pines and oaks, with here and there a spot miserably cultivated, and a few log houses of the very worst structure. They live miserably, and where you meet a collection of houses, say ten or twelve wretched hovels, you are sure to meet a gambling-tavern, and a parcel of idle vagabonds. Louisburg,¹ at Greenhill's, is a striking proof. Warrenton is an exception; though small, it is flourishing, and there were many gentlemen who carried the marks of civility and politeness.

The line between North Carolina and Virginia seems [to be] about two miles on the eastern side of Eaton's Ferry upon the Roanoke. Raleigh is a miserable place, nothing but a few wooden buildings and a brick Court House, built for the accommodation of the Government, who hold their sessions here.

From Raleigh we proceeded in the morning, and rode thirty-nine miles to Mrs. Smith's, having passed a ferry at Cape Fear River, three miles before we reached Mrs. Smith's. This river, five days before we passed it, by the great rains and snow had risen and fallen twenty-five feet in thirty-six hours. On our road through the woods we were put into spirits and delighted with the sight of a flock of deer passing the road about one hundred yards in front of us. In general, no country in the world ever afforded so small an opportunity for information or amusement as this [does] from Richmond or Petersburg to this place, and I am told [it is] more ordinary still until we arrive at Georgetown.

¹ In North Carolina. — Eds.

Friday, 25th. We set out in a thunder-storm for Fayetteville, and rode for four hours in the most severe showers and heaviest thunder I ever heard at this season. . . . We reached Fayetteville by one o'clock. I was waited upon by Mr. W. Barry Grove¹ and his sister; his lady being nearly being confined. He invited us to dinner on the morrow, which was accepted. The less I say of Fayetteville the better. It is, however, rather superior to Raleigh. It is a small wooden settlement within three quarters of a mile of Cape Fear River, navigable for small boats; and *small* boats will answer for the produce of this market.

The only valuable thing I have seen in this [region] is the lightwood, which is the pitch pine after the turpentine has been extracted. They use it for the purpose of lighting their fires. It blazes *instantly*, like a candle, and until the wood is perfectly consumed. They burn all their wood in a green state; and this is absolutely necessary, and at the same time completely answers the purpose.

They marry astonishingly early, the females oftentimes at fourteen years. The landlady of the house I now occupy, Mrs. Pitman, told me herself that she married at twelve years and two months old. She had a child, which she showed me, before she was fourteen; her husband died, and she was married to her present husband before fifteen. She is now in her twenty-fifth year, with a boy eleven years of age, and three other children. She looks like an old woman.

We dined on Saturday with Mr. Grove; was entertained with great hospitality and politeness, and was invited to dine this day (Sunday) with J[ohn] Hay, Esq., a celebrated lawyer, but the inclemency of the storm which still rages, from Friday last, prevented my acceptance of this invitation.

Monday, Jan. 28. We left Fayetteville, and arrived on the 1st of February at Georgetown,² distant one hundred and thirty miles, through a country a dead flat, presenting without the least variety one uniform appearance of pine barren. Pine upon pine, saving only a straight solitary road as far as the eye can reach; with miserable huts of houses and still more miserable owners scattered about one in ten or twelve miles. The astonishment excited is, how these shiftless beings pass through life. They are all surrounded with a set of negroes, naked, and more miserable and helpless than themselves,—rags that the meanest beggar would not pick out of the streets they are clad in. They do not even regard modesty in either sex, and oftentimes you see them totally deprived of clothes. The weather was remarkable, equal to the April and May months in New England. The woods full of evergreens; and we had no occasion for muffs or outside clothes during the

¹ William Barry Grove, Member of Congress from North Carolina, from 1791 to 1803. — Eds.

² In South Carolina. — Eds.

five days of our journey. At Georgetown we saw green peas growing in Mr. Trapier's ground, and so high as to be stuck with fagots to support them; also large myrtles. The difficulties of food are great; we oftentimes had little or nothing to eat, and fortunate for us the weather was good, for we never laid down to rest in any room where we could not see the sky through a thousand cracks; and in all cases the window glass is broken almost every pane. All this, however, is still of no consequence compared to some difficulties in the road, such as swamps, creeks, and lowlands, covered with water, and the road made by rails and posts, and not half made. We passed through Ashpole Swamp with the waters up to the belly of the horses for an half of a mile, so high that the pole bridges themselves were under the water. This swamp is situated about eight miles beyond Widow Rowland's, and two miles beyond the line of North Carolina. The most dangerous place was on the north side of the Great Pedee, where for a mile we passed through a swamp, travelling through the water, which in many cases went to the backs of our horses, where they would frequently attempt to swim, and the water all the time flowing in the bottom of our carriage. In the midst of this difficulty we were called to encounter a bridge, one half of which was carried away. We were obliged to stop, take out horses, get out ourselves, and push the horses off of the bridge, and our servants upon planks push forward the carriage; then retackle, and get in upon planks, while the water was even with the carriage. Indeed, the dangerous part of this terrible swamp cannot be imagined equal to its reality. I wonder myself how we possibly could finally succeed; but we passed, with the help of a guide, without injury either to ourselves or horses. Lynch's Creek, situated five miles from Port's, was equally bad, though not so long; and the waters, happily for us, were so high that they made what they term a long ferry, — that is, the boat came over the creek and came up to the commencement of the water.

Having no fodder for my horses in Georgetown, I determined to leave it, and in the morning set off immediately for Charleston. In the moment of leaving the city, the Miss Hugers waited upon my family and invited them to pass the day; but we were on the move and declined the invitation. Georgetown is prettily situated upon a river that goes to the ocean. It admits of brigs, ships, etc., to the town. The seats around are pleasantly situated, particularly Mr. Trapier's. I passed through it hastily without delivering my letters, but not so soon as to avoid my showing to my girls some beautiful myrtle and oleander trees in the highest perfection and as large as the apple-tree. Orange-trees, also, with oranges upon them, but pinched in some degree by the excessive cold weather.

At the distance of six miles from Georgetown we were met by my

friend Rutledge,¹ and by him, the same evening, carried to Madam Horry's, on the south side of South Santee, at Hampton. We passed the next day, the 3d, at this hospitable mansion. The weather excessively cold, and freezing the water in all the basins and tumblers in the house. This situation is most delightfully variegated by the shape of the grounds and the fine live-oak trees in great abundance, size, and magnificence. It gives you the idea of the cultivated English taste; the seat of wealth, splendor, and aristocracy. The rice fields on the side and in the rear form an extensive flat as far as the eye can reach, and everything you meet upon this plantation carries with it the appearance of a community. You see blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, and everything made and manufactured within themselves. Of four or five hundred negroes, one fifth have trades and follow them. It is a perfect society, of which the owner is absolute lord and master; and such are all the considerable plantations in this country, the incomes of many of whom are one hundred thousand dollars annually; some are known to make upwards of three thousand barrels of rice. Within their houses you meet great hospitality, the polish of society, and every charm of social life; an abundance of food, convenience and luxury. It is impossible but that human nature in such a situation, doing justice to those under him, must feel himself lord of this earth. The mills for cleaning, grinding the rice, and packing of it, upon many of the plantations cost from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars, and are equal to the improvements of the flour-mills in the Middle States. They have complete command of water to overflow and drain their fields at their leisure.

February 4. We passed this day at a place seven miles lower down the Santee, called Eldorado, the seat of Mrs. Mott, the mother-in-law of Major Thomas Pinckney,² and at his request; here we saw the same abundance, the same affluence, and a plantation equal in its size. In digging a ditch we saw one hundred and eighty negroes at work, men and women. They were well clothed, appeared healthy and happy; and I am well convinced, where they are well treated, they live ten times happier than any of their color in their own country. Much depends upon the owner; if they are miserly, parsimonious, or bad-tempered in grain, woe betide the slave!

We were extremely happy at both of these plantations, and certainly met with great hospitality and true politeness. We returned to Madam

¹ John Rutledge, son of Chief Justice Rutledge, and Member of Congress from South Carolina from 1797 to 1803. He died in 1819, aged fifty-three. — *Eds.*

² Thomas Pinckney, younger brother of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and, like him, educated in England. He was a Major in the Revolutionary Army, Governor of South Carolina in 1787-1789, and Member of Congress from 1799 to 1801. He died in 1828, aged seventy-eight. — *Eds.*

Horry's on the 5th, and on the 6th set out for Charleston; the road uncommonly fine. We arrived at the ferry about dusk; but so bad was the weather that we could not finish our journey until the 7th, when we arrived in Charleston about eleven o'clock, in good health and good spirits.

Saturday. Passed the evening with Mr. Ford.¹

Sunday. With Miss Ladsons.

Monday, Feb. 11. Wrote to Dr. Warren.² Passed the evening with Mr. Desaussure.³

Tuesday. With Mr. Desaussure at a picnic, so called. The gentlemen of the town resort to the concert-room, where they dance, play cards, and sup. Their supper is made up of a collection from each other, to which they contribute by each one carrying a dish and a bottle of wine and loaf of bread. We passed a pleasant evening; but the institution has its inconveniences. It is not guarded sufficiently against the admission of improper company; and oftentimes the supper presents a very curious collection, such as eight or ten turkeys, a majority of pies, or some very curious specimen of cookery, — there being no previous understanding among the concerns as to the dishes carried.

Wednesday. Rained all day. Spent this day at the Supreme Court in attending to a cause in which a Mr. Ingraham was concerned, formerly a Bostonian. The talents of the bar were displayed upon this occasion, and Mr. [John Julius] Pringle, Mr. Desaussure, Mr. K[eating Lewis] Simons, Mr. [Thomas] Parker, and Mr. J[ohn] Ward acquitted themselves with great reputation.⁴

Thursday. Visited a vessel at Geyer's Wharf, on board of which were about two hundred Africans, the remnant of a cargo arrived a few weeks since. They appeared healthy, unconcerned, and without intellect or sensibility. It wrung me to the soul to reflect upon the future destinies of the several individuals, and the poor miserable prospects they had presented to them. For what came they into life? They appeared totally insensible to the least regard or concern for each other, upon being sold and leaving the vessel. I saw no one that took the least notice of those he left behind. I saw many of them leave the vessel to return no more, and probably never see the face of one of their fellow-passengers; this without the least emotion on either side. I saw no difference (except in form) between them and an equal number of brutes.

¹ Timothy Ford (Coll. N. J. 1783), a prominent member of the Charleston Bar and partner of Mr. Desaussure. He died in 1831. — Eds.

² Dr. John Collins Warren, of Boston, son-in-law of Mr. Mason. He died in 1856. — Eds.

³ Henry William Desaussure, afterwards Chancellor of the State. He died in 1839. — Eds.

⁴ An interesting account of the Charleston Bar is given by Mr. Charles Fraser in his *Reminiscences of Charleston*, pp. 69, 73. — Eds.

Dined this day with Mr. Frederick Rutledge,¹ and passed the evening at a subscription concert, and ball afterwards. A handsome display of ninety and upwards of ladies, many of them [with] strong pretensions to beauty, and all of them handsome in appearance and agreeable and refined in manners. The music excellent, and everything conducted with much propriety.

Friday. Dined with Mr. Hugh Rutledge,² the Judge in Chancery; and the evening passed with Mrs. and Miss McPherson, at a musical party.

Saturday. Clear and cold; frost, and no fire, which is bad; and an open house, which is worse. The evening with Mr. Cripps and family; an elegant ball and supper.

Monday, 18th. Visited the Orphan House; passed the evening at the play.

Tuesday. Dined with Colonel Morris; passed evening with Major Ladson.

Wednesday. Races; and dined with Jockey Club. Evening at Mr. Desaussure's. Invited to pass the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Wragg; also some Friday evening with Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell; declined, pre-engagement.

Thursday. General McPherson's, dined; evening at the play.

Friday. John Rutledge's, dined; evening, race ball. . . .

Saturday, 23d. Dined with General Pinckney.³ Evening with Mrs. Middleton.⁴

Sunday. Invited to dine with T[homas] Pinckney, Jr.; refused, engaged. . . .

Tuesday. Dined with Mr. Price, and evening at concert for relief of St. Domingo inhabitants. Waltz.

Wednesday. Dined with Governor Hamilton.⁵ In the day a review of General Read's brigade, and in the evening a ball at Mrs. McPherson's. Invited to dine on Thursday next at Mr. Joseph Manigault's [Manigault], but engaged.

Thursday, 28th. Dined with J[ohn] B[ee] Holmes, Esq.

Friday, March 1. Communicated to my family the distressful tidings of the death of Mrs. Perkins's child, and the illness of my respected father-in-law. Here is the end of their society in this place. In payment for past happiness they are now loaded with sorrow and affliction,

¹ Son of Chief Justice Rutledge and son-in-law of Madam Horry. — Eds.

² Brother of Chief Justice Rutledge. — Eds.

³ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the celebrated Federalist. — Eds.

⁴ Probably the widow of the Hon. Arthur Middleton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who was residing in Charleston a few years before this. — Eds.

⁵ Paul Hamilton, Governor of South Carolina, 1804-1806, and Secretary of the Navy, 1809-1813. He died in 1816. — Eds.

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and are to put on the sable garment of grief; and as though to be deprived of a parent at this distance from him, and in this unexpected moment, were not enough to fill up their cup of woe, they are agonized and wounded, sorely wounded, with the tidings of the death of the only beloved child of their aunt and her sister Anna. Gracious God, thy ways are inscrutable and past finding out! How foolish, how thoughtless, how insane, with such repeated admonitions, to be always unprepared for such dispensations!

March 2, Saturday. Invited to tea by Dr. and Mrs. Ramsay,¹ but declined. . . .

March 4. Heard from home of the continuation of my father-in-law's illness, so as to exclude my family from all society. . . .

March 7. Thursday morning left Charleston in company with General Pinckney to visit Savannah; reached that day the plantation of General Washington;² dined and passed the day with this hospitable man, universally beloved throughout this country for his many virtues, his useful qualities, and his great benevolence. He has served his country during the last war, at the head of a regiment of horse, with great bravery and skill. He treated us with profusion and politeness, and with difficulty we left his house and his entreaties the next morning to progress on our journey. We rode the next day (Friday) to Mr. Price's, twenty-eight miles further; the succeeding day to Colonel Cuthbert's, at Portogallico [Pocotaligo]. On Sunday evening at General Read's, and on Monday at two o'clock we arrived in Savannah. Tuesday, the 12th, we passed in visiting the town, and dined with Mr. Thomas Gibbons,³ and in the society of a very respectable circle of Federalists.

Savannah as a town is increasing, but it has no charms. It is a wooden town on a sand-heap. In walking their streets you labor as much as if you was wading through a snow-bank, with this difference only, — you must walk blindfolded, or your eyes will be put out. It resembles my ideas of the Arabian deserts in a hurricane. No lady walks the roads, and the inhabitants never with pleasure, excepting after a rain; the least breeze of wind moves in clouds the sand through every street, in such abundance and so deep it is that no pavements can be laid either in the centre or sides of the streets. It is bad enough in cold weather, but the citizens exclaim against it in warm. The road to Savannah is extremely fine, though a great sameness throughout. Not

¹ David Ramsay (Coll. N. J. 1765), a prominent physician, and author of a History of South Carolina and of several other works which had a reputation in their day. He died in 1815. — Eds.

² William Augustus Washington, a kinsman of President Washington's and a distinguished cavalry officer during the Revolutionary War. He was made a Brigadier-General in 1798. He died in 1810, aged fifty-eight. — Eds.

³ Thomas Gibbons was appointed Judge of the U. S. District Court for Georgia in 1801, but was probably not at this time on the bench. — Eds.

altogether pines, but oak, hickory, cypress, and birch, with other and various kinds that denote a good soil. The plantations of rice are upon all the rivers, and those of cotton at a small distance from the roads. They live entirely within themselves; many of them extremely well and hospitably.

On Wednesday morning a Mr. Mein called upon me with a note from my friend Rutledge, took me in his curricule to his plantation about twelve miles upon the river; and on Thursday morning, after entertaining us liberally and very handsomely, took my friend Rutledge and myself in his barge over to Union Ferry on the Charleston side, where my horse and chaise was in waiting. Rutledge and myself immediately proceeded, and that evening arrived at Colonel Cuthbert's; the next day we reached the plantation of Colonel Shirvin, and on Saturday, at noon, arrived in Charleston after a pleasant tour of ten days.

The trees were most of them in blossom; and the redbud tree and the yellow jasmine were in great abundance in all the woods, and in all their beauty and fragrance. Most of the bushes and shrubs were evergreens, and interspersed with the wild laurel, the wild orange, and the magnolia tree. One great inconvenience is the distance you are obliged to travel from plantation to plantation, there being few or no taverns of consequence. I rode thirty miles many times, and in one instance forty, without feeding my horse. Their produce, in good seasons, is uncommonly profitable, — as much, in cotton, as three hundred dollars to a hand, and nearly so in rice. They will make thirty per cent upon the real value of their farms in a single season. The ravages and devastation of the late hurricane are beyond description. As you pass the country, especially towards Savannah, you see whole sections of the forest blown down, without a single tree standing. They dread the hurricane and the caterpillar as they would death.

While at Georgia I received a letter from Mr. Desaussure announcing that letters had been received at Charleston mentioning the death of my respected father[-in-law], who, by every account, seems to have left the world without regret, without a single pain, without the least apprehension, and in full possession of his mind; conscious of having done his duty to his fellow-creatures through a long life of seventy-eight years, he resigned it with the strong sense of his own rectitude, and the fullest assurance that he had nothing to fear, but everything to hope for from the mercy and justice of his Maker. His calmness, his philosophy, his judgment, and his conduct during his sickness and his last moments evince a strength of mind and a fortitude which exceeds anything he ever manifested in his health and strength. I have no doubt he will meet the reward of uniform unshaken honesty and uprightness, of great affection and fidelity to his wife and children, and the best dispositions towards man.

Sunday. Dined with Madam Horry and Mr. Frederick Rutledge.

Monday, March 18, 1805. Dined at home with my family. . . .

Thursday. Dined with Mr. Ford; Friday, with Mr. Gabriel Manigault [Manigault]; and Saturday, with Mr. J. Rutledge.

Sunday, March 24. The last day I expect to pass in Charleston; dined with Mr. Desaussure. Received, March 23, an order in my behalf upon the bank at Philadelphia for one thousand dollars.

Monday, March 25. Set off in company with Mr. and Mrs. Desaussure to commence my journey to Boston by way of the Santee Canal. We rode the first day about thirty miles, to Mrs. Edwards's upon Cooper River, after sailing up to Clements's Ferry six miles in a pleasant boat, where we met our carriages, which we had sent on by land, and which had crossed the Cooper to Clements's.

Tuesday, 26th. We spent the day in riding up the canal and viewing the different locks, single and double; and being also so fortunate as to see three or four loaded and as many empty boats pass up and down. In the evening we arrived at the head of the canal at the house of a Mr. Arthapel, the head agent of the canal, placed there by the company. At present this canal is not productive, it having cost upwards of six hundred thousand dollars, and its income does not exceed one thousand dollars per month. It is, however, a growing property, and in future days, with prosperous crops, it must appreciate in value. It now sells at a discount of fifty per cent. It is a very handsome work, and reflects great honor upon the enterprise of the country. It unites the Santee with the Cooper River, and the work with the locks is well executed and durable. The boats will carry at a trip one hundred bags of cotton, and are drawn at the rate of four miles per the hour by a couple of mules driven by a negro on its banks. The canal has seven locks in twenty-one miles, and is higher than the bed of either river, in some places fifty feet, and at the entrance ten in common times. It is supplied by springs and swamps, and one spring in particular, which we saw at a Mr. Maseek's, which was the finest fountain I ever saw. It came from its bottom; it was perfectly clear, and never affected by the severest droughts.

Wednesday the 27th. At the head of the canal we parted with our friends Mr. and Mrs. Desaussure; they for Charleston and we for Statesburg. We crossed the Santee very easily about one o'clock, and arrived at Bimbo's Inn, a clean and good one, about three. We here dined plentifully, and are now thinking of our friends and the changes of a season. I am this moment diverted from my book by the sight of Mrs. Mason giving bread to three tame domesticated deer, — animals perfect of their kind, and some of the most beautiful in creation. From Santee Canal to Manchester, at Mr. Pitts's, where we dined. A very bad road; five miles swamp and causeway, and though not covered with water, a

much worse causeway than the Pedee Swamp. In freshets the water rises three and four feet over this whole causeway, so that it is denominated a long ferry. Changed my Henshaw horse for a horse belonging to Mr. Pitts, and gave him thirty-five dollars in addition. We lodged at Statesburg, a pretty town upon the high hills of Santee, resembling very much the different situations in New England. Some very rich planters of cotton reside in this neighborhood, and the climate is delightful, without yellow or intermittent fevers. We were politely invited to a dance and tea-party of about twenty couples, but declined.

Friday, March 29. Left Statesburg, and had rode but a little distance before we perceived that my horse Nicholson was very sick, and swelled very much. Continued riding, presuming it would heal and relieve him; but his swelling increased, and before we could reach a house he died in the road. As fine and as useful an animal as I ever saw or wished to own. This was occasioned by his overfeeding with corn the preceding night, and drinking a large quantity of water in the morning. Could we have drenched him with sassafras, or any other powerful medicine, we could have saved him; but it was my misfortune to travel at this moment through a country badly settled, and where you must, and we did, ride thirty miles without seeing a house. Through the great importunity of our friends we had taken this road, contrary to our own inclinations, with the design of seeing the Santee Canal. We resisted until we were afraid of giving offence, and finally accepted their offer with the assurance the road [was] equally near, and with better accommodations, all of which we found the reverse. The country generally through which you ride is bad and dreary, poverty-struck, uninhabited; and where there are people they live worse than their cattle, excepting a few independent planters holding slaves, and who live far from the road. Thirty-five miles from Statesburg, after crossing the creek of Lynch so called, we arrived at a miserable hut owned by a Mr. Price; he was eighty-five years of age, and had twenty-four children, the youngest eight years of age. He had had two wives, and eleven of his children were in the house with him. They had land in plenty, without the necessaries of life; they were as dirty as the beasts, and had nothing to give us or anywhere to put us to make us comfortable. Their whole wardrobe was not worth one groat. It had one convenience; they never washed or exchanged it until worn out. We had tea, sugar, and biscuit of our own, which gave us a dish of tea, and with our bed-linen and a bedstead we passed the night without undressing, and with the help of our great-coats. You could have but one passion excited for this family, and that was pity. Had we gone the other way, we must have deviated from our road to have passed a day at Madam Horry's, and another at Major Pinckney's, both which was insisted upon;

so that we were impelled to embrace the offer of Mr. Desaussure and visit the canal, when our first wishes were to take leave of our friends at Charleston and make the best of our way home. . . .

The road to Cheraw Bluff from Statesburg to Mrs. Wilson's very good, though through country poor indeed, and without settlements. This day we have rode thirty miles without refreshing our horses.

Saturday, March 31. Left Greenville,—the name of this long bluff, given in compliment to the late General Greene for his military services in this country,—and rode through a miserable country with a tolerable road, and finally arrived after dark to a miserable log-house by the name of Wilkes. But one room, two beds full of vermin, and not a single thing of any kind to eat or drink; six or seven children crying in the house, and two drunken Scotch neighbors, drinking, reeling, and smoking. Go further we could not; and as we had lately, though badly, dined, we concluded to close our carriage as much as possible, and pass the night in it. The weather was fortunately serene and mild. There were six of us in the carriage, and sleep we could not; the only hope was in daylight, that we could again move forward. After these drunken fellows had talked themselves asleep upon the floor, my family, not being able to stay longer in the coachee, alighted and threw themselves one and all upon a miserable bed in the same room, and sat with patience for an end of such unexpected sufferings. It was really a laughable sight to see persons seeking pleasure in such a hovel; giving up every comfort, flying from home, deserting their relations and friends, and travelling in a distant country for the purpose of finding this miserable abode, and then to be confined and cooped with the refuse of creation, drunk and beastly, deprived of the little understanding God gave to them. Fortunately for us the day at length appeared, and we moved on to the house of Mrs. William Fall, five miles nearer Fayette. The disposition, the cleanliness, and the exertions of this Scotch woman in a house by herself, were all employed in furnishing to us a breakfast that was refreshing, and peculiarly so to us who had been deprived of rest and exhausted for want of sleep. From this place we proceeded for Fayette to the house of Mr. Shepard, where we dined, and considered ourselves once again in a country we were acquainted with.

Tuesday, April 2. Mrs. Smith's, twenty-one miles.

Thursday. Raleigh, Casco.

Friday. Took the stage in order to ease my horses, and rode this day, though rainy, fifty-nine miles to Warrenton. Was pleased with Mark Miatt's house; had a very good dinner provided, and the daughters of his house well-bred and civil. Before sunset reached our destined inn for the night; found that Johnston had left it, and it was filled by a man and wife every way qualified to make it one of the best in the country.

Saturday, April 6. Rode in the stage twenty-eight miles to breakfast,—Drummond's,—and in the evening reached Stark's. After dining plentifully, and I may say elegantly, at Mr. Ruffin's, our supper at Mr. Stark's was equal to our dinner, and the finest punch-bowl of fresh frothy milk in the centre of the table I ever saw. Around it were preserved peaches, quinces, gooseberries, and cherries. Meat of all kinds. This supper would have been a pretty, and, I am sure, a good one in either of the cities. We rode to Petersburg on Sunday, and in the evening were disturbed and frightened,—a set of Scotchmen, clerks and shop-boys, who had dined and passed the day at the tavern, and ended their frolic with gross inebriation, noise, and quarrels sufficient to disturb not only the house but neighborhood.

On Monday, April 8, we hired a coachee and rode to Richmond, and received letters both from Charleston and Boston, which gave us information and pleasure.

The following is a memorandum which Mr. Mason kept of his expenses on this journey:—

| [Date.] | [Miles.] | [Innkeeper.] | |
|----------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 6 Dedham | 9 | Ames. | |
| Medfield | 9 | Clarke | Tolerable \$8.80 |
| 7 Bellingham | 10 | Holbrook | do. 0.10 |
| Mendon | 7 | Fuller. | |
| Uxbridge | 6 | Reed | do. 0.75 |
| Turnpikes | | | 0.75 |
| Thompson [Conn.] | 9 | Manchester | Very good 10.25 |
| 8 Pomfret | 11 | Sabin | 0.50 |
| Ashford | 11 | Palmer | 0.50 |
| Turnpikes | | | 0.60 |
| Coventry | 10 | Brigham | Excellent 8.00 |
| 9 East Hartford | 9 | Woodbridge. | 0.39 |
| Turnpikes | | | 0.50 |
| Ferry | 9 | | 0.50 |
| Hartford | 1 | Lee | Good 14.33 |
| 10 Worthington | 11 | Riley | 0.25 |
| Meriden | 6 | Robinson | 0.25 |
| Wallingford | 7 | Doolittle | The Child 0.55 |
| New Haven | 10 | Butler | Excellent 27.00 |
| 12 Monday. | 135 | | |
| Stratford | 14 | Lovejoy | Good 0.25 |
| Bridge | | | Excellent 0.90 |
| Turnpikes | | | 0.58 |
| Fairfield | 8 | Penfield | do. 0.75 |
| Newfield | 6 | | |
| Norwalk | 6 | Stage-house. | Good. |
| Stamford | 10 | Davenport | Excellent 10.00 |
| 13 Rye [N. Y.] | 11 | Pinfield | do. 1.25 |
| | | | 87.75 |

| [Date.] | [Miles.] | [Innkeeper.] | |
|--|----------|--|-----------------------------|
| 16-Mile Stone | 9 | | \$1.50 |
| 14 Wednesday. New York | 16 | Avery | Decent 339.50 |
| Coachee | | | 12.00 |
| 27 Tuesday. | | | |
| Elizabeth Ferry [N. J.] | 16 | | 5.00 |
| 27 November. | | | |
| Elizabethtown | 2 | Day's | Tolerable 5.00 |
| Woodbridge | 10 | Brown's | do. 10.00 |
| 28 Wednesday. | | | |
| Brunswick | 10 | Vernon | 10.50 |
| Vantelbuck | 15 | Kingston | 2.25 |
| Trenton | 15 | Sutton Herbett and Ferry. Good | 12.50 |
| Thursday | | | |
| Bristol | 10 | Besouet | do. 0.50 |
| Washington | 10 | Sign of | 2.00 |
| Turnpikes | | | 1.10 |
| Philadelphia [Pa.] | 10 | Mrs. Jones | Good 175.00 |
| Extras | | | 390.00 |
| 12 Wednesday. | | | |
| Chester | 15 | Anderson | Good 3.00 |
| Wilmington [Del.] | 12 | O'Flans | Tolerable 1.50 |
| Christiana | 9 | Shannon's | Excellent 13.50 |
| Thursday. | | | |
| Head of Elk [Md.] | 12 | Richardson | Good 0.50 |
| Havre de Grace | 16 | Sears | Excellent 14.90 |
| Friday. | | | |
| Bushtown | 12 | Lighthouse | Good 0.50 |
| Red Lion | 12 | Wharf's | Excellent 3.00 |
| Baltimore | 13 | Evans's | do. 200.00 |
| Black Horse | 22 | | Bad 2.50 |
| Ferry, five miles from Baltimore, rope | | | 1.14 |
| Annapolis | 10 | Caton | Bad 36.00 |
| Washington [D. C.] | 40 | Stelles' | Good 70.00 |
| Alexandria, over Ferry | 11 | Gadsby | Good 44.00 |
| 5 January. | | | |
| Colchester [Va.] | 16 | Woodward | Good 4.51 |
| Dumfries | 10 | Williams | Good 14.67 |
| 6 Stafford Court House | 14 | | Ordinary 2.50 |
| Fredericksburg | 12 | Estis | Bad enough 14.33 |
| 7 Bowling Green | 22 | | Excellent 4.00 |
| J. Sutton | 12 | | do. 10.97 |
| 8 Oakes | 18 | | Tolerable 2.00 |
| Richmond | 16 | Smoch's | Good 185.00 |
| 17 Thursday. January. | | | |
| Half-Way House | 11 | Gregory | Tolerable 0.50 |
| Petersburg | 14 | Powell's | Good 32.00 |
| 18 Widow Kirby | 13 | | Tolerable 0.50 |
| Mr. Stark's | 16 | | Good 19.50 |
| 10 Ruffin's [N. C.] | 15 | | Excellent 2.00 |
| Drummond's | 15 | | Good 13.50 |
| 21 Eaton's Ferry | 12 | | 1.25 |
| Nicholson | 8 | | So, so 2.00 |
| Warrenton | 8 | Johnston's | Very decent 10.00 |

| [Date.] | | [Miles.] | [Innkeeper.] | |
|---------|---|----------|--|--------|
| 22 | Hightowers | 13 | Bad | \$1.00 |
| | Louisburg | 14 | Greenhill's . Bad—exces. | 9.00 |
| 23 | Rogers' | 19 | Poor and proud. Four girls. | 1.25 |
| | Raleigh | 13 | By Hinton's Bridge. Tolerable. | 10.25 |
| 24 | Mark Miatt's | 16 | Very poor, but civil. | 1.00 |
| | Cape Fear | 20 | Ferry at Avera'sborough | 1.00 |
| | Mrs. Smith | 3 | Excellent | 9.00 |
| 25 | Peyton's | 10 | Bad. | |
| 28 | Fayetteville. | 11 | Pitman . . Good for nothing | 35.00 |
| | | | Baker's much better. | |
| 29 | Wise | 16 | Decent | 10.25 |
| | Lumberton | 18 | Martin's . . Not good | 2.00 |
| | Ferry, drawing C[oa]ch | 0 | | 1.00 |
| | Mrs. Rowland's | 13 | Decent | 9.00 |
| | Ford's, at Little Pedee [S. C.] | 17 | Bad | 2.00 |
| 31 | January. | | | |
| | Phillips | 17 | Miserable | 8.00 |
| | Port's on Great Pedee | 10 | do. | 5.50 |
| | Lynch's Creek and Ferry | 5 | | 2.00 |
| 1 | Gasquill's | 15 | Good | 9.00 |
| | Black River Ferry | 7½ | | 1.25 |
| | Georgetown | 13 | Bad. Joseph | 20.00 |
| | Ferry | | | 2.00 |
| | North Santee Ferry | 10 | | 1.00 |
| | South Santee Ferry | 1 | | 1.25 |
| 6 | February. | | | |
| | Jones | 11 | | 2.00 |
| | Jones | 17 | | 2.00 |
| | Ferry | 15 | | 24.00 |
| 7 | February. | | | |
| | Charleston | 8 | | |
| 25 | Mrs. Edwards's, [on] Cooper | | | |
| | [River]. | 30 | Lady's Plantation | 800.00 |
| 26 | Mr. Antapee's, Head of Canal | 25 | Company's Agent. | |
| 27 | Mr. Bimbo's | 22 | Good | 9.00 |
| | Statesburg | 37 | Good | 11.32 |
| | Macon. | | | |
| | Lynch's Creek | 80 | Miserable | 1.00 |
| | Price's | 5 | Miserable,—civil | 6.00 |
| | Long or Cheraw Bluff | 30 | Mrs. Smith . Or Greenville. Good | 8.00 |
| | Wilkes's | 40 | Most miserable | 5.00 |
| | Mrs. W. Fall's | 5 | | 2.00 |
| | Fayetteville [N. C.] | 25 | Sheppard's | 20.00 |

Dr. PAIGE communicated two letters written by the late Rev. William Barry, D.D., describing life in Göttingen in 1828. The following extract gives an account of his courses of study at the University:—

“There are probably 1,500 students here and about 80 professors. Some students attend six lectures daily; others, one or two. I attend

half of the time, four; and half, three. One course of Natural History is by Professor Blumenbach. This is a very aged man of eighty-four, and he has lectured uninterruptedly now for fifty-three years. He has always been distinguished, and is now well known in Europe, and is honored with knighthood. He speaks English pretty well, and is tolerably familiar with our country. He is an exceedingly humorous man, and though so old he keeps the lecture-room in a continual roar. Indeed I have never seen a man who possessed so fully the art of presenting abstract remarks in an interesting and pleasant manner. The principal attraction of his lectures is his Cabinet, which he has been collecting during his whole life. It has been bought for the University at 40,000 rix-dollars. It contains a wonderful variety of natural curiosities from every clime.

"My second course is on the modern history of Europe by Professor Heeren, the most distinguished living historian in Germany. He possesses great simplicity, which is his ruling trait of character, and is combined at the same time with true dignity. He is about sixty-eight years of age, and has lectured for forty years without any interruption from ill health. He is also honored with knighthood. These two professors are the most eminent in Göttingen.

"Then my third course is by a Professor Ewald, a young man of twenty-five, who lectures on the Psalms. He is a prodigy. He has obtained a very excellent knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, and kindred Oriental languages, and will go to Paris next month to study Chinese! He published a Hebrew Grammar about two years since, which has made him extensively known."¹

Mr. DEANE presented a paper for the Proceedings, and before reading it made the following explanatory statement:

¹ It is interesting to read this allusion to Professor Ewald, who was then beginning his remarkable career, and afterwards became one of the most distinguished philologists of his time. He was a prodigy of learning. The Hebrew Grammar which is here mentioned grew under his hands into an exhaustive treatise, comprising, in its eighth edition, more than nine hundred closely printed pages. His "History of the People of Israel," in seven volumes, has been translated and is well known. Besides these he published commentaries on all the principal books of the Old and New Testaments; he carried on a Biblical Review for twelve years almost alone; he wrote innumerable articles for other periodicals; and he gave instruction in Persian, Ethiopic, Assyrian, Sanscrit, and other languages. In 1837 he was one of the famous seven Göttingen professors who protested against the overthrow of the Constitution of Hanover by the king, for which act he was dismissed from the University, though he was recalled in 1848. In 1867 he was elected a representative to the German Parliament in Berlin; and in 1874 he was arrested and sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment because he could not tolerate the despotic policy of Bismark. He died in 1875, at the age of seventy-two years. — Eds.

Persons familiar with the accounts of the early voyages along the coast of Maine will remember that Captain George Waymouth, on his visit here in 1605, entered the river Pemmaquid, and kidnapped thence five of the natives, whom he carried to England. Their names, as given by James Rosier, who wrote an account of Waymouth's voyage, were Tahánedo, Amóret, Skicowáros, Maneddo, and Sassacomoit.¹

Sir Ferdinando Gorges relates that Waymouth, after he had arrived in England on his return from this voyage, put into the harbor of Plymouth, where Sir Ferdinando commanded, and that he himself there seized upon three of these savages, whose names were Manida, Skettwarroes, and Tasquantum.² "They were all of one nation," he says, "but of several parts and several families. This accident," he continues, "must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot, and giving life to all our plantations." Gorges kept these natives in his custody for some time, until they began to show signs of civility, and he could communicate intelligibly with them; his purpose being to learn from them all he could concerning the country whence they came. "The longer I conversed with them," he says, "the better hope they gave me of those parts where they did inhabit, as proper for our uses, especially when I found what goodly rivers, stately islands, and safe harbors those parts abounded with, being the special marks I levelled at as the only want our nation met with in all their navigations along that coast, and having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had, and the like of which in his proper place."

Gorges wrote his interesting and valuable narrative many years after the events which he here records took place; and

¹ A True Relation of Captain George Waymouth, etc., in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 157.

² Waymouth sailed from Dartmouth the last of March, upon Easter day, and returning arrived on the coast of England the 16th of July, when he "made Scylly; from whence," says Rosier, "hindered with calms and small winds, upon Thursday, the 18th July, about four o'clock afternoon, we came into Dartmouth, which haven . . . we made our last and first harbor in England." (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. pp. 129, 155.) There is no mention here of putting into Plymouth, which harbor they passed by, and came to Dartmouth, "the first harbor in England." His visit to Plymouth with his five natives, of whom Gorges took three, must have taken place afterwards.

it abounds with errors, some of which may be typographical, some editorial. In saying that the name of one of these three natives was "Tasquantum," he errs.¹ Tasquantum was not among the five whom Weymouth captured at Pemmaquid. Gorges's third Indian was named "Assacumet" (by Rosier spelled "Sassacomoit"). This is confirmed by various accounts, by Gorges himself in a later part of his narrative, and by the early manuscript here communicated for publication. Gorges also errs in saying that he kept these men in custody "full three years." The inference from his narrative is that the three years had expired before the sending away of Captain Challong. Gorges kept them only from July, 1605, until August, 1606, in which last month he sent away two of them, Mannido and Assacomet, with Captain Challong, "in a ship furnished with men and all necessities, provisions, convenient for the service," with instructions to proceed to the coast whence the natives had been taken.² The remaining Indian, Skettwarroes, Gorges despatched, the last of May, 1607, with the Popham colonists.³

The voyage of Challong, referred to, was unsuccessful. Owing to the illness of the captain, the vessel, instead of keeping the "northerly gage," according to instructions, made a southerly course, and on the 10th of November was captured by a Spanish fleet from the Havannah, and carried to Spain. "Their ship and goods," says Gorges, "were confiscate," the ship's company of twenty-nine Englishmen "made prisoners, the voyage overthrown, and both my natives lost."⁴

And here comes in the paper mentioned at the beginning of these remarks. It is a letter from Captain John Barlee to Levinus Moncke, one of the secretaries of the Earl of Salisbury, soliciting his aid in the liberation of the English prisoners

¹ See Gorges's *Briefe Narration*, original edition, p. 3, London, 1658, or 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 51. Gorges was familiar with the name of Tasquantum, as the native who bore that name was, at a later period, in his custody; but his memory was at fault concerning him. He was one of those twenty-four captives taken from the neighborhood of Plymouth by Hunt in 1614, and carried away to Spain; thence he found his way to England, to Newfoundland, and finally to Plymouth, where he long and faithfully served the colony. Bradford uniformly calls him "Squanto." See index to his *History* under that name; also *Briefe Relation*, London, 1622, or 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. pp. 7, 8.

² See 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. pp. 51, 52; *Purchas*, vol. i. 1832.

³ 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 64.

at Seville in Spain, and particularly for "the recovering of the two Savages, Manedo and Sasacomett, for that the adventurers do hold them of great prize, and to be used to their great avail for many purposes," etc.

Who Captain Barlee was, and why Gorges did not personally apply for the aid of the Government for the recovery of the prisoners, and what success attended this application in behalf of the adventurers, we have no means of knowing; but Gorges informs us of the recovery of "Assacumet," one of the two savages who went with Challong, and whom he subsequently, in 1614, sent to the coast with Captain Hobson.

State Papers, Dom. Jas : I. Vol. 28.

Nº 35.

WORTHY S^r/ I have in this inclosed¹ p^resented vnto you the names of all those that are prisoners in Spaine, the thinge that I wold most especially have entreated att yo^r hands (more then this paper will informe you) is this that you will commend to yo^r care the recov^ring the two Salvages Manedo and Sasacomett, for that the adventurers do hold them of great prize, & to be vsed to ther great availle for many purposes, so beseeching yow to be as willing to further y^t as you were ready of yo^r owne accorde to looke into the buysines (wherof I have no dowbte) & God will reward yo^r charitable devise & the p^rsoners shalbe ppetually bound to you who shall peure them this favour from my ho: good lo: of Salisbury: & for my selfe I rest ready to do you all office & thinke my selfe in my owne harte obliged vnto you as well for my pticuler freinds as for so noble & publique a service: & so I com^{end} my respecte to you & you to Gods favour & remaine

yo^r freind as you wilbe-pleased to use.

JOHN BARLEE

This p^resent Wednesday in hast
the xviiij.th of August 1607.

By my Lord

[Endorsed]

Capten Barlee
names of prisoners
at Seville.

To the Worth M^r Levinus
Monke esquire, Secretary
to my lo: of Salisbury
att his howse or els wher.

¹ Unfortunately the enclosed list is wanting.

Dr. CHANNING called attention to the "Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts." It contains, among other things, abstracts and extracts from the manuscripts now in the possession of a descendant of the first Viscount Sackville. Many of them relate to American affairs, and are of considerable interest and value. These "Reports" have no tables of contents, and the indexes to them, while large, do not indicate with sufficient accuracy the letters and papers bearing on America. The "Blue Books," too, are taken by but few libraries in this country, and are very difficult to use when obtainable. It is to be hoped, therefore, that either those portions of the "Reports" which relate to America will be reprinted, or that, at least, a table indicating the contents of the more important documents may be compiled and published.

Dr. EVERETT desired to bring up the somewhat hackneyed subject of the motto of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He asked if there was anything known of its origin beyond its having been written by Algernon Sidney in an album in Holland, and whether it could be traced beyond Sidney to any Latin poet, ancient or recent. It had occurred to him that it could not be classical, on account of a mistaken use of words in "*Ense petit quietem*," which are unquestionably intended to mean "seeks to obtain peace by the sword," but in a classical writer could only mean "attacks peace with the sword." The following translation would give a double meaning of *peto*, —

"The tyrants' foe, this hand
Aims at calm peace in freedom with its brand,"

where the usage of the Latin poets could only give *aims at a hostile sense*.

Dr. EVERETT also spoke of the spelling of the peculiar proper name *Alablaster*, which occurs in many documents of the seventeenth century, and is familiar to the readers of the "Life of John Winthrop." In this book and most modern histories it is changed to *Alabaster*, to conform to the spelling of the name of the mineral. But the second *l* appears in the original works, — as, for instance, in Anthony à Wood's "*Athenæ*," *passim*, — and has been retained in Nuttall's "Fuller's Worthies," vol. iii. p. 185, in Sandford's "Studies of the Great Rebellion," p. 229, and other careful works. Moreover, the mineral is not

infrequently spelt with two *l*'s, — as, for instance, in "Paradise Lost," book iv. l. 543, 1st and 2d editions; and Dr. Everett said that he had heard this in his boyhood mentioned as a very vulgar pronunciation of the mineral. It is so spoken of in Greville's "Diary." Yet there can be no doubt how the mineral should be spelt. *Alabaster* is a Greek word, used frequently for the mineral, but still oftener for an ointment-box made of it; and this sense — a small box for holding liquids — Dr. Everett thought was its real sense, originally, perhaps, an *inkstand*, from an Eastern word for ink. It undoubtedly should have but one *l*. On the other hand, the proper name seems to be an alteration of *Arblastar*, that is, *Arcubalistarius*, "a cross-bow man," which still exists in England in the form *Larbalestier*, and will be remembered in the history of the Seminole war in the form *Ambrister*, which is of German origin, from *Armbrust*, the German for "cross-bow." It is very possible that the two words corrupted each other at the transition stage from Middle to Late English, *Arblastar* getting its first *l* from *Alabaster*, and the mineral its second *l* from the proper name.

Mr. HAYNES replied, that the Latin verse was inscribed by Sidney in an album in Denmark, some time in 1659 or 1660, but that there is a discrepancy in the original authorities as to the place where this album was kept. Thomas Hollis, in his edition of Sidney's works (p. 10, ed. 1772), quotes, from "Familiar Letters written by John late Earl of Rochester and other Persons of Honour and Quality," the following passage from a letter written to Sidney by his father, the Earl of Leicester: "It is said that the University of Copenhagen brought their Album unto you, desiring you to write something therein; and that you did *scribere in albo* these words, —

'Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,'

and put your name to it." But Lord Molesworth, in "An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692," published in London in 1694, tells the story at greater length, and states that the lines were written in the Album of the King's Library, and that they were afterwards torn out by Terlon, the French Ambassador (Preface, *sub fin.*).

As bearing upon the question of their authorship, it may be said that an anonymous correspondent of "Notes and Queries" (3d ser. vol. ix. p. 197, March 10, 1866) states that the first line is to be found in a patent granted by Camden (Clarencieux) in 1616, when Sidney was only five years old, so that this one could not have been original with him. Mr. Haynes was inclined to the opinion that the other was his own composition, and agreed with Dr. Everett as to its questionable Latinity in the sense in which it was intended to be understood.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks:—

At the last meeting of the Society, allusion was made to Chief Justice Sewall's custom of distributing books and tracts among his friends. Whenever anything was printed that seemed to him to meet the public need, in a moral point of view, he was sure to supply himself with a goodly number of copies, and bestow them as occasion required. The conversion of the Jews always lay near to his heart, and often directed the channels of his generosity. In his Diary, under the date of October 3, 1720, he speaks of giving away "Mr. Willard's Fountain open'd with the little print and verses." The incomplete title here given refers to "THE | Fountain Opened: | OR, | The Great Gospel Priviledge of having | CHRIST exhibited to *Sinfull Men*, | WHEREIN | Also is proved that there shall be | a National Calling of the | JEVVS | from *Zech. XIII. 1.* | By Samuel Willard, | Teacher of a Church in *Boston.* | Boston in New-England, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, | for Samuel Sewall Junior. 1700." pages iv, 210, sm. octavo.

The expression "little print and verses" used by Judge Sewall is somewhat obscure, but it is cleared up by an examination of a copy of "The Fountain Opened" now in the library of the Society. Bound in at the beginning of the book, opposite to the title, is a small folded sheet, of which the two inner pages contain the printed matter alluded to by the Judge. It is of a different kind of paper from the body of the volume, and is dated May 12, 1720, — twenty years after the publication of the book. Two of these verses appear in the Diary, in the entry of November 21, 1700, when Sewall writes that he composed them that evening, showing that they are his production. The fly-leaf of this Willard volume

has been torn out; but from a stub still left, and bearing a few words in Sewall's well-known handwriting, it is evident that this particular copy once belonged to him, and by him was given to a friend. The two printed pages are as follows:—

*Upon Mr. Samuel Willard, his first
coming into the Assembly, and Praying,
after a long and dangerous Fit of
Sickness; November 21. 1700. at
3. in the Afternoon, being a Day of
Publick THANKSGIVING.
Mr. Pemberton's Text, Psal. 118. 27.*

AS Joseph let his Brethren see
Simeon both alive, and free:
So JESUS brings forth Samuel,
To tune our hearts to praise Him well.

Thus He with beams of cheerful Light
Corrects the darkness of our Night:
His Grace assists us in this wise
To seise and bind the Sacrifice.

Distressing Fear caus'd us to Pray*
God help'd us; He will help us aye.
Let's then our Ebenezer raise,
And honour GOD with endless Praise.

[End of page 1.]

N. The 106 ——— 127, & 166 Pages
of this Book, do more especially treat
of the Calling of the *Jews*.

Revel. **A**ND he saith unto me, Write,
19. 9. Blessed are they who are
called unto the Marriage-Supper of the
LAMB. And he saith unto me, These
are the true sayings of GOD.

'Tis certain, CHRIST will speedily
fetch home his beautiful, and belov'd,
and long'd-for Rachel: 'Tis high time

* October 8th, 1700.

for all Christians to petition, and pray
for it; lest it should be said to any of
them, *Wherefore are you the last to
bring back the Queen?*

Come! our HIMMANUEL,
constantly to keep House at *Boston* in
New-England.

Come! our JESUS! and save thy
People from their Sins.

Come! Lord JESUS!

Fifth-Day; May 12th, 1720.

Dr. MOORE referred to a letter of the apostle Eliot, recently brought to light by the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs, and soon to be published by him, which gives a description of New England in 1650. He then read a paper respecting the validity of the Salem court for the witch-trials in 1692, and traced from the beginning the contemporary opposition which led to the abandonment of the court before its assigned work was completed, and the transfer of its business to a new tribunal authorized by the Legislature, which promptly checked the delusion. The design of the paper was to show that the whole constitution and proceedings of the court first established by the arbitrary will of the Governor were in violation of the fundamental law of Massachusetts. The opinion of Hutchinson was quoted, showing that so well informed a man as he did not hesitate to say, in 1767, that "a little attention must force the conclusion that the whole was a scene of fraud and delusion." The writer regarded it as an attempt to break down the great principles of the common law of Massachusetts by introducing the "law and custom of England."

Mr. GOODELL spoke briefly in reply; and Dr. EVERETT said that the question of legality or illegality of Stoughton's court is likely to be unsettled for some time, appeal being made to the very words of the charter by both parties. But it is not right to cloud this issue by impassioned attacks on the action of the court. Nobody wishes to maintain that its proceedings were reasonable or humane; but a court may be stupid and tyrannical, yet perfectly legal. The constitution of the Court of King's Bench was just as legal when Sir Matthew Hale main-

tained the reality of witchcraft, or when Jeffries perpetrated his atrocities, as when Sir John Holt dismissed charges of witchcraft and treated prisoners with fairness. Suppose that, when the representatives of the victims of 1692 had in vain appealed for redress, Governor Burnet or Governor Shute or Governor Belcher had called a special commission to hear their petitions and afford restitution; we should now be treated to panegyrics on the righteous governor who nobly maintained the office of the King of England to render full and speedy justice to all his subjects. It is analogous to the celebrated letter quoted by Macaulay from Lord Sunderland to "Mr. Penne." The stanch defenders of William Penn deny that it can have been written to him, because it is addressed to some one who was engaged in a dishonorable transaction about the ransom of the Taunton girls; but if the letter had informed "Mr. Penne" that in consequence of his intercession, his Majesty had been graciously pleased to extend his free pardon to the poor girls, "Mr. Penne" would have been eagerly identified with William, in spite of spelling, style, and all other alleged difficulties. Sir William Phips either had or had not authority to constitute the court. But how the court, when constituted, exercised its jurisdiction is a second and wholly irrelevant question.

John Eliot's Description of New England in 1650.¹

In May, 1884, I was making researches for the present volume in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow, when my attention was called by the curator, Professor John Young, M.D., to a number of uncatalogued books and pamphlets. Among the pamphlets he showed me a few manuscripts. Among these I found the letter of Eliot which is now for the first time given to the public. Professor Young kindly gave me permission to use it, and Mr. John Young, B.Sc., one of

¹ By the kindness of Professor Charles A. Briggs, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York, we are permitted to reprint this valuable letter, which was discovered by him and is included in the Appendix to his work entitled "American Presbyterianism: Its Origin and Early History." It is contemporaneous with and supplementary to Samuel Maverick's account of New England in 1660, which was published in the last volume of Proceedings (pp. 231-249), and contains information respecting ministers and magistrates which is wanting there. Great pains have been taken to give this letter exactly according to the original; and Dr. Briggs writes: "It has been thrice compared; and the last revision was made from slip proof, which was compared with the manuscript in Glasgow." — Eds.

the assistant librarians, carefully copied it for me. The letter is without date, signature, or address. It seems to have been copied from an original, which has thus far escaped the attention of explorers, if indeed it is now in existence. A cursory examination disclosed its value, but not its authorship. A careful examination by the principles of the Higher Criticism discloses its author and date. The value of the letter is very great, not only for the general survey of New England at the time, but for the fresh information it gives with reference to certain towns, churches, and ministers, which were wrapt in uncertainty and obscurity as to their origin and actual condition at the time when this letter was written, in the spring of 1650.

The date of the letter may be approximately fixed by the following evidences: (1) In speaking of Roxbury it says: "Where Master Dudly, now Governor liveth Master Eliot is teacher, and Master Danfurth (by the good hand of the Lord upon us) is to be ordained pastor." Governor John Winthrop died March 26, 1649, and was succeeded by John Endicott May 2, 1649, and he by Thomas Dudley May 22, 1650. Samuel Danfurth was ordained Sept. 24, 1650. This gives us the date within a few months. (2) In speaking of Cambridge it says: "Blessed Master Sheppard there pastor did lately dye, and they have not yet any other ordained, but Master Michell is elected their pastor, and shortly to be ordained." Thomas Sheppard died Aug. 25, 1649, and Jonathan Mitchell was ordained Aug. 21, 1650. This narrows the date to an interval of less than three months. (3) In speaking of Boston, it represents that "the ministers are Master Cotton teacher, and Master Wilson is pastor." It knows nothing of the Second Church of Boston, which was organized June 5, 1650. (4) Mr. Blinman was pastor at Gloucester, Massachusetts, when the letter was written. Mr. Blinman was at Gloucester in September, 1649, and at New London, Connecticut, in November, 1650. (5) Mr. Whitefield was at Guilford, Connecticut, when the letter was written. Mr. Whitefield removed to England in 1650. (6) Speaking of Weathersfield, Connecticut, it represents that the pastor, Master Smith, had lately died. "And they have called Mr. Russel an hopeful branch brought up in our college." Mr. Smith died in 1648, and Mr. Russel was installed in 1650.

From these evidences it is clear that the letter could not have been written earlier than May 22, 1650, or later than June 5, 1650. It seems most reasonable to place the date in the last week of May, 1650.

There are several traces of the author: (1) The author represents himself as sitting in his study at Roxbury. He was associated with Mr. Hooke, of New Haven, in some general work of the Church, and they were to "communicate counsells." He speaks of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, of Boston, as more convenient for him to counsel with. The author was thus an eminent minister residing at Roxbury in 1649. He

can be no other than John Eliot, the apostle of the Indians. And it is probable that he was to advise with others with reference to the work among the Indians under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, just organized in England. (2) He says that "Master Danfurth (by the good hand of the Lord upon us) is to be ordained pastor" at Roxbury. Danforth cannot be the writer. He was a young man whom Eliot anxiously expected to relieve him, so that he could devote more time to labor among the Indians. He considered it as the good work of the Lord's hand that Danforth was soon to be ordained pastor. (3) The interest of the author in the Indians is clear from the following extracts: "Southwest from Dedham, seven miles is Natick, an Indian town, by the blessing of God now beginning," and "Martins Vineyard the island where Mr. Mahu is pastor and preacheth to the Indians which live in that island." (4) Speaking of Providence, he says: "Which town Mr. Williams first began, but there also they affect to have no minister, but is also a receptacle of many varieties of opinions, Mr. Williams spending his life in trucking with the Indians." This is a fine piece of irony, on the part of the apostle to the Indians, with reference to the heresiarch Roger Williams.

These evidences seem to show with sufficient plainness that John Eliot was the author of the letter.

There are doubtless other facts mentioned in the letter which will serve to make the date still more definite. These we shall leave to the specialists in the History of New England. We also leave to such scholars the historical gain from the statements made in the letter.

S^r:—

According to your desire heere is a breife topographicall description of the Seuerall Townes in new England with the names of our magistrats and Ministers:

The Massachusetts Bay is deepe and large, about : 13 : myles from the Southend to the northend, bespoted with many Ilands, more than : 20. The channell at which all shippes (vsually) enter is allmost at the Southend, and at the uery enterance is a little Towne begun lately: named Hull, where there is yet noe minister, within this Bay are many Townes, At the Southend is Hingham, where Master Itbbard is minister, Next Weymouth, where master Thatcher is minister. One the westside of this Bay are these Townes, Brantree to the Southermost, where master Thomson is pastor, master Flint teacher. Then Dorchester where mather is Teacher, and master wilson (the sonne of master wilson of Boston) is pastor. The next is Roxbury, where master dudly, now Gouvernor. liueth, Master Elot is Teacher, and master Danfurth (by the good hand of the lord upon us) is to be ordained Pastor, In the botome, or northend of this Bay is Boston our cheife hauen, where most

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ships that come to this country, ride at anchor, the magistrats who liue there are master Bellingham and master Hibbens, the ministers are Master Cotton Teacher, And master Wilson is Pastor. On the same northend of the Bay, On the other side a water as broad as the thames at London, Is charlstowne, the next hauen-towne to Boston, and y^e riuier betwixt these Townes, is the most frequent anchoring of Shippes, Master Nowell magistrate liueth there, And master Symes is Pastor, Master Allen Teacher, By charlsriuier west from Boston and charlstowne, about .3. or .4. myle is cambridge, where is seated Haruard colledge, master Dunster President, Blessed master Sheppard there pastor did lately dye, and they haue not yet any other ordained, but master Michell is elected there Pastor, and shortly to be ordained a little by the same riuier is watertowne where Master knowles is Pastor and Master Sharman Teacher; ten myles in land to the west and norwest from them lye .2. Townes on a riuier which runeth North and South, Concord the most northerly where Master Flint magistrate liueth, and master Bulkley is Pastor. By streame southward lyeth Sudbury Where Mr. Browne is Pastor, West from Sudbury .16. myles lyeth nashaway, in land who want a Minister, And Southwest in land from Roxbury lyeth Dedham, where Mr Allen is Pastor, South west from Dedham, 7. myles is Natick a Indian Towne, by the blessing of God now begining, And upon a more Southene lyne .8. myles from Dedham is begining a new Plantation, called faire-meade, North-ward from charlstowne, 7 myles in land lyeth Woobourne, where Mr Carter is Pastor. —

Againe north-northeast from charlstowne .3. myles lyeth Malden, who yet haue not a minister. settled, And .4. myles further on the same poynt lyeth Reading, where Mr Hoph is Pastor, — Northeast from Charlstowne about .7. myles lyeth Lynn. which is upon the Sea cost within the Bay, there the great Iron workes are, Mr Bridges Magistrate liueth there, and Mr Whiting is Pastor, Mr Cobbett Teacher. Nor North-east from them .4. myles is Marblehead, a good fishing place, Mr Walton is Minister, A myle North from them layeth Sale, a uery Good harbour, Mr Endicot Deputy Gouvernor liueth there, Mr Norice is Pastor, Six myles Northward from them lyeth Wenham, Mr Fiske Pastor, Againe .6. myles Northeast from Sale, is a litle fishing Towne called Manchester where they want a Minister, And there a poynt runeth out eastward into the sea called Cape-ann, neere to the head whereof is a fishing towne called Gloster, Mr Blinmar is Pastor, On the Northside of that head land cometh forth the broad mouth of mirimack, On which riuier are Sundry townes the riuier runeth East and West, Next the mouth of that riuier lyeth Ipswich. which is .6. myles North from Wenham, Mr Symons Magistrate there liueth, Mr Nathaneel Rogers is Pastor, Mr Norton Teacher, .3. myles west of them lyeth Rowly, Where Mr Ezekiell Rogers is Pastor, from Rowley west

ward : 14 . myles layeth Andeuer where Mr Dane is Pastor, againe . 4 . myles Nor West from Rowley layeth newbery where Mr Parker is Pastor, and Mr Noyce Teacher, thence crossing the Broad mouth of Mirimacke which (as I Remember may be . 3 . times as broad as the thams at London) there lyeth Salsbury, Mr Wooster Pastor, about . 5 . or . 6 . myles up the northside the great riuer lyeth Hauerill (neere . ouer . against Andeuer) there Mr Ward is Pastor, about 7 myles from Salsbery Northward lyeth Hampton, where Mr Dalton and Mr Wheeler right are ministers, About . 4 or . 5 . myles futher north is Exeter where they want a minister, and that is at the head of Pascataway riuer, at the mouth whereof lyeth Douer where Mr Wiggen A magistrate liueth and Mr Mand is Pastor. — Some more places to the north are Inhabited, but they belong not to the Massachusetts Iurisdiction, nor doe I know them, Soe as to be able to name them, And these are the people under the Massachusetts Gouverment north and South, On the South, Plimouth pattent Bordereth with us, And there first towne lyeth Southeast : 10 : myles from Hingham, called Situate lying on the Sea, Mr Cancy is Pastor, And . 4 . myles Southward lyeth Marshfield, Mr Bulkly is Pastor, 4 or . 5 . myles Southward layeth Duxbury, Mr Partridge Pastor, about . 7 . myles Southward, lyeth Plimouth, Mr Rayner Pastor, And the Gouvernour Mr Bradford liueth, I name none other of there magistrats Because I know not well where they Dwell, nor all there names ; From Plimouth Southeast or more easterly putteth forth a very long poynt of land into the Sea, the head whereof is called Cape-cod, which with cape-ann make the great Bay of New England alongst that necke of land are Seuerall Townes : Eastward . 27 . myles from Plimouth is Sandwich, Mr Leueredge is Pastor ; Eastward 14 . myles is Bastable, Mr Lothrop Pastor, Eastward . 4 . myles is Yarmouth Mr Miller Pastor, Eastward : 11 : myles Nauset is, Mr Mayo Pastor. On the Southside of this Necke of land ouer against Bastable or Sandwich, lyeth Martins Vinyard the Iland where Mr Mahu is Pastor, and Preacheth to the Indians which liue in that Iland all that coast Southward is full of Ilands, the most northerly part whereof is called the Mar-raganset Bay, where westward from Martins Vinyard Some leauges layeth Road Iland where they haue . 2 . Townes but noe Church nor Minister, nor doe they desire any that I heare of ; Ouer against the north end of that Iland a pritty faire riuer emptieth it selfe in the sea upon which riuer about : 20 : myles is Taunton, about : 30 : miles west from Plymouth and about as much South from Boston, there Mr. Streete is Teacher, and Mr Hooke was Pastor, but is remooued to new hauen, more Southerly. Some leagues westward of that riuer, another such like riuer emptieth it selfe, neere the mouth where of lyeth Prouidence, which Towne Mr Williams first began, but there also they affect to haue no minister, but is also A receptacle of many varieties of opinions, Mr

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Williams spending his life in trucking with the Indians, About . 4 . myles by that riuer is a town called Rehoboth, where Mr Newman is Pastor, And this layeth westward, From Taunton ouerland about : 14 : myles A great way Southward Upon that coast, I cannot say how many leagues (it may be 20) openeth the mouth of Pequot riuer, which is an Excellent harbour, and there Mr Iohn Winthrop. with others haue a towne begun, but yet want a minister, A few myles Southward openeth the great mouth of Conecticot riuer, at the mouth where of is a fort, and a church gathered this yeere, and Mr Fitch is Pastor the riuer runeth Northwest and Southeast, neere . 40 . myles up the riuer is a towne begun at a place called Mattabesett, but they haue noe minister : 12 : myles higher is weathersfeild where Master Smith there Pastor lately dyed, And they haue called Mr Russell an hopefull Branch brought up in our Colledge (as Sundry others fornamed haue beene) 3 myles up the riuer is Hartford, where Mr Hooker latly dyed, And Mr Stone is Pastor, Vp a riuer 8 myles is a villedge where Mr Newton is Pastor; 6 . myles up the riueer lyeth Winsor, where Mr Wareham is Pastor, 20 . myles up the riuer layeth Springfeild where Mr Moxon is Pastor, And this towne ouerland from the Bay layeth : 80 : or : 90 : myles Southwest, and is the roade way to all the townes upon this riuer, and lye more Southward, This is all that is yet Possessed on that riuer, — Then along the South coast from the mouth of Conecticot . 18 . myles layeth Gilford where Mr Whitefield is Pastor, and Mr Higgenson Teacher, Southward the same coast : 7 : myles lyeth Totocot, where Mr Peirson is Pastor, Southward . 7 . myles lyeth Newhauen, where Mr Dauernport is Pastor, and Mr Hooke Teacher, and this towne ouerland from the Townes on Conecticot is betwixt : 30 : & : 40 : myles, So that the sea coast lyeth not due South but inclineth to the west, Onward the same Southerly coast, 8 . myles lyeth Milford where Mr Prudden is Pastor, further more . 4 . myles layeth stradford where Mr Blackman is Pastor, futher : 8 : myles lyeth fairefeild where Mr Iones is Pastor, further on the same Coast . 28 : myles lyeth Stamford where Mr Bishop is Pastor : 3 : myles Southward is a towne beginning called Greenwich, westward : 7 : myles in land from Stanford is an other Towne beginning, Not many leagues Southward is Hudsons riuer, where the Duch liue, All along this coast betwixt them and the maine sea stretcheth a uery long Iland, So called for the length, on which are seuerall townes which I know not; the Southend whereof the Dutch challeng, this Iland, is about : 100 : myles long; in the northerly end of this Iland lyeth Easthamton, Mr Iames is minister, The next towne Southwest : 20 : myles lyeth Southhamton, Mr Fordam, Minister. Southwest : 10 : myles lyeth Southhold Mr Yong Pastor, about . 50 : myles to the South-west-end : is Hempsted, where Mr Moore Preacheth; a little neerer the duch liueth the lady Moody an anabaptist & neere to that in the straight

betwixt long Iland & the maine called Hellgate, neere which Place Ms Hutchinson liued and was slaine by the Indians.

— Thus worthy Sr haue you according to your request, a breife Description of New England, So well As I could sitting in my study, proiect it (neuer hauing seene manye Partyes of it) with the names of most of the townes, And Ministers therein, and by this you see at what a distance Mr Hooke at Newhauen and I at Roxbury liue and cannot communicate counsells, but I haue wrot unto him and I doubt not but he will chuse Mr Cotton and Mr Wilson of Boston. to whom I am next neighbour, and we do weekely communicate counsells, You see also where Mr Wareham liueth, on Conecticot, But who euer would send any thing to any Towne in New England, the best way is to send it to Boston or Charlstowne for they are hauen Townes for all New England and Speedy meanes of conueyance to all places is there to bee had.

Dr. ELLIS presented a memoir of the late Nathaniel Thayer.

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W. Thayer

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MEMOIR
OF
NATHANIEL THAYER, A.M.

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS.

THE ancestors of the Thayer family in Massachusetts came here with the earliest colonists from England. We find Thomas Tayer, his wife Margerey, and three sons, settled in Old Braintree about 1630. He was accompanied, or soon followed, by his brother Richard. They came from Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England: the name is found on the old records of the place, but is now extinct there. The grandchildren of the first Thomas inserted the letter *h* in the name, which the descendants have ever since adopted.

Nathaniel Thayer was born in Boston, July 17, 1710. He married here Ruth, a sister of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, minister of the New North Church in Boston from 1742 till his death in 1778. He remained in the town during its occupancy by the British army in our Revolutionary War. The eldest child of these parents was the Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, born in Boston, July 16, 1734; graduated at Harvard College in 1753; and settled as the minister of Hampton, New Hampshire, from 1766 to his death in 1792. His wife, Martha Cotton, was a daughter of the Rev. John Cotton, of Newton, and a direct descendant of the minister of the First Church in Boston. These were the parents of the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., who graduated at Harvard College in 1789, and was settled in the ministry at Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1793, till his death in 1840. He married Sarah, a daughter of the Hon. Christopher Toppan, of Hampton. They were the parents of eight children; the seventh of which, Nathaniel, the subject of this memoir, was born in Lancaster, Sept. 11, 1808.

The other children of the family who lived to maturity — with whom the subject of this memoir grew up, all beings his elders, some of whom will be mentioned again — were: Martha, who married John Marston, Esq., United States Consul at Palermo, Sicily; Mary Ann; John Eliot; and Christopher Toppan, for twenty-five years minister of the First Church in Beverly. These are all deceased.

The tenure of office for a minister in Dr. Thayer's time was for life. If age or infirmity disabled him for duty, he was provided with a colleague. Dr. Thayer himself had sustained that relation for more than two years with his predecessor, who died at the age of eighty, after a service of forty-eight years. His early years of service were in frugal days of simple living, before the multiplication of appliances and luxuries. His salary for his whole ministry of nearly half a century did not amount to half that number of thousands of dollars. A farm and a wood-lot, with some slight patrimony, assured him all the conditions of comfort and competency. Like all his ministerial brethren, he sent one son to college, and would doubtless have sent them all, had they desired it. Like most of his brethren, likewise, he found in the mother of his children one of those admirable women, fit not only to aid, but to prompt every wifely and maternal obligation in domestic and parental duty. Those ministers' wives, fully as much as their husbands, were the property, for all excellent service of interest and oversight, of their parishioners. In dignity and graces, in culture and accomplishments, and in all exemplary qualities for the home and for social relations, Mrs. Thayer was the crown of her husband and the revered and beloved guide of her children.

It was in such a home and with such guardians that the subject of this Memoir was trained to manhood. That he was a healthful and a happy boy, of rural blood and fibre, acquainted with farm-work and fond of roaming in the woods, and a genial companion of those who were growing up around him, will appear when a later reference is made to his strong attachment to his native place and its people. In his youth the town had many citizens and families of comfortable resources, intelligence, and culture, and in professional service. As a matter of course there was an academy, and teachers of the highest qualities, among whom it is enough to

mention such afterwards distinguished men as Jared Sparks and George B. Emerson. Mr. Thayer enjoyed peculiar advantages in his relations to his teachers, because of their special intimacy at the parsonage. Each passing year brought to that centre of the best influences a succession of guests and visitors, from whose conversation and manners there was much to be learned by young listeners and observers. The intimates of Mr. Thayer all through his life were always impressed by the signs that though the tenor and occupations of his business activity drew him away from the pursuits of literature and science, he was ever an intelligent and appreciative companion of the foremost and most accomplished masters in those pursuits. His munificent patronage of literary and scientific men made him essentially a fellow of them.

His brother John Eliot Thayer, five years his elder, had preceded him in going to Boston to enter upon a business life. The capital of both the brothers was integrity and capacity. To these, largely helped indeed by signally favorable opportunities, judiciously improved, they were indebted for a wonderful success, such as is gained only by the few, while the many fail in full or in degree. When Nathaniel Thayer went to Boston, his main purpose first was to secure a business training. This he found, first in a clerkship, and then in a partnership in mercantile firms. From the first he was choice and careful in forming his social relations, and in prudential and conscientious watchfulness of character. He attached himself to the ministry of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., minister of the Second Church. His name appears on its records as sharing in its works of religion and benevolence. His brother John having established himself successfully as a banker and broker, with the prospect of a steadily extending business, received him into partnership in 1834, under the firm of John E. Thayer & Brother. The connection continued till the death of the elder in 1857. The acquisitions of the firm and the property which accrued to the survivor were large for the date and the then existing state of the business world. They were small, however, compared with those which afterwards, in the rapid development of the material interests of the country, were gathered by the younger brother.

Mr. Thayer felt profoundly, and cheerfully recognized, the responsibility and obligations of wealth. While he determined

to leave to his heirs the means of imitating his own generosity, instead of so distributing his property as to lead them to feel that he had relieved them of such duty, he preferred to give in his lifetime and enjoy the sight of his good works. Though his early years were of frugal surroundings, and his first mercantile occupations were little more than remunerative, his mature life was one of vast and sunny prosperity. He was generous always according to his means, and his generosity kept even proportions with his accumulations. Some of its channels, by no means exhaustively, may now be traced.

Mr. Thayer was elected a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College in 1868. This was a most exceptional honor to be conferred on one not a graduate; for from the earliest times that the College had alumni, it had found among them those who could wisely and intelligently administer its interests. The most conspicuous person who had, previously to Mr. Thayer, shared that exceptional honor, was the eminent mathematician Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch. There were reasons that warranted the election of Mr. Thayer. He had proved in many ways his interest in the College, its objects, officers, and students, all of whom had profited by his generosity in a variety of gifts. And as the funds of the College were rapidly increasing, it was the more needful that there should be among the Fellows, as there always had been, one or more skilled in finance and the management of trusts. Till he resigned his place in 1875, the institution had many occasions for valuing his services and offerings. True to his reverential regard for his father and his father's profession, the pet objects of the son's sympathies were impoverished and disabled ministers. It was well understood by his intimates that if either of them knew a young man of promise otherwise unable to enter or complete his course in college, the means would be abundantly furnished. All through the remainder of his life this was a favorite direction of his benevolence, and the gifts were not stinted. Many young men were supported by him through their whole college course. He expected his sons, when in college, to follow his example in all considerate ways.

The most practically efficient of some of Mr. Thayer's devices for serving a class of students was that known as "Thayer Commons," something of which sort was made neces-

sary when, before the establishment of the capacious dining-room in the Memorial Hall, the College, having abandoned its former provision, had left the students to the mercies of outside boarding-houses. The following graphic sketch of Mr. Thayer's device is furnished me by the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, a friend greatly revered and loved by Mr. Thayer, and one of those who shared confidentially in the partition of his generosity : —

CAMBRIDGE, April 6, 1883.

MY DEAR DR. ELLIS, — The origin of the boarding club at Cambridge was on this wise. I was spending a week at Lancaster, and in driving with Mr. Thayer one day, I told him of the hardships which I had discovered in some cases to be endured by students who undertook to board themselves. He at once told me that if I could make any arrangement for cheap board at cost, he would furnish the fund. There was a building, originally a railway-station, but then occupied in part by me for evening religious meetings, and in part by the "queen-goody" of the College. The Corporation gave the building up to me. I made the queen-goody cook of the establishment, procured the requisite kitchen equipment and furniture, tables, seats, dishes, etc., costing in the whole more than a thousand dollars. We thus were able by crowding to accommodate some fifty or sixty students, while as many were excluded as could be admitted. The plan then was started of building in the rear of the rooms thus occupied, a dining-hall. For that a subscription paper was started, and a few hundred (less than a thousand) dollars subscribed. Mr. Thayer assumed the cost of building, which, with the requisite furnishing and a large increase of kitchen plenishing, amounted to seven or eight thousand dollars. His expenditure in the whole must have been not less than seven thousand, and it was all that I asked for, and would have been twice or thrice as much, had I asked for it. As for the subscription, it was not started because he wanted that it should be, but because Ingersoll Bowditch was interested in the plan, wanted to do something for it, got up the paper himself, and was the only subscriber to it whom I can recall, probably the only one who gave more than a pittance.

Ever truly yours,

A. P. PEABODY.

This "Thayer Commons" was, at its institution, and for the term of its continuance, one of the most useful and highly appreciated of all the general provisions made for the welfare and comfort of a large number of the students of the College. It combined felicitously the principles of self-support and a

generous subsidy for necessary deficiencies. Even its limitations were among its advantages. That twice as many applied for admission as could be received into it assured to it a privileged character. The patronage and oversight which it enjoyed made its generous management a certainty.

Through the kindness of President Eliot of Harvard College, the writer has been furnished with a copy, from the records of the Corporation, of the documents relating to that munificent donation to the College which bears the name of "Thayer Hall." The following items show the initiation and the completion of his design : —

"July 31, 1869. *Voted*, That the President and Messrs. Thayer and Lowell be a committee to consider the expediency of erecting a new dormitory, and procure plans and estimates if they see fit.

"Sept. 25, 1869. The committee on the expediency of erecting a new dormitory presented a report recommending the immediate erection of such a building. Whereupon it was *Voted*, To proceed forthwith to the erection of a new dormitory, according to the plans of Messrs. Ryder & Harris, and under their superintendence.

"*Voted*, That the sum of the tenders of contract upon the said building, and of the commissions chargeable upon the same, be limited to \$100,000.

"*Voted*, That the committee appointed July 31, 1869, be empowered to fix the site of the new building, and carry the above votes into execution."

Boston, Jan. 10, 1870.

To the President and Fellows of Harvard College :

GENTLEMEN, — As stated in the report of the Committee upon a new Dormitory, dated Sept. 25, 1869, I agreed to pay the first fifty thousand dollars which might be called for. I now agree to pay the entire cost of the building, as the money may be wanted.

My object in doing this is not simply to meet a great want of the College at this time, but also as a testimony of respect to the memory of my much-loved and honored father, Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., who was a graduate of, and for some time an instructor in, the College; and also to that of my brother John Eliot Thayer, who showed in various ways his interest in the College, and especially in establishing the scholarships bearing his name.

With much respect, yours truly,

N. THAYER.

Whereupon it was —

Voted, That the munificent offer of Mr. Thayer be gratefully accepted, and that the President make suitable acknowledgment thereof.

Voted, That the new dormitory be named Thayer Hall.

Voted, That the Building Committee be directed to place in the vestibule, or other suitable position, a tablet with an inscription expressive of the memorial design contemplated by Mr. Thayer.¹

Professor Asa Gray has furnished the writer with some of the particulars connected with another of Mr. N. Thayer's benefactions to the University, — namely, his provision of a fire-proof Herbarium, with furnishings and library, in connection with the Botanic Gardens. This was one among the many objects and directions of Mr. Thayer's generosity, in which, while starting with a will and expectation of co-operating with others in instituting or advancing some special design, he found himself led on, by circumstances of his own prompting, to do the whole, and even then to be ready to meet the incidental consequences in the development of methods and necessities. The solid and well-protected brick structure for the Herbarium cost about \$12,000. It needed an elaborate system of cases and drawers; then an addition to its library; then the Garden itself drew on him for its restoration, in the amount of \$5,000. Only his own private papers would show the whole cost of his offering to the collection and preservation of Flora.

Under the name of the "Thayer Expedition," rightly so called, because it was prompted, and so far as private liberality was engaged, was wholly sustained, at the charge of the subject of this Memoir, appreciative notice must here be taken of a most successful enterprise of world-wide interest to scientists and naturalists. The expedition combined in equal portions the lofty and chivalrous enthusiasm of Professor Louis Agassiz, and the unstinted generosity of Mr. Thayer. And it may be added that Mr. Thayer himself acted under the double inspiration of his interest in science and his admiration and love for the great naturalist.

¹ The tablet bears this simple inscription : —

THIS HALL IS ERECTED BY
NATHANIEL THAYER
IN MEMORY OF HIS FATHER,
NATHANIEL THAYER, D.D.
AND OF HIS BROTHER,
JOHN ELIOT THAYER.
1870.

Mr. Agassiz had procured in 1859, with large subsequent help from State grants, as well as from individuals, the founding of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, in connection with Harvard College.

One of the fruits of the Thayer Expedition is a volume bearing the following title: "A Journey in Brazil, by Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868." The contents of the book are mainly from the journal of Mrs. Agassiz. The dedication of the volume is —

"To Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, the Friend who made it possible to give this Journey the character of a Scientific Expedition, THE PRESENT VOLUME is Gratefully inscribed."

In simple and graceful sentences the Professor relates the circumstances which led to the expedition. In 1865 he had felt it necessary to seek relief from the strain and weariness of work, and recuperation of health by change and motion. His thoughts and longings turned to the study of the Fauna of Brazil, particularly as its enlightened and generous Emperor had previously expressed his sympathy with Agassiz, and had sent valuable collections to the Museum at Cambridge. But the distance of space, the expense of time, the lack of pecuniary resources, and the necessity of providing for competent scientific assistants and companions to aid his single-handed efforts, were formidable obstacles in the way. The words of this earnest seeker must be quoted here:—

"While I was brooding over these thoughts I chanced to meet Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, whom I have ever found a generous friend to science. The idea of appealing to him for a scheme of this magnitude had not, however, occurred to me; but he introduced the subject, and after expressing his interest in my proposed journey, added, 'You wish, of course, to give it a scientific character; take six assistants with you, and I will be responsible for all their expenses, personal and scientific.' It was so simply said, and seemed to me so great a boon, that at first I hardly believed I had heard him rightly. In the end I had cause to see in how large and liberal a sense he proffered his support to the expedition, which, as is usual in such cases, proved longer and more costly than was at first anticipated. Not only did he provide most liberally for assistants, but until the last specimen was stored in the Museum, he continued to advance whatever sums were needed, always desiring me to inform him should any additional expenses occur on closing up

the affairs of the expedition. It seems to me that the good arising from the knowledge of such facts justifies me in speaking here of these generous deeds, accomplished so unostentatiously that they might otherwise pass unnoticed." (Preface.)

Mr. Thayer found his full return in every circumstance and event, every appreciative and helping agency which came in to advance the enterprise, and in its rich and auspicious results. His pleasure began in realizing, as he parted with Professor Agassiz, the radiant and beaming delight of the great naturalist, as he started to seek the improvement of his grand opportunity and the fruition of his high expectations. His trained scientific assistants were an artist, a conchologist, two geologists, an ornithologist, and a preparator. There were also six or more volunteers, with scientific tastes and other accomplishments, all of them catching the ardent enthusiasm of their leader. Among these was Stephen Van Rensselaer, the eldest son of Mr. Thayer, whose career of promise and hopefulness closed in early manhood in 1871.

The enormous collections of the expedition began to be received in Cambridge in 1866; and though the extensive spaces of the Museum for receiving and displaying them have been lengthening and broadening ever since, they are not yet all open and classified. The Professor made his first report before his return in 1867.

In the Report of the Trustees of the Museum in January, 1866, it is —

"*Ordered*, That the grateful acknowledgments of this Board be offered by the President to Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., for his munificent, kind, and well-considered arrangements, enabling Professor Louis Agassiz, in the way he most desires, and in the most efficient manner, to serve the interests of the Museum, and the cause of science, during his present absence in South America."

Mr. Thayer's munificent generosity for the objects which so engaged the toil and zeal of Agassiz met with much appreciative notice in Europe. The "*Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*," a Geographical Society in Berlin, — one of the oldest, most honorable, of the European learned societies, and, like them all, exclusive, — an association gathering such members as Humboldt, Carl Ritter, Lepsius, Dr. Livingstone, and the like, — elected Professor Agassiz and Mr. Thayer to Honorary

Membership. The diploma of the latter was accompanied by a letter to him as "a high-minded friend of science."

It would not be consistent with a regard for the modesty and dignity which were so prominent in him to make an exposition or summary of his good and generous deeds. The list of our curiously classified institutions for every form of charity, benevolence, literary, scientific, and artistic culture, and all practical good objects and ends, is well known to be a very long one, and the solicitors for them are by no means only annual in their calls. It would be difficult to find a single one of them that was initiated without a gift of thousands from Mr. Thayer, or aided by repeated contributions lavish and heartily bestowed on the instant call. The Massachusetts General Hospital and the Children's Hospital in Boston were large sharers in his generosity. The newspapers might have kept his name in type as answering to all appeals at home and from abroad. Indeed, the announcement of a liberal gift from him appeared in the papers which noted his decease. The private pensioners on his bounty, continued on his memoranda for years, were as sure of an annual return as if they had claims on an annuity. The genial and kindly tone and smile added a grace to his favors.

Another direction in which Mr. Thayer exercised a large liberality deserves a special mention. On a change in the ministry of the Second Church, then standing on its old site in North Boston, he connected himself, as his brother John had done, with the First Church, on its then site in Chauncey Place. The edifice there was fast becoming wholly unsuited to its purpose by the removal of its old households, the thinning of the congregation, and the conversion of the neighborhood into a crowded mart for business. It was necessary for the survival and prosperous renewal of the Society that it should prepare for a great change of place, and for the erection of a fifth edifice in succession to its first wilderness temple, rude and homely in material and structure. So long as the rich and tasteful and solid edifice of the First Church at the corner of Berkeley and Marlborough Streets shall stand, it will be a monument of the zealous perseverance and of the munificence of Mr. Thayer. His contributions exceeded the sum of \$75,000, nearly a quarter of the whole cost, though much wealth is represented in the Society. He erected in the

church a fine memorial window to his partner brother, and an appropriate memorial of himself is about to be placed within the walls.

To every object connected with the welfare and religious and humane works of his church, Mr. Thayer, though wholly lacking in all limitations and motives of sectarian zeal, was promptly responsive. He was at times a committee of one, and an efficient one. Strongly attached to the simplicity and method of the liberalized Congregational form of worship under which he had been trained, — that of his father and his home, — though he in no way opposed or objected to the adoption of a form of service by a book in the First Church, he was hardly in sympathy with it.

In his full health and vigor, Mr. Thayer enjoyed the refined pleasures, the hospitalities, and social clubs of his city life. His business interests led him to frequent and extensive journeys over the country, and he made the usual European voyages.

Mr. Thayer will always be most pleasantly remembered in his associations with Lancaster by those who were privileged to be his guests there. He was never weaned from the home of his youth, and it became more attractive and satisfying to him in his later years. The widow of Dr. Thayer spent the remainder of her life — which closed June 22, 1857, in the same year as that of her son, John Eliot — in the old parsonage. Mr. Thayer's mode of life here, as well as in the city, was characterized by an elegant and graceful simplicity. There was every provision and appliance for comfort and true enjoyment, with no trace of ostentation or parade, no elaborateness of equipage or liveries, — no overdoing in anything. It always seemed to his guests that their host, in many things, was regarding them rather than himself, and could on his own part dispense with much that was around him were it not that they might enjoy themselves to the fullest.

The guests of Mr. Thayer in his country home could not fail to note the relations of intimacy and acquaintance in which he stood with the people of the town, and with all its local interests, civil, social, domestic, and religious. It seemed sometimes as if he recognized and was acting under a sort of large and general responsibility entailed upon him by his

father. Of all the residents of his own age, and in good part of their children, he knew the names, employments, and condition, and was on a footing of most cordial familiarity with them.

He loved patriotism, and he would commemorate patriots in a way to promote that and other virtues. So his choice for his native town was for a free public library, with well-laden shelves, a reading-room, and all needful appliances. In this should be reared a pure white marble tablet, bearing in letters of gold the names of the honored dead, so that every youth coming for a book should have the memorial with its lesson always before him. "See what you can do about it" was his word to his townsmen. The town treasury contributed five thousand dollars to the object. Private subscriptions added six thousand more. The balance, being about two thirds of the whole cost, was defrayed by Mr. Thayer, who also funded a generous sum for its support. So too in the restoration, slating, and adornment of the substantial brick meeting-house built during his father's ministry, he added to his contribution to the work an endowment of ten thousand dollars for the parish. And in providing a new chapel his word was repeated, "See what you can do about it;" adding, "While you are about it you had better have it done in the best manner." The balance lay with himself. He pursued the same course in the restoration, enlargement, and beautifying of the old burial-grounds, in one of which rest the remains of his parents. In his private beneficences, in a large variety of subjects and directions, he kept his own secrets. His stock farm for many uses of distribution represented what his bank of deposit did in the city. It was by these methods of a wise and generous co-operating liberality that the most cordial and mutually respectful relations existed between Mr. Thayer and his townsmen. A very impressive manifestation of their tender regard for him was shown when, on the day of his funeral from his city church,—a day of storm, of snow and rain and sleet, and of discomforts in travel,—the porch and aisles were filled by unsummoned groups of those mourning friends.

The last three years of Mr. Thayer's life, though free of any severity of pain and suffering, were attended by an enfeeblement of bodily vigor which occasionally impaired the

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full exercise of his mental powers. He was gentle and patient under the needful suspense of his business activity and in the seclusion of his home. His release came on the seventh day of March, 1883, at the age of seventy-four.

Mr. Thayer married, June 10, 1846, Cornelia, daughter of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, New York. She, with two married daughters, and two married and two unmarried sons, survive him. He was interred in his lot in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

In 1881 the members of the old Congregational Parish in Lancaster erected a brick chapel of the same style of architecture as the meeting-house, to which it is attached. It bears the name of the Thayer Memorial Chapel, in grateful remembrance of Dr. Thayer and his wife, with portraits of them, and a brass memorial tablet. Since the decease of Mr. Nathaniel Thayer the parishioners have set up in it a memorial tablet to him of Caen stone.

APRIL MEETING, 1885.

The Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at twelve o'clock, M.; the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP in the chair.

The Recording Secretary's report of the previous meeting was read and accepted.

Among the donations to the Library for the past month, the Librarian mentioned the gift of twenty-eight volumes from the children of the late Admiral Preble; and two volumes of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," from Messrs. J. R. Osgood & Co., the publishers. It was voted that grateful acknowledgments be made for these acceptable gifts.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the Hon. J. L. M. Curry and Mr. Amos Perry had accepted their election as Corresponding Members.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

We have come once more, Gentlemen, to our Annual Meeting,—the ninety-fourth since the Society was founded. But, agreeably to our usage, we will proceed with the ordinary business of a monthly meeting, and leave the Annual Reports and the election of officers to come last.

Before calling, however, for communications from others, I may mention several historical works which have reached me since our last meeting, and which are likely to attract some well-deserved attention.

First, there is a new volume of Dr. Brinton's "Library of Aboriginal American Literature." It is the fifth volume of the series, and is entitled "The Lenâpé and their Legends;" with the complete text and symbols of the "Walam Olum, or Red Score of the Lenâpé," and with a new translation, and an inquiry into its authenticity. Dr. Brinton is a Professor of Ethnology and Archæology at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, and he has recently delivered a course of our Lowell Lectures. His new volume

contains much of interesting and instructive matter about the Algonquin languages and tribes.

A second work, of much greater general interest, is the "History of the Huguenot Emigration to America," in two volumes, by the Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D., of New York. Dr. Charles Baird is a brother of Dr. Henry Baird, whose name is on our Corresponding Roll, and who has written an able and elaborate account of the Huguenots in France. The present work is full of interesting details of not a few of our American families whose ancestors came over on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and settled in South Carolina, New York, Massachusetts, and elsewhere. The settlement at Oxford, in Massachusetts, is noticed quite at length; and there is a print of the monument in memory of the settlers there, which was dedicated as lately as October last.

A third and still more notable work is "The Narrative and Critical History of America," of which two noble volumes, the third and fourth, have appeared within a week or two past. I dare not attempt to speak of volumes so varied in contents and so rich in illustration. The third volume is especially remarkable, and contains papers of the highest value, and many of them of particular interest to New Englanders, from pens which give authority to all they write. Our own Society is represented most honorably in its chapters, and, above all, in the general direction of the work, as well as in important contributions to it, by our accomplished Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Winsor, whose "Memorial History of Boston" and now this "Narrative and Critical History of America" entitle him to the gratitude of all laborers in the historical field.

Meantime we must not forget the fruits of labor still nearer home. Our Secretary and the Publishing Committee furnish us to-day with a new volume of Proceedings, bringing down our record to the last meeting but one, and furnishing fresh evidence of the devotion of our faithful Secretary, to whom and the Publishing Committee our thanks are most justly due.

I must not omit to call your attention to an interesting Heliotype, handsomely framed, for which we are indebted to the Mayor of Charleston, S. C., who accompanied it with the following letter:—

CHARLESTON, S. C., March 26, 1885.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY:—

I have sent you by express a heliotype of the Great Seal of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, and the fac-simile of their signatures, mounted.

In my recent study of the Colonial period in connection with the Centennial of the City of Charleston, I found, after much search, these original autographs, and an impression of the seal, in the Public Record Office, London; and they were of such interest to me that I have had a limited number of copies prepared, and would be pleased to have one preserved by the Historical Societies of the "Old Thirteen" States.

In this spirit I deposit a copy with you, in the hope that my thought may prove acceptable; and with my best wishes for your Society, I have the honor to remain

Your very obedient servant,

WM. A. COURTENAY.

The thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to the Hon. Mr. Courtenay for his acceptable gift.

The PRESIDENT presented for the Cabinet one of the medals which had been struck to commemorate the dedication of the Washington Monument, and then said that he would delay no longer in calling for communications from the Second Section.

MR. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., made some remarks explanatory of what he had said at the February meeting concerning the refusal of Katharine Winthrop to marry Chief Justice Sewall.

MR. HASSAM read portions from certain documents, lately discovered in England by Mr. Henry F. Waters, which throw light upon the parentage of John Harvard. Among them was an extract from the will of his mother, who married again, which was dated July 2, 1635, and had hitherto escaped the notice of all antiquaries.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and the following reports were presented:—

Report of the Council.

The absence from home of Mr. Adams, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council, makes it the duty of the undersigned to present to the Society the Annual Report. The

condition of the Society is such as to be a matter of general congratulation. A large amount of literary work has been done by the members, and eight thousand dollars of the mortgage debt has been paid off, leaving only ten thousand dollars still due. Nor have the changes in our list of members been so numerous as they have been in some former years. We have lost three of our number by death: the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, President of the American Antiquarian Society, Admiral Preble, and Mr. John C. Phillips. Two have resigned; and one of these, Mr. Ellis Ames, who for more than thirty years had been such a familiar figure at the Society's meetings, died within a few days after he had terminated his connection with us. From our roll of Corresponding Members we have also lost the venerable Dr. Blagden, who for forty years was a Resident Member, and the Rev. William Barry, likewise a former Resident Member, and who, since his removal from Massachusetts, has done good service in the cause of historical research, as Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society. Three Resident Members have been elected during the year,—William G. Russell, Edward J. Lowell, and Edward Channing,—and there are now two vacancies. The Hon. J. L. M. Curry, of Richmond, Virginia, and Mr. Amos Perry, of Providence, Rhode Island, have been elected Corresponding Members.

A new volume of Collections, being the ninth volume of the Fifth Series, and containing a selection from the Trumbull Papers, has been issued by a committee, of which Mr. Deane was chairman; and a volume of Proceedings, being the first volume of a new series, will be distributed among the members at this meeting. An Index of the first twenty volumes of the Proceedings, the need of which has long been felt, is preparing, and will doubtless be printed during the ensuing year.

The completion of the National Monument to Washington, so long building at the Capital, is especially interesting to us, from the fact that our President, who delivered the oration at the laying of the corner-stone, July 4, 1848, was, by invitation of Congress, the orator at the dedication of this giant structure, nearly thirty-seven years afterward, on the 22d of February, 1885,—a most interesting and probably unprecedented occurrence, which we and the entire Commonwealth may regard with just satisfaction and pride. The alarming illness from

which Mr. Winthrop has but just recovered, and which deprived the Society of his presence and assistance during many months, prevented his delivering the oration in person ; and it was read from his manuscript, by Mr. Long, one of the representatives in Congress from Massachusetts.

Another very interesting anniversary to all American lovers of learning and literature took place in England, last June, in the Tercentennial Celebration of the founding of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, — the mother, through Harvard, of all American colleges, — and at which two of our members, Mr. Lowell, the United States Minister to Great Britain, and Mr. Norton, as a delegate from Harvard University, were present, and took part in the proceedings.

The most important contribution to American history during the year has been Mr. Parkman's two volumes on Montcalm and Wolfe, the most valuable and interesting which has yet been published of his brilliant historical sketches on "France and England in North America." Besides this, our venerable associate Mr. Sibley has completed the third volume of the "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Harvard University," and it is now passing through the press. Dr. Holmes has published a most appreciative Life of Emerson for the series of "American Men of Letters;" Dr. Green has printed a series of seven tracts on the History of Groton; Mr. Lodge has edited the first volume of a new edition of the Works of Alexander Hamilton; Mr. Morse has added a Life of John Adams to the series of "Lives of American Statesmen," of which he is editor; the third and fourth volumes of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," edited by Mr. Winsor, are announced; and Mr. Scudder has published a popular History of the United States. Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Appleton, as Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, have issued a new report containing the Records of the Boston Selectmen from 1701 to 1715; and a Commission appointed by the Governor under a resolve of the Legislature, three of whom — Dr. Green, Mr. Winsor, and Mr. Upham — were members of this Society, has made a very interesting report upon the condition of the Records, Files, Papers, and Documents in the Secretary's Department. Besides these labors in our special field, Dr. Peabody has published a volume of Baccalaureate Sermons and translations of Cicero *de Senectute*

and *de Amicitia*; and Professor Park, a volume of Sermons. Nor ought we to omit among the labors of the year the two courses of lectures before the Lowell Institute, by Mr. Ropes and General Walker; or the lectures on the "Old North End," delivered in Boston by Mr. Porter.

The past year, however, will be most memorable to the Society, because it closes the official labors of the distinguished gentleman who for thirty years has presided over its meetings and guided its proceedings. This is not the time — may that time be still far distant! — to speak adequately of his eminent services in this honorable position; but it would be affectation in the Council to omit all reference to what is remembered with deep regret by everybody present to-day,—that this will be the last time that he will occupy, as President, the chair which he has filled with such ability, dignity, courtesy, and patience. The thirty years which have elapsed since his first election form a most momentous period in the history of our country and of the world; crowded with more great events than any age since that French Revolution in the midst of which the Society was organized. The remarkable growth in the prosperity and usefulness of the Society since that memorable annual meeting in 1855 when Mr. Winthrop succeeded to the place so long filled by the venerable historian and antiquary Mr. Savage, may be seen by examining the volume of Proceedings which begins with it, and was the first one ever printed by us, and comparing our resources and condition to-day with what they were then; and it is the universal testimony, in public and private, of those who have held office during this time, and have the means of knowing, that this growth is in a great degree due to the devoted attention of the President to the administration of the Society's affairs, and to his untiring efforts in every way to further its interests. While feeling most deeply the loss which his retirement inflicts upon us, we can be thankful to the gracious Providence which has spared him, through the dangers of the past winter, to watch that prosperity of which he has been to so great an extent the creator, to receive constant proofs of our gratitude, and to still aid us by his advice and suggestions.

C. H. HILL, *for the Council.*

Report of the Librarian.

During the year there have been added to the Library: —

| | |
|---|-------|
| Books | 906 |
| Pamphlets | 5,777 |
| Unbound volumes of newspapers | 20 |
| Bound volumes of newspapers | 6 |
| Broadsides | 26 |
| Maps | 25 |
| Volumes of manuscripts | 47 |
| Manuscripts | 113 |
| In all | 6,920 |

Of the books added, 664 have been given, 194 bought, and 48 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 3,457 have been given, 250 bought, and 2,070 have been procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 193 volumes and 250 pamphlets; and 79 volumes have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the fund left by the late William Winthrop for binding, 221 volumes have been bound.

Several important accessions have been made during the year, which deserve a special notice. An interesting collection of music books, consisting of 162 volumes, has been received as a bequest of our late associate member, Williams Latham, Esq. And within a few weeks George H. R. Preble, Esq., has sent to the Library, in accordance with the wishes of his late lamented father, our former valued associate, Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, of the United States Navy, a collection of his writings, all handsomely bound and enriched with many engravings and other illustrations. They contain a large number of manuscript additions and corrections, besides valuable autograph letters concerning the various subjects mentioned in the books. A suitable book-plate has been prepared for this unique collection.

Mr. Francis Parkman has given 35 bound and 3 unbound volumes of historical manuscripts relating to the French in America.

Mr. Amos A. Lawrence has continued his gifts of works connected with the Civil War, having added 21 volumes and

547 pamphlets. There are now in the Rebellion department 1,389 volumes, 3,452 pamphlets, 729 broadsides, and 71 maps.

The Library now contains, it is estimated, about 30,000 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse collection. The number of pamphlets is about 70,000.

During the year there have been taken out 85 volumes, 15 pamphlets, and 1 map, and all have been returned; though with the statement of this fact, it should be said that the Library is used more for reference than for circulation.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

Boston, April 9, 1885.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

During the past year there have been twenty donations to the Cabinet, consisting of engravings, heliotypes, photographs, and miscellaneous articles, most of which have been already reported. They are as follows:—

A daguerreotype of Governor Charles Robinson, of Kansas, and one of John Brown, taken in 1856. Given by Amos A. Lawrence.

A photograph of Obadiah Fenner.

Two photographic views of the building, Nos. 50 and 52 State Street, before it was taken down. Given by the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company.

A photograph of the view of the first lighthouse built in Boston Harbor. Given by Edward W. West.

A photograph of the bust of John Bright. Given by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

A view of the Bingham School, Orange County, North Carolina. Given by Henry W. Foote.

A battle-field memorial, Lexington,—a sketch. Given by Edward G. Porter.

A lithograph of the Instruction of the Town of Malden to their Representatives in 1776. Given by Mrs. Mary Pratt Cook.

Two heliotype *fac-similes* of manuscripts relating to Daniel and W. Dyer. Given by Edward Channing.

A view of the old Fairbanks House, Dedham.

A lithograph of the Great Seal of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. Given by the Hon. William A. Courtenay.

An India proof of the vignette engraved for the Bonds of General Walker's Republic of Nicaragua, 1855. Given by A. V. S. Anthony.

The medal struck by Congress for Captain James Biddle, for the capture of the "Penguin" by the United States ship "Hornet," 1815. Given by the late George H. Preble.

A China plate given to George Washington by one of the French Generals of the Revolutionary War. Given by bequest of Ebenezer Thayer.

Two samplers made by the sister and niece of Governor Hutchinson, and brought from Italy by Mrs. Isabelle James, Cambridge. Given by Mrs. Lucius Alexander, Florence, Italy.

Silver medal struck at the dedication of the Washington Monument, Feb. 22, 1885. Presented by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop.

The Catalogue of paintings, engravings, busts, and miscellaneous articles belonging to the Cabinet will, it is hoped, be ready at the next meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

F. E. OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Report of the Treasurer.

IN compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1885.

The special funds held by him are nine in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by the gift to the Society, from the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. Interest, at the rate of six per cent per annum, is computed on that amount, and is chargeable on the real estate. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers." The unexpended balance of income now on hand, and the income for the ensuing year will be sufficient for the publication of the volume of Pickering Papers now in preparation.

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel

Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. Interest, at the rate of six per cent per annum, is chargeable on the real estate of the Society. The cost of publishing the first volume of the Trumbull Papers has been charged to the income of this fund; and there is a small balance on hand which is available toward the publication of a second volume.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000, and is a charge on the real estate.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now amounts to \$22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank; and the income is only available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$5,295. It is invested in the bonds of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Co., and in the stock of the Boston Gas-Light Co. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at \$1,272.59. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from

the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. In accordance with a vote of the Society passed March 12, 1885, the cost of publishing a Catalogue of the Society's Cabinet will be charged to the income of this fund.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$5,200, and represents a legacy of two thousand dollars from the late Henry Harris, received in July, 1867, a legacy of one thousand dollars from the late George Bemis, received in March, 1879, a legacy of one thousand dollars from the late Williams Latham, received in May, 1884, a bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., from our late Recording Secretary, George Dexter, received in June, 1884, four commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each, and a gift of one hundred dollars from our late distinguished associate, Ralph Waldo Emerson. It is invested in a bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., for one thousand dollars, and five shares of stock in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., of the par value of five hundred dollars. Thirty-seven hundred dollars have been paid from it toward the reduction of the mortgage debt; and this sum is an incumbrance on the real estate of the Society.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

| | | DEBITS. | |
|-----------|--|-----------|--------------------|
| 1884. | | | |
| March 31. | To balance on hand | | \$906.10 |
| 1885. | | | |
| March 31. | To receipts as follows:— | | |
| | General Account | 11,243.44 | |
| | Legacy of Williams Latham | 1,000.00 | |
| | Hannibal and St. Joseph R. R. Co. bond | 1,000.00 | |
| | Commutation Fee | 150.00 | |
| | Income of Peabody Fund | 1,470.00 | |
| | Income of Savage Fund | 350.00 | |
| | Income of Richard Frothingham Fund | 193.20 | |
| | Interest, Sinking Fund | 26.67 | |
| | | | <u>\$16,339.41</u> |
| March 31. | To balance brought down | | \$1,331.29 |

1885.]

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

75

1885.

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|--------------------|
| March 31. | By payments as follows:— | |
| | Reduction of mortgage debt | \$8,000.00 |
| | Income of Peabody Fund | 1,358.59 |
| | Income of Savage Fund | 445.08 |
| | Income of William Winthrop Fund | 307.55 |
| | Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 1,132.91 |
| | Income of Richard Frothingham Fund | 355.40 |
| | General Account | 3,408.59 |
| | By balance on hand | 1,331.29 |
| | | <u>\$16,339.41</u> |

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1885.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|--------------------|
| March 31. | To sundry payments:— | |
| | J. H. Tuttle, salary | \$1,200.00 |
| | Interest on mortgage | 987.50 |
| | Copying Sewall's Letter Book | 8.00 |
| | Printing, stationery, binding, and postage | 126.98 |
| | Fuel and light | 187.59 |
| | Care of fire, etc. | 355.34 |
| | Miscellaneous expenses and repairs | 443.18 |
| | H. F. Waters, for researches in England | 100.00 |
| | Income of Appleton Fund | 732.18 |
| | Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 600.00 |
| | Income of Dowse Fund | 600.00 |
| | Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund | 72.03 |
| | Income of William Winthrop Fund | 180.00 |
| | Sinking Fund | 2,000.00 |
| | Building account | 3,823.33 |
| | To balance to new account | 5,178.41 |
| | | <u>\$16,594.54</u> |

1884.

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|------------|
| March 31. | By balance on hand | \$4,751.10 |
|-----------|------------------------------|------------|

1885.

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| March 31. | By sundry receipts:— | |
| | Rent of Building | 9,000.00 |
| | Income of General Fund | 287.40 |
| | Interest | 100.59 |
| | Income of Dowse Fund | 600.00 |
| | Admission Fees | 125.00 |
| | Assessments | 890.00 |
| | Sales of publications, etc. | 860.45 |
| | | <u>\$16,594.54</u> |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$5,178.41 |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|------------|

Income of Appleton Fund.

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------|
| 1884. | | |
| March 31. | By balance brought forward | \$1,004.82 |
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By one year's interest on \$12,208 principal | 732.18 |
| | | <u>\$1,737.00</u> |
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By amount brought down | \$1,737.00 |

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid for binding | \$307.55 |
| March 31. | To balance brought down | \$12.15 |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|
| 1884. | | |
| March 31. | By balance brought forward | \$115.40 |
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By interest on \$3,000 principal | 180.00 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 12.15 |
| | | <u>\$307.55</u> |

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid on account of Trumbull Papers | \$1,132.91 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 133.09 |
| | | <u>\$1,266.00</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 1884. | | |
| March 31. | By amount brought forward | \$666.00 |
| Sept. 1. | „ one year's interest on \$10,000 principal | 600.00 |
| | | <u>\$1,266.00</u> |
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$133.09 |

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|----------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid on account of Catalogue of Cabinet | \$855.40 |
| March 31. | To balance brought down | \$12.20 |

1885.]

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

77

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1884. | | |
| March 31. | By amount brought forward | \$150.00 |
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By dividends received | 140.00 |
| | „ copyright received | 53.20 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 12.20 |
| | | <u>\$355.40</u> |

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To amount placed to credit of General Account | <u>\$600.00</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By one year's interest on \$10,000 principal | <u>\$600.00</u> |

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid for printing, binding, preservation of historical portraits, etc. | \$1,358.59 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 118.95 |
| | | <u>\$1,477.54</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------|
| 1884. | | |
| March 31. | By balance brought forward | \$7.54 |
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By one year's interest on railroad bonds | 1,470.00 |
| | | <u>\$1,477.54</u> |
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$118.95 |

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid for books | <u>\$445.08</u> |
| March 31. | To balance brought down | <u>\$84.40</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|
| 1884. | | |
| March 31. | By balance brought forward | \$10.68 |
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By dividends on gas stock | \$50.00 |
| | „ interest on railroad bonds | 300.00 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 84.40 |
| | | <u>\$445.08</u> |

Sinking Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|----------|--|------------|
| 1885. | | |
| Jan. 17. | To amount applied to reduction of mortgage | \$2,026.67 |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------|
| 1884. | | |
| Sept. 30. | By amount transferred from the General Account | \$2,000.00 |
| 1885. | | |
| Jan. 17. | By interest received | 26.67 |
| | | <u>\$2,026.67</u> |

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| Cash | \$1,331.29 |
| Real Estate | 103,280.19 |
| Investments | 52,618.00 |
| Income of Savage Fund | 84.40 |
| Income of William Winthrop Fund | 12.15 |
| Income of Richard Frothingham Fund | 12.20 |
| | <u>\$157,338.23</u> |

CREDITS.

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Notes Payable | \$10,000.00 |
| Building Account | 68,077.19 |
| Appleton Fund | 12,203.00 |
| Dowse Fund | 10,000.00 |
| Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 10,000.00 |
| Peabody Fund | 22,123.00 |
| Savage Fund | 5,295.00 |
| Erastus B. Bigelow Fund | 1,272.59 |
| William Winthrop Fund | 3,000.00 |
| Richard Frothingham Fund | 3,000.00 |
| General Fund | 5,200.00 |
| Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 133.09 |
| Income of Appleton Fund | 1,737.00 |
| Income of Peabody Fund | 118.95 |
| General Account | 5,178.41 |
| | <u>\$157,338.23</u> |

The real estate is subject to the following incumbrances,—the balance of the mortgage note (\$10,000), the principal of the Appleton Fund (\$12,203), of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$10,000), of the Dowse Fund (\$10,000), of

the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund (\$1,272.59), and of the William Winthrop Fund (\$3,000) and a part of the principal of the General Fund (\$3,700), making in the aggregate, \$50,175.59. against \$55,953.56 last year.

CHARLES C. SMITH,

Treasurer.

Boston, March 31, 1885.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1885, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

GEORGE B. CHASE, }
AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 7, 1885.

Mr. SALTONSTALL read the report of the Nominating Committee, which was as follows:—

The Committee appointed to nominate a list of officers of the Society for the coming year, beg leave to submit the following report:—

President.

GEORGE E. ELLIS BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES DEANE CAMBRIDGE.

FRANCIS PARKMAN BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD J. YOUNG CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER BOSTON.

Executive Committee of the Council.

WILLIAM W. GREENOUGH BOSTON.

SAMUEL C. COBB BOSTON.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE BOSTON.

ABNER C. GOODELL, JR. SALEM.

MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN BOSTON.

The Committee did not consider the name of the gentleman who has so long held the position of President of the Society, in connection with that office, as it was understood that Mr. Winthrop's decision to retire was final. Had the Committee not been fully satisfied on this point, it is unnecessary to say that *his* name only would have been thought of. Sixth in the line of honored men who have occupied that office, he has for more than forty-five years, or nearly one half the period of its existence, been an active member, and for thirty years its President. Instead of the small and indifferent attendance which formerly marked the meetings of the Society, its membership being only sixty, it now, under its new charter, consists of one hundred, and the average attendance is treble what it was. New life has been infused into it; and never has Mr. Winthrop occupied the chair without contributing to its proceedings interesting and valuable material from the rich stores of his memory, from his varied correspondence with distinguished scholars at home or abroad, or from abundant treasures gathered during his visits to Europe. His letters during these visits have frequently proved fertile in subjects of value and deep interest, much of which enriches the volumes of the Society's Proceedings. In his absence the Society has always felt the loss of his cheering presence, and has greeted him warmly on his return; but never until his recovery from his recent dangerous illness was the welcome given him so expressive of the esteem and affection in which he is held by its members.

During the thirty years of Mr. Winthrop's Presidency the Society's publications have trebled in bulk and in value. It has become sole owner of this building, has raised it two stories

and made it fire-proof, and in one year more it expects to pay off the remainder of the debt (over \$60,000) incurred in its purchase and improvement.

To his thoughtful suggestion is directly owing George Peabody's generous gift of twenty thousand dollars. The Dowse Library and fund for its equipment are also a most memorable feature in the Society's history during his Presidency. To his devoted effort and untiring zeal more than to any other, or to all causes combined, is owing the growth of the Society in usefulness and in reputation. During the thirty years of his Presidency it may truly be said that Mr. Winthrop has ever carried the Society with him both at home and abroad; and it is needless to add that nowhere has it failed to be adequately represented.

Your Committee, therefore, does not consider that it would be fitting or proper that so long and distinguished a term of service, to which so much is owed, should come to an end unmarked. Various means of commemorating it have been thought of. But among these, none has so much commended itself to the judgment of your Committee as a suggestion from some of the more active members, that a full-length portrait of Mr. Winthrop should be obtained,—the gift of individuals, but to which all members of the Society would be at liberty to contribute,—and should be placed in the rooms of the Society with a suitable inscription.

No formal action is called for to bring this about. It is understood that in accordance with the suggestion now made, a committee of members will be formed, who will take the matter in charge. This course will doubtless be most agreeable to Mr. Winthrop, as being the voluntary and spontaneous act of those composing the Society over which he has for so many years presided. It will best mark, too, the esteem in which the donors hold him, and the personal affection which they will always feel towards him.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

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| CHARLES F. ADAMS, JR., | } Committee. |
| LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, | |
| JOHN LOWELL, | |

The officers named above were then elected for the ensuing year.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Messrs. Hill and Adams, the retiring members of the Council, for their services.

Dr. ELLIS, on taking the chair, then said : —

I must gratefully recognize my high appreciation of the honor of being placed in the chair of this Society, the oldest of the now numerous associations of the class in our country, — lacking but six years to complete a century. The honor is twofold : first, in the place assigned me ; and second, in being the successor in it of one who has for thirty years filled the chair with such grace and dignity, such wealth of attainments and accomplishments. Happily, we are not to feel that we have parted with him ; remembering the venerable years with which his predecessor continued with us after his retirement from our Presidency.

There are living now only ten of his associates of this Society who welcomed Mr. Winthrop to this chair. But I speak for you all, especially for those longest in membership, when I say of him, present or absent, that our respect for his character, our estimate of his talents and gifts, our admiration of his full and rich culture, his stores of knowledge, his eloquence of utterance, and of his exquisite courtesy in his office, have drawn to him our profoundest esteem, and, I may add, our personal affection.

After the manner of speech of our fathers, — speech which carried with it reverent faith, — we might well say that Mr. Winthrop has been a Providential President for us. His name and lineage are largely suggestive of the intent of this Society, — to trace the springs and course of the history of Massachusetts. Of equal value with our charter, is deposited in our Cabinet the autograph Journal of John Winthrop, the founder of this city and commonwealth. Begun in Old England, continued on the high seas, and closed in a wilderness scene within a stone's cast from where we are now gathered, that precious record of twenty years of exile tells us what we would most wish to know, and are told nowhere else, of our beginnings. Honor and veneration from the first and onward attach to that name, now fitly borne by a town, a church, a schoolhouse, a street, and a public square near us, and commemorated by the oldest portrait in our Senate-chamber, and

by statues in the highway, the Chapel of our garden Cemetery and at the Capitol of the nation.

I had been in membership of this Society many years before Mr. Winthrop's accession to the Presidency, and can well recall the forms — I shrink from saying how many — of those, honored among us, who have vanished one by one. Rather would I sum together the auspicious and the fruitful incidents and events which during the last thirty years have so invigorated and enriched the life and activity of this Society. Soon after Mr. Winthrop acceded to the chair, a change in our charter extended the limit of our membership from sixty to one hundred, and another change empowered us to hold an increased amount of property. This building, also, thoroughly reconstructed for convenience and security, has nearly come under our sole ownership, with a valuable rental for a part of it from the county. The acquisition of this rich and unique Dowse Library, with its furnishings and its fund, was gratefully welcomed by us, as well it might be. Our largest pecuniary endowment has come to us from George Peabody; and that we owe, hardly indirectly, to Mr. Winthrop, to and for whom, after good advice and counsel in the direction of his vast munificence, Mr. Peabody paid this personal tribute, under the guise of a donation to us. Had not Mr. Winthrop been our President, Mr. Peabody had not been our benefactor. Again, there came to the light, almost from oblivion, in Connecticut, a quarter of a century ago, a large mass of papers of the Winthrop family, for nearly six generations, and of nearly two hundred years' accretion, beginning with those of our first Governor's grandfather in England. Many of these papers are of the highest value, and most of them have a curious interest. Beside Winthrop Papers earlier scattered through all our Collections, this treasure-trove has already since furnished, without by any means being exhausted, the contents of four of our solid volumes. The publication of the Proceedings of our monthly meetings was first prompted by Mr. Winthrop, involving much labor for our faithful workers. The twenty-first volume in that series is distributed among us to-day. Seventeen volumes of our Collections, and one of a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute, have been added to our Publications. Many other generous funds, a large increase of the treasures on our shelves

and in our Cabinet, and a general renewal, refreshing and vitalizing, of all the interests and operations of the Society, have signalized the period of Mr. Winthrop's Presidency. And what works or words wiser and more valuable than his own have been done and spoken here! We have all profited by the gatherings from his frequent visits to Europe; his social relations with eminent statesmen and scholars, of whom he has made instructive and eloquent memorials to us; and his felicitous tributes, discriminating and discerning, to many of the distinguished good and wise and serviceable, who have passed from our own fellowship. Nor can we leave unmentioned the beautiful and graceful hospitality of his which we have shared in town and country.

I have held, and may have ventured to express, the conviction that in the near or distant future the term of Mr. Winthrop's Presidency may be referred to as a golden period in the records of this Society, for its full harmony, its healthful prosperity, and for the good work accomplished. Henceforward, more and more, it should be a prime object for those in its limited membership, to reinforce it by inviting to it men, young or mature, with acquisitions and trained intelligence, with congenial tastes, and, whatever the profession or task-work which engages them, with a degree of leisure to be spent in these rooms and with these materials.

Mr. WINTHROP then rose, and after the applause which greeted him had subsided, spoke with much feeling as follows:—

You have quite overcome me, Mr. President and Gentlemen, by the tributes which have just been paid me. I can find no words for any adequate acknowledgment of them. It could not be without emotion that I came here this morning to take the chair for the last time, after a service of thirty years as your President. But I dare not trust myself to attempt an expression of the feelings which the occasion has awakened. I can only offer my sincere thanks to the Executive Committee, and the Nominating Committee, and to yourself, Mr. President, for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have spoken of me, and of which I shall ever cherish a most grateful remembrance.

I look back, over nearly forty-six years, to the time when I first became a member of this Society, and find not one left of those with whom I was then so proud to be associated. Among them were the fathers or the grandfathers of not a few of those whom I am happy to recognize around me at this moment, — John Quincy Adams and Josiah Quincy, Leverett Saltonstall and Samuel Hoar, Edward Everett and Nathan Hale, Judge White and Dr. Alexander Young, — not forgetting my own honored father, who was then our President.

Even of those who were members when I entered upon the Presidency thirty years ago, only ten, as you have said, or twelve at the most, are still among the living. I look in vain for that remarkable group of historians and men of letters by whom I have been so often surrounded in former years, — Prescott and Sparks and Everett and Ticknor and Motley and Longfellow and Hillard and Emerson. Many of our most efficient workers of those days are gone too, — George Livermore and Chandler Robbins and Dr. Shurtleff and Richard Frothingham, — to whom I have owed not a little of the satisfaction and success of my administration, and to whose memory I gladly pay this passing homage.

But I will not dwell longer on the past. We have Holmes and Parkman here with us, — and Dr. Peabody and Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and Cabot Lodge — to name no others; while with Dr. Ellis and Dr. Deane and Mr. Smith and Mr. Winsor and Dr. Green in immediate charge of our Proceedings, and with a devoted Secretary to record them, our Society can lose nothing of its character or its usefulness. It will close its first century, and enter on its second century, as you have reminded us, six years hence, with no diminished claims, I am assured, to the confidence and grateful recognition of all who take an interest in Historical pursuits; while it can never lose its prestige as the oldest Historical Society in our country.

Let me only say, in conclusion, that I rejoice that, in taking leave of the Presidency, I am by no means taking leave of the Society. Not only will my name retain its place, as long as a kind Providence shall still spare my life, at the head of your roll, as the senior member in the order of election, but I hope to be no rare or infrequent attendant at your meetings, and

occasionally to avail myself of the privilege of the Third Section in making a communication for our Proceedings. I can say no more.

Before resuming his seat Mr. Winthrop extended a cordial invitation to the members of the Society to lunch with him at his residence, No. 90 Marlborough Street, at two o'clock.

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MAY MEETING, 1885.

The regular meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, being in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Recording Secretary.

The list of donors to the Library was submitted by the Librarian.

A Catalogue of the paintings, engravings, busts, and miscellaneous articles belonging to the Cabinet of the Society, which has been recently published under direction of the Cabinet-keeper, Dr. Oliver, was laid on the table for the members.

The Hon. Lincoln F. Brigham, of Salem, Chief Justice of the Superior Court, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary and Messrs. Clement Hugh Hill and Alexander McKenzie were appointed a Committee on publishing the Proceedings.

The PRESIDENT raised the question whether the declaratory act of Parliament affirming a right to bind the colonies by legislation in all cases whatsoever, was passed before the Stamp Act was repealed. The question, he said, was an important one, — whether the ministry repealed the act, as if confessing a mistake, thus leaving matters where they were before; or whether, before repealing it, they chose by this act to retain a full and absolute control of the colonies.

Mr. HILL thought that the declaratory act was passed first; and among other writers he referred to Macaulay's article on Lord Chatham, as showing that this was the fact.

Mr. DEANE called attention to a remark of Mr. Savage, in Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 88, that John "Harvard's will was probably nuncupative, as it is nowhere recorded;" and said he thought the remark was inadvertently made, although repeated in the second edition of Winthrop, since nuncupative wills were matters of record as well as written ones, — a fact

that Mr. Savage could not have been ignorant of.¹ But legal provision was not made for recording wills in Massachusetts till September, 1639, a year after Harvard's death.² His will, written or nuncupative, though not recorded, was probably placed on file, and, like many other early wills, is lost. Quite likely an attested copy was sent to England, where Harvard is supposed to have left property; and it may yet be found there.

Further remarks on this subject were made by Mr. G. S. Hale, Dr. Paige, Judge Chamberlain, and Mr. Appleton.

Mr. PUTNAM presented to the Society, from Dr. Thomas E. Pickett, of Maysville, Kentucky, an electrotype *fac-simile* of the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America, dated Feb. 12, 1862, the original of which was made in London in 1864 for James M. Mason, the representative of the Southern Confederacy in England, and was designed as a symbol of sovereignty.

Mr. WASHBURN presented a memoir of the late Hon. Stephen Salisbury, which he had been appointed to prepare.

¹ See vol. i. of Recorded Wills in Suffolk Registry.

² See Col. Records, vol. i. pp. 275, 276.

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MEMOIR

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HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D.

BY JOHN D. WASHBURN.

THE conditions and circumstances which attended Mr. Salisbury's birth, his life and his death, were unique. It is impossible to think of him without recalling some of them. Their contemplation gives rise to startling contrasts between the character which actually was, and that which was likely to be, developed by and under them. He was born in a small and beautiful interior town, containing hardly more than two thousand inhabitants, on a great domain now not improperly termed ancestral, in the midst of a community small in population, yet marked by high standards of social, literary, and professional attainment. His life extended through a period of more than eighty-six years. He died on the same tract of land on which he was born, and within a few rods of the exact spot, never having lived on any other than this, which he had inherited as sole heir. This large estate, by a rare coincidence, he transmitted to his successor as sole heir, though in a commonwealth where the system of primogeniture is unknown. He died in a city of nearly seventy thousand inhabitants. He had thus seen its population increase thirty-fold, the pastures of his boyhood become the site of a multifarious and prosperous industry to the establishment and development of which his intelligent co-operation had largely contributed, and which, in its turn, had largely repaid his interest and support, increasing the value of the various sections of his estate "some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred" fold. He was cradled in wealth, though not in luxury; he lived in wealth, but not in lavishness or display; he died in the midst of, and as the possessor

of wealth greater at the time of his death than at any earlier day, yet in the same simplicity in which he had always lived. Born to a position of influence and social prominence, he maintained that position steadily to the end. No social or political jealousies assailed him or disturbed his peace. He was never engaged in active business, and its rivalries and fierce competitions never reached him. More than perhaps any other citizen of Massachusetts, he resembled in his position and opportunities an English nobleman, in the great hereditary interests he controlled, and as the unquestioned head of the social and cultivated life of the community. He maintained his great influence chiefly because his life was so different from what might have been anticipated, and was at each successive period a fresh and gratifying surprise. In youth, in manhood and in age, he was always doing more and better things than expectation, or even hope, could possibly have looked for. Hence the story of his life, related simply and without panegyric or rhetorical adornment, is at once a eulogy and an encouragement,—a eulogy of himself, and an encouragement to all who start in the race of life handicapped, not by the ills of poverty, but by the burdens and dangers of wealth, so often paralyzing to effort and depressing to honorable and unselfish ambition. If it be true, as alleged by Dr. Johnson, that

“Slow rises worth by poverty depressed,”

not less true is it that, in the great majority of instances, slow is the development of intellectual life and power weighted down by the burden of large inherited possessions.

Stephen Salisbury was born in Worcester, in the old Salisbury mansion on Lincoln Square, on the 8th of March, 1798. He was the only son of Stephen Salisbury, who was the son of Nicholas Salisbury, and who came to Worcester from Boston in 1767. The elder Stephen Salisbury was a merchant of that old school which combined the business of importer and distributor. The business was carried on in a one-story building on the Salisbury estate, but its operations extended widely through the county and State. The elder Salisbury died in 1829, at the age of eighty-two.

The subject of this memoir received his earlier education in the public schools of the town of Worcester, and afterwards went to the Leicester Academy, then a somewhat famous

school of preparation, to be fitted for college. He entered Harvard in 1813, and was graduated in the class of 1817. The present writer had the honor to meet the survivors of that class many years after their graduation, and to carry to them the greetings of the class of 1853, then celebrating its twentieth anniversary by a dinner over which he had the fortune to preside. Late in the evening it was learned that the class of 1817 was dining with Mr. Salisbury under the same roof. The class of 1853 deputed its presiding officer to bear its greetings to its seniors by thirty-six years. The scene was a memorable one, and never to be forgotten. Mr. Salisbury occupied the chair. On one side of him was seated George Bancroft, and on the other Caleb Cushing, — names illustrious in literature and jurisprudence, — and around the board sat President Woods, George B. Emerson, and other surviving classmates, not unworthy associates of men so eminent as these. To the brief address of the president of the younger class, Mr. Salisbury made a reply, crowding into the space of a few minutes many reminiscences of college days, with expressions of loyalty to Alma Mater and to the cause of sound learning in general. He closed with a line of Virgil, which he said he would adopt as the motto of his class, but which may well be quoted here as the motto and key-note of his own long life: —

"Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo."

For his classmates, as classmates, he had that cordial regard which was characteristic of the kindly men of that early day, when classes were small and the members personally and even intimately known to one another. He not unfrequently entertained them at his hospitable board, and in his will left to several of them substantial tokens of his remembrance and affection. He was always loyal to the University, though, as a representative of the older methods of education, he deprecated the modern system of elective studies, never hesitating to avow his conviction that for those whose selections must necessarily be made without the aid and guidance of experience of their own, it was far better that the earlier courses of study be prescribed by the experience of others. He was a member of the Board of Overseers from 1871 to 1883. A great lover of the ancient languages, and familiar with their literature, he made, in 1858, a donation to the Library, "to be

expended in the purchase of books in the Greek and Latin languages, and in books in other languages illustrating Greek and Latin books." In 1875 the Corporation conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

It is the object of this memoir, not so much to state the bare facts of Mr. Salisbury's life in chronological order, as to show by the statement of them how much he accomplished in the various departments of usefulness in which his sympathies were enlisted, and to the advancement of which his hand was so diligently set. Thus, in the present connection, his contributions to the cause of education and sound learning may be considered. It will be seen, by the contemplation of them, that the story of his life does not tend to prove or illustrate the correctness of the position of certain modern critics, that classical education necessarily alienates its votaries from active interest in the practical training of men in other departments of knowledge, or that other theory, that Harvard University teaches her sons, directly or by implication, to limit the range of their sympathies to those with whom elegance in letters is the chief object of ambition.

He was a member of the first Board of Directors of the Worcester Free Public Library, one of the most beneficent of the institutions of that city, the object of which was to bring home to the humblest of her citizens the opportunities of cultivation which had been formerly reserved for people of wealth or easy circumstances. He was a patient and laborious member of this Board for twelve years, and for eight years its president; and he only left it when the Library was an accomplished and permanent success.

Although not the literal founder of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, he was the first, and till the day of his death the only, president of the Board of Trustees, and its largest pecuniary benefactor. This is not an institution for the study of the classics, but for instruction in science and its application to the useful arts. His interest in its success never failed nor flagged; and that success, signal as it has been, was probably due more to his intelligent and constant support than to any other one cause. He was present at and presided over every annual Commencement, from the year 1871 up to and including the year 1884. He was thus, for so many years, liberally devoting his time, his means, and his

influence to the promotion of those studies which savor not of the cloister, the library, the forum, but of the workshop, the laboratory, the factory, and the railroad.

He was elected a member of this Society in 1858, and was a frequent and interested attendant on its meetings. But his principal interest in this general department of learning was with the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was for forty-four years a member, and for thirty years the President. His contributions to its funds were large and frequent, and to its Proceedings many and valuable. It was what he did for that distinguished institution which chiefly gave him his reputation among scholars and men of letters and learning throughout the country, and, to some extent at least, beyond the sea. And while he did much for the Society in the way of material aid, in contributions to its Proceedings and in abundant and elegant hospitality toward its members, it is only just to add that the Society's cordial appreciation and support were a large recompense to him, the value of which he was always ready and glad to recognize.

For fifteen years he was the Treasurer, and for eighteen years a Trustee, of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology at Cambridge, for many years a Trustee of the Leicester Academy, and he occupied the relation of adviser or contributor to many other educational institutions. And in behalf of that other kind of education, the importance of which is so fully recognized in the abstract, but to which in modern times less practical attention is paid than in earlier days, — religious and Biblical education, — his service was a permanent and valuable one. He was for many years one of the Vice-Presidents of the Massachusetts Bible Society, the largest contributor to its funds, and also Treasurer of the Worcester County Bible Society. Of many other associations of a public or quasi-public character — as, for example, the Horticultural and Agricultural Societies — he was a frequent benefactor and a constant friend.

It is now proper to consider the relations of one so far removed from his earliest youth from the necessities of labor, and who was never known to receive pecuniary compensation for any service rendered, to what is known as "business." He held strictly to the doctrine that every man of wealth should be the manager of his own affairs, and actively con-

ducted the details of the care of his large estate. Yet he found time, in the midst of all that care, to render as much service to several financial institutions as is usually given by those to whom such service is a chief means of support.

After leaving college, he studied law with the late Samuel McGregor Burnside, a practitioner of eminence, and was admitted to the Worcester Bar, of which, at the time of his death, he was the senior member. It is doubtful if he at any time intended to enter on the practice of the profession, but he believed that the study of the law afforded the best training for one whose life was probably to be passed in the care of important interests or in the leading positions of public or private life. For fifty-one years he was a director in the Worcester Bank, and for thirty-nine years was its president, succeeding in that important trust the Hon. Daniel Waldo in 1845. In the directors' room of that institution he was to be found in daily attendance, rendering the same services that might properly have been expected from a conscientious salaried official. For twenty-five years he was the President of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, one of the largest trusts in the Commonwealth, in which position also he was the successor of Mr. Waldo. For nearly forty years he was a director in the Worcester and Nashua Railroad Company, and for a time its president.

Mr. Salisbury never had a taste for public office. He did not decline to serve, for short periods, in positions of importance, legislative or municipal; but even in the days of the old Whig primacy and dignity in this Commonwealth, such places had little charm for him: in this later day of more promiscuous political association and less agreeable personal contacts, they would probably have been intolerable to him. He treated every man, whatever his occupation or education, with due respect and considerate kindness; but his standards of personal character were very high, and he could never have brought himself into complicity in political barterings, or exchanges of influence for mutual advantage. He was a Selectman of the town of Worcester, an Alderman of the city, for two years a Representative in the Legislature, for two years a Senator, and at two national elections a Presidential Elector.

He was thrice married. To his first wife, Rebekah Scott, daughter of Aaron and Phila Dean, of Charlestown, New

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Hampshire, he was married on the 7th of November, 1833. Of her was born his only son, Stephen Salisbury, a member of this Society. She died July 24, 1843. His second wife was Nancy Hoard, widow of Captain George Lincoln, who was a son of Governor Levi Lincoln, and was killed in the Mexican War. She died Sept. 4, 1852. His third and last wife was Mary Grosvenor, widow of the Hon. Edward D. Bangs. She died Sept. 25, 1864; and for the last twenty years of his life, he occupied, with his son, the present mansion-house, which was built by him in 1837, and stands, as has been said, but a few rods from the original Salisbury Mansion in which he was born.

In the consideration which it is now proposed to give to Mr. Salisbury's intellectual quality and attainments, it will not be claimed for him that he was, in the full sense of that term, an exact scholar. That characterization should be reserved for men who devote themselves almost exclusively to scholarly pursuits, and who are found principally in the ranks of professional teachers, or students and writers in the special departments of human knowledge. But he maintained that high grade of general scholarship which belongs to and marks the cultivated and accomplished gentleman. His contributions made at various times to the Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society well illustrate this, as also do the daily habits of his life in this regard, with which his near personal friends were familiar. A brief reference to some of those contributions will not be out of place in this memoir. It may be said, however, in general, that he wrote in a clear and simple style, with occasionally a quaint turn of thought or phrase, savoring a little of the form and manner of the ancient school. He was a lover of, and familiar with, the English Classics of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and that familiarity revealed itself not unfrequently in the style of his composition. He had little imagination, and did not rely even on what he had in the preparation of historical papers, or in the presentation of historical facts; an honest way of dealing, which genuine students of history appreciate wherever they find it. In almost every volume, indeed in almost every number, of the Proceedings since his accession to the presidency, will be found some memorial of deceased members, some comments on the needs of the Society, the condition of its library, the

results of its studies and researches, which are fairly representative of the mental characteristics of their author. Two or three of them are entitled to especial mention, as being not only valuable contributions to the literature of Archæology, but as illustrating the tone and quality of his mind, and the scope and variety of his intellectual tastes.

"An Essay on the Time of making the Statues of Christ and Moses," written by Mr. Salisbury, was read by him before the Council, Sept. 30, 1861, and, by request of the Council, read before the Society at the Annual Meeting, Oct. 21, 1861. It is a critical and graceful analysis of historical probabilities, marked by a rare appreciation of the artistic quality and greatness of Michael Angelo. Especially is it marked by that religious and reverent tone which was so modestly conspicuous in the conduct of the author's life, and may be observed, with more or less of distinctness, in all he said or wrote, particularly in the Report of the Council in 1863, on "The Opposition of Science, falsely so called, to Revealed Religion." In this last essay is a clear indication at once of the dignified earnestness of his religious convictions and the liberality with which he welcomed all aids to the interpretation and true understanding of those portentous disclosures of the Divine will and purposes which affect and control the destiny of man in this world and in the eternal world to come.

"Troy and Homer: Remarks on the Discoveries of Dr. Heinrich Schliemann in the Troad," a Report of the Council to the American Antiquarian Society in 1875, is a masterly discussion, on which alone a claim for its author to literary and classical distinction might well be based. It illustrates the characteristics of Mr. Salisbury's scholarship, his warm devotion to what may be called the old school of classical study, and his impression of the soundness of some modern views as to the merits of the Greek language. The following extract shows something of his feeling and also his power of expression on themes like these:—

"The offer of Dr. Schliemann to give to his contemporaries a lively sense of the reality of the heroes and incidents described by Homer has not excited the interest and enthusiasm which would have greeted it a hundred years ago. The great Epics no longer retain the first place, though their dethronement has left it vacant. The overturn, that men call progress, has crushed to earth for a time the greatest benefactors of

our own race, and their noblest works. It would be instructive to recall the names of this noble army of martyrs. Herodotus, the father of history, was not long since scorned as the father of lies; and he stood for a while in mute merit on the shelf, until respect and authority have been restored to him. And at this moment the most perfect dramatist of all time is assaulted, to rob him of his sock and his buskin, to give them to one who never deserved them and could never wear them. Homer has suffered the common fate. It is in vain that he is always genial and attractive, elevating in sentiment, and in moral purity superior to the customs of his age. He scatters broadcast gems of truth that sparkle with new light as human intelligence is increased.

‘Age cannot wither *him*, nor custom stale
His infinite variety.’

Philosophers and historians who have for the longest time been honored with the confidence and admiration of mankind, appeal to Homer as their oracle. And if modern statesmen would acquaint themselves with the policy and the divine right of kings, they may go back to the ancient compendium which Alexander declared to be, in his opinion, ‘a perfect portable treasure of military virtue and knowledge.’ Though civil freedom was then unknown, Homer has expressed the value of personal liberty in words that cannot be forgotten:—

‘Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.’
Odyssey (Pope), xvii. 322.

There are other causes of this change than the caprice of fashion, the ‘giddy and unfirm’ fancies of men, to which literature, not less than love, is subjected. The Greek language has been one of the foundations of the intellectual power of past time. But now the learned and unlearned have conspired to deprive it of its pre-eminence, and to restrict or discontinue its use in colleges and schools of the highest grade. The first effect of this is already perceived, and Greek literature has faded from the knowledge of English readers. So far as the privileges of scholarship are concerned, this movement is of little importance. Scholars will only be more conspicuous, if they enjoy a culture in which the active community have no share. When the teaching of Greek is continued in our schools, the Homeric poems are not, as formerly, studied and committed to memory more than any other books in the language. They have given way to works of a later period, that are fitted to teach the language in its systematic and perfect form; and these influences, adverse to these poems, are strengthened by the criticism that suggests the probability that an indefinite number of Homers have made up unfitted parts which for thousands of years have been admired as well-framed structures, and that the pictures which they pre-

sent are not historical or even poetical representations of human passions and experience, but mere allegorical myths. And to all these are added charges of contradiction, inconsistency, and general want of skill, with many specifications."

These charges and specifications are then taken up in order, and discussed with an earnestness and vigor which must challenge the admiration of the reader, whatever his impression as to the correctness of the conclusions reached by the author.

His devotion to the truth in history, and denial of any room for imagination in her annals, is well illustrated by a memorable contribution to the archives of the American Antiquarian Society at its Annual Meeting, Oct. 21, 1873, entitled "A Memorial of Governor John Endecott." A single extract may properly find place here:—

"When History takes her place among the Muses, and wields the witchery of imagination and passion, she gains a power over the opinions and memory of men that she cannot have with the dry annals of truth. It is a glorious privilege 'when it moves in charity and turns on the poles of truth.' But the license of a poet gives him no right

'To point a moral or adorn a tale'

by the traditions of party strife, which are not supported by better authorities. Governor Endecott has now, in the minds of some people of the best education, not the character that Governor Winthrop and Morton and Hubbard and other contemporaries have awarded to him, but the cold and cruel image in which our two most admired poets have represented him. In the New England tragedy entitled 'John Endecott,' Mr. Longfellow has made so prominent the gloomy characteristics imputed to the Governor in Sewall's History, that few will remember that the poet also says:—

'He is a man, both loving and severe;
A tender heart; a will inflexible.
None ever loved him more than I have loved him.
He is an upright man and a just man
In all things save his treatment of the Quakers.'

And these friendly words are turned to gall by this response, put into the mouth of the Governor's son:—

'Yet have I found him cruel and unjust
Even as a father.'

After search and inquiry, I can discover no evidence that the disposition of Governor Endecott towards his children was different from the affection which he manifested for his friends.

"The wrongs of the Quakers is a theme acceptable to Mr. Whittier, not only on account of his brotherhood in the sect, but more so because he has a brother's love for all who suffer and are strong. In his sweet and pathetic poem entitled 'Cassandra Southwick,' his sympathy for the oppressed seems to have led him to forget that justice is due even to the agents of oppression. His account of an attempt to sell Cassandra Southwick, to be carried out of the country into slavery, as was then practised, is thus introduced:—

'And on his horse, with Rawson, his cruel clerk, at hand,
Rode dark and haughty Endecott, the ruler of the land.

And poisoning with his evil words the ruler's ready ear,
The priest leaned o'er his saddle with laugh and scoff and jeer.'

We have seen that there were many occasions when the interest of the Colony and a sense of duty would compel Governor Endecott to be grave and stern. But he would not have retained, as he did through his long life, the respect and confidence of his people if he had been a dark demon, with clergymen for counsellors, who were mocking fiends. The priest alluded to by the poet must have been either John Norton or John Wilson. There is a general assent to the testimony of Hubbard, that Norton was 'a man of great worth and learning, one that had the tongue of the learned, to speak a word in season to the weary soul.' And Nathaniel Morton, a contemporary, says: 'John Wilson was charitable when there were any signs or hopes of good, and yet, withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. Very few that ever went out of this world were so generally beloved and revered as this good man.'

The foregoing extracts are made a part of this memoir, that through them the subject may be allowed in some degree to describe himself, and to reveal to the reader some of the leading characteristics of his intellectual and moral nature. Through them we see Mr. Salisbury as a man of decided accomplishments, a lover of classical literature, a believer in classical studies, a writer of pure and impressive English, a sincere and honest reader of history, an earnest champion and defender of historic truth. Independence of thought and truthfulness in character and conduct were his leading characteristics. His manners were those usually ascribed to the "old school." His greeting to all was kindly, and in the best sense he may be said to have been no "respector of persons." He was, in age and personal appearance, a notable figure in a community of which he may be said to have been, for the latter years of his

life, the leading citizen. His influence never waned, and was always on the side of all good enterprises. He believed the highest duty of man to be the overcoming of evil and the promotion of good. To all movements for this end he offered his hearty and effective co-operation. His religion was cheerful and inspiring. He believed in life, and that death was but the birth into a larger and fuller life. It came to him, as a relief from some measure of suffering, but especially from the weariness of physical decline, on the 24th of August, 1884.

JUNE MEETING, 1885.

The meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 11th instant; Dr. ELLIS, the President, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read his notes of the last meeting.

The Librarian reported the accessions to the Library, including a gift from the family of the late Mr. George Ticknor, consisting of more than one hundred volumes of bound pamphlets and nearly two hundred separate unbound pamphlets.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that Chief Justice Brigham had accepted his election as a Resident Member.

Mr. Edward Bangs, of Boston, was chosen a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. COBB presented for the Cabinet certain articles which had been given to the Society by the late Robert Treat Paine, who had prepared the accompanying communication:—

For the Historical Society of Massachusetts, a few old relics, which it is hoped will be acceptable to the Society, from Robert Treat Paine, May, 1885, Brookline, Mass.¹

1. The old repeating-watch purchased by my grandfather in 1757, when on a visit to England, and which, as I have been many times told, he always wore, and did wear on July 4, 1776. I resided with him at his house in Boston (corner of Milk and Federal Streets), which was imported from England in 1694, and taken down in 1826; and many times he showed and struck the watch. It was given to me by my aunts, Mrs. Clapp and Mrs. Greele, about fifty years ago.

2. A piece of the Rock of Plymouth, broken off by some young men by violence in 1831, who became so frightened at the excitement

¹ Robert Treat Paine was born in Boston on Oct. 12, 1803, and was the third bearing his name. His father was a graduate at Harvard College in 1792, and his grandfather, who graduated in 1749, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Paine belonged to the class of 1822. He was a member of the Suffolk Bar, and for three years was one of the Common Council of Boston. He devoted himself particularly to astronomical studies. For many years he was a member of the committee on the Observatory of Harvard College, and on different occasions he made extended journeys to witness noted eclipses. He died at his home in Brookline, June 3, 1885,—on the day after this memorandum was dated,—in his eighty-second year.—Eds.

caused by the disruption, they hastened to give the pieces to others, and this piece to me in 1831, on my return from Cape Cod, where I had been to observe the *annular* eclipse of Feb. 12, 1831.

3. A medal (supposed to be the first of the kind in the United States), given to Robert Treat Paine, Jr. (H. U. 1792), in January, 1794, for a poetical ode at the opening of the first theatre in Boston. Belonging to me since my father's death in November, 1811, at the age of nearly thirty-eight.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE (H. U. 1822)
(written with great difficulty).

JUNE 2, 1885.

Dr. CHANNING inquired if the word "meeting-house" was ever used in England before the year 1649, or in this country before 1633. He then spoke of the records of the Atherton Company as throwing light upon passages in the Trumbull Papers, which have recently been published by the Society.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks:—

It is stated, in Nathaniel Ames's Almanack for 1731, that the appearance commonly known as the Northern Lights was first seen in New England during the year 1719. This statement is borne out by several early writers usually considered accurate and trustworthy. It is made with such circumstantial details that it carries a strong deal of probability and easily misleads the reader. The writer of the Almanack says:—

"Strange and wonderful have been the prodigious Effects of Nature of late Years, in the production of terrible Thunder & Lightning, violent Storms, tremendous Earthquakes, great Eclipses of the Luminaries, notable Configurations of the Planets, and strange *Phænomena* in the Heavens: The *Aurora Borealis* (or Northern Twilight) is very unusual, and never seen in *New-England* (as I can learn) 'till about 11 Years ago: Tho' undoubtedly this *Phænomenon* proceeds from the concatenation of Causes. For hot and moist Vapours, exhaled from the Earth, and Kindled in the Air by Agitation, according to their motion may cause strange Appearances. I do not say that this is the true Cause of these Northern Lights; but that they are caused some such way must be granted: Nor must they be disregarded or look'd upon as ominous of neither Good nor Ill, because they are but the products of Nature; for the great GOD of Nature forewarns a sinful World of approaching Calamities, not only by Prophets, Apostles and Teachers, but also by the Elements and extraordinary Signs in the Heavens, Earth and Water."

The same account of this appearance is substantially given in "A Letter to a Certain Gentleman," &c., published at Boston in 1719, and reprinted in the second volume, first series, of the Society's Collections (pages 17-20). The writer, whose name is not given, speaks of it as "a wonderful *Meteor*," though from the description it was certainly a display of Northern Lights, and he gives the date as Dec. 11, 1719. This account is also confirmed by the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull in his Century sermon, delivered at North Haven, Connecticut, on Jan. 1, 1801, who says in a note that —

"The aurora borealis, or northern light is a new appearance, in the heavens, to this country, peculiar to the eighteenth century. It had been seen in Great Britain, especially in the north of Scotland, for many centuries past, but even in that country it had not appeared for eighty or an hundred years, until March 6, 1716. Its first appearance in New England was on the 17th of December, 1719."

Dr. Abiel Holmes, in "The Annals of America," follows Dr. Trumbull, and gives the same date. It is interesting to note that "The Boston News-Letter" of Dec. 21, 1719, does not mention the fact, nor does "The Boston Gazette," of which the first issue appeared also on that day. These were the only newspapers printed in the Colonies at that period; and they contained but little more than items taken from the English journals, which perhaps is the reason that no reference is made to the novelty.

The late Dr. Edward A. Holyoke, the centenarian physician of Salem, writes: —

"The first Aurora Borealis I ever saw, the Northern or rather Northeastern Sky appeared suffused by a dark blood-red coloured vapour, without any variety of different coloured rays. I have never since seen the like. This was about the year 1734. Northern Lights were then a novelty, and excited great wonder and terror among the vulgar."

This extract is taken from the Memoir of Dr. Holyoke, prepared in compliance with a vote of the Essex South District Medical Society, and published at Boston in the year 1829 (pages 77, 78).

It will be noticed that Dr. Trumbull gives March 6, 1716, as the first appearance of the Aurora Borealis in England. This

corresponds nearly with a note given in "The Poetical Works of William Collins" (London, 1827), printed in explanation of the following lines from his Ode on the popular superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland:—

"As Boreas threw his young Aurora forth,
In the first year of the first George's reign,
And battles rag'd in welkin of the North,
They mourn'd in air, fell, fell Rebellion slain!"

The note says:—

"By young Aurora, Collins undoubtedly meant the first appearance of the northern lights, which happened about the year 1715; at least it is most highly probable, from this peculiar circumstance, that no ancient writer whatever has taken any notice of them, nor even any one modern, previous to the above period" (page 114).

These several references seem to show that during the early part of the last century the Northern Lights were generally unknown in New England, a fact due perhaps to their rare occurrence. Probably also the continuity of tradition in regard to them was broken, owing to the want of newspapers and the lack of general letter-writing among the people.

Governor Winthrop in his History of New England, under the date of Jan. 18, 1643, makes the following entry, which undoubtedly refers to the phenomenon under consideration:—

"About midnight, three men, coming in a boat to Boston, saw two lights arise out of the water near the north point of the town cove, in form like a man, and went at a small distance to the town, and so to the south point, and there vanished away. They saw them about a quarter of an hour, being between the town and the governour's garden. The like was seen by many, a week after, arising about Castle Island and in one fifth of an hour came to John Gallop's point. . . . The 18th of this month two lights were seen near Boston, (as is before mentioned,) and a week after the like was seen again. A light like the moon arose about the N. E. point in Boston, and met the former at Nottles Island, and there they closed in one, and then parted, and closed and parted divers times, and so went over the hill in the island and vanished. Sometimes they shot out flames and sometime sparkles. This was about eight of the clock in the evening, and was seen by many. About the same time a voice was heard upon the water between Boston and Dorchester, calling out in a most dreadful manner, boy, boy, come away, come away: and it suddenly shifted from one

place to another a great distance, about twenty times. It was heard by divers godly persons. About 14 days after, the same voice in the same dreadful manner was heard by others on the other side of the town towards Nottles Island" (vol. ii. pp. 184, 185).

Chief Justice Sewall in his Diary writes under the date of Dec. 22, 1692, that —

"Major General [Winthrop] tells me, that last night about 7 a'clock, he saw 5 or 7 Balls of Fire that mov'd and mingled each with other, so that he could not tell them; made a great Light, but streamed not."

The last expression would seem to imply that he was familiar with appearances in the heavens which did stream. This must also refer to the same phenomenon.

In "The New-England Weekly Journal," Oct. 7, 1728, appears the following: —

"On Wednesday Night last [Oct. 2] between 7 & eight a Clock, there was a bright appearance of the *Aurora Borealis*, which continued for some time and then dwindled away; the next Morning between 4 & 5 it appear'd again much brighter, when large streaks of Light extending themselves a vast way towards the *Zenith*, which on the approach of Day-light by degrees disappeared."

In the same newspaper of Nov. 10, 1729, it is recorded that —

"On Wednesday Night last [Nov. 5] we had here a very bright appearance of the *Aurora Borealis*, or Northern Twilight, and we hear that the same was so remarkable at Rhode-Island that it was surprising to the Inhabitants there."

These two extracts make no allusion to the novelty of the Aurora; but perhaps after a few years this had worn off.

In the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (vol. ix. p. 101), is an elaborate chapter "On the Secular Periodicity of the *Aurora Borealis*," by Professor Joseph Lovering of Harvard College, in which the writer shows that its display in former times was much less frequent than it is at present.

Mr. YOUNG presented from Miss Caroline Simpkins, of Boston, a little pamphlet containing an appeal in behalf of a Cent Society, which was formed in Boston on May 26, 1802, the

object of which was to procure Bibles, and which, it is believed, was the germ out of which the Massachusetts Bible Society, which was founded in 1809, grew.

A new serial, containing the Proceedings from March to May inclusive, was laid on the table by the Secretary.

It was voted that the meetings of the Society be suspended until October, the President and Secretary having power to call a special meeting, if necessary.

Dr. CLARKE read portions of a memoir of the late Ralph Waldo Emerson.

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MEMOIR
OF
RALPH WALDO EMERSON, LL.D.

BY JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

IN preparing the memoir of our late distinguished associate, I shall not find it necessary to enter into the details of his life, or to speak particularly of his literary works, methods, or judgments. All this has been fully and ably done in previous biographies. Among these I may especially refer to the very thorough work of the Rev. George Willis Cooke and the later admirable biography by our associate Dr. Holmes. Mr. Cooke's work is full of interest and value; and that of Dr. Holmes will, I think, be always regarded as one of the best biographies in the language. We may also refer to a collection of lectures upon Mr. Emerson delivered at the Summer School of Philosophy in Concord by different speakers. Mr. Moncure D. Conway has published a volume called "Emerson at Home and Abroad," which may be described as bright, sympathetic, inaccurate, entertaining, and unreliable. It gives no hint of the source of Emerson's power, the nature of his convictions, or the character of his literary work. It emphasizes his negations, and passes too lightly over his affirmations, and thus obscures the very quality which was the chief source of his power.

Mr. Emerson was born in Boston on the 25th of May, 1803. His father, who died when he was eight years old, was minister of the First Church in this city. The Rev. William Emerson was an excellent preacher and writer, one of the editors of the "Monthly Anthology," and associated in thought and work with Buckminster, Kirkland, Channing, Thacher, and Norton. A member of this Society, he was interested in his-

torical and literary matters; and his son was brought up in an atmosphere of pure thought. Ralph Waldo Emerson graduated at Harvard in his eighteenth year, and in 1829 was settled as preacher over the Second Church in Boston. I went with Margaret Fuller to hear him preach, one Sunday afternoon, in the old church at the North End. I recollect that we were both impressed by the calm, sweet, and pure strain of thought which pervaded the discourse. He resigned his position in 1832, visited Europe in 1833, and on his return to America went to live in Concord. Shortly after, he began to lecture; and the rest of his life was passed in lecturing and writing. But there ran in his veins the blood of seven generations of New England clergymen, and he remained essentially a preacher to the end of his days. Whatever form his discourse might take, it was always animated by spiritual truth and moral purpose. Whether he gave lectures on English Literature, or wrote a Battle Hymn, or printed articles in the "Dial," or made an Anti-slavery Speech, or delivered a Phi Beta Kappa Oration, or sang a song to the Humble-bee, he was a teacher of religion and righteousness. Unable to belong to any sect, or permanently to subscribe to any system of opinion, he was yet in sympathy with the affirmations of every faith. He believed firmly in the three essential truths of religion,—God, Duty, and Immortality. But he believed these truths, not from outward testimony or argument, but from the higher testimony of the soul itself. He was the great Intuitionist of our day, resting all his convictions on the primal deliverances of the consciousness. He had no metaphysics with which to bind these insights into a system, no arguments with which to silence an opponent. Hence the fragmentary character of his utterance, and the want of progress in his thought. In every new paragraph he seemed to be setting out afresh, and the sentences in each of these paragraphs would confirm the belief of those who hold that no two atoms ever come in contact. But this very absence of continued purpose disarmed opposition. Who could oppose him when there was nothing to oppose? As he proceeded, they who disapproved of his first statement would find themselves agreeing with the second; they who were confused by one sentence and thought it obscure or paradoxical, would be filled with delight at what followed, which might illuminate

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the whole range of experience and clear up doubts which had long harassed them.

Perhaps in this mental characteristic the two friends Carlyle and Emerson came nearer than in any other. In each, insight, apprehension, *aperçu*, exceeded method, comprehension, and logical force. Each frequently found himself on the two opposite sides of the same question. A good telescope has two qualities, — defining power and space-penetrating power. Carlyle and Emerson excelled in both qualities; but Emerson had a more subtle discrimination, and Carlyle took in a wider field. Neither could found a school of thought, but each was an inspiration to his time. Each was a prophet; but Carlyle was a prophet like John the Baptist, a Voice crying in the Wilderness. Emerson was a prophet of light and love, overcoming evil with good, dispelling darkness with light, and always comforting our souls by announcing that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand.

It is the duty of one who writes a memoir for the Historical Society to endeavor to fix the historical position of his subject. This at best can be only an endeavor; but I think we shall all now admit that Emerson's place in history is distinct and permanent. He is an original mind, not repeating in finer forms the staples of common opinion, but moving the world from some point outside of the world. Fed by the traditions of the past, and a debtor to every inspired soul who had preceded him, he also received the inspiration intended for himself from the beginning. He opened his mind to the new light which his time required and which God was ready to impart. Thus all he said was vital, not with novelty, but with originality. That pure limpid stream from a new Helicon came for the refreshing of the nations. Men of the most opposite positions and training, Tyndal and Huxley, Dean Stanley and Martineau, heard him speaking in their own tongue. His word passed easily over the common boundaries of thought. State lines, mountains, and ocean were no impediment. And to-day his word runneth very quickly; for it is not *his* word, but the word to which he has listened.

“The passive Master lent his hand
To the vast soul that o'er him planned;
For out of thought's interior sphere
These wonders rose to upper air.”

Let me try to describe the mental and spiritual condition of New England when Emerson appeared. Calvinism, with its rigorous dogmatism, was slowly dying, and had been succeeded, by a calm and somewhat formal rationalism. Locke was still the master in the realm of thought, Addison and Blair in literary expression; in poetry the school of Pope was engaged in conflict with that of Byron and his contemporaries. Wordsworth had led the way to a deeper view of Nature, but Wordsworth could scarcely be called a popular writer. In theology a certain literalism prevailed, and the doctrines of Christianity were inferred from counting and weighing texts on either side. Not the higher reason, with its intuition of eternal ideas, but the analytic understanding, with its logical methods, was considered to be the ruler in the world of thought. There was more of culture than of original thought, more of trained excellence of character than of moral enthusiasm. Religion had become very much of an external institution. Christianity was believed to consist in holding rational or orthodox opinions, going regularly to church, and listening every Sunday to a certain number of prayers, hymns, and sermons. These sermons, with some striking exceptions, were rather tame and mechanical. In Boston, it is true, Buckminster had appeared,—that soul of flame, which soon wore to decay its weak body. The consummate orator, Edward Everett, had followed him in the Brattle Square pulpit. Above all, Channing had looked with a new spiritual insight into the truths of religion and morality. But still the mechanical treatment prevailed in many and perhaps a majority of the churches of New England, and was considered on the whole to be the wisest and safest method. There was an unwritten creed of morals, literature, and social thought, to which all were expected to conform. There was little originality, and much repetition. On all subjects there were certain formulas which it was considered proper to repeat. "Thou art a blessed fellow," says one of Shakspeare's characters, "to think as other people think. Not a man's thought in the world keeps the roadway better than thine." The thought of New England kept the roadway. Of course, at all times, a large part of the belief of the community is necessarily derived from memory, custom, and imitation. But in those days, if I remember them aright, it was regarded as a kind of duty to think as every one

else thought, a sort of delinquency or weakness to differ from the majority.

If the movements of mind are now much more independent and spontaneous; if to-day traditions have lost their despotic power; if even some of those who nominally hold an orthodox creed are able to treat it as an excellent formula, respectable for its past uses and having an historic value, but by no means strictly binding us now, — this is largely owing to the manly position taken by Emerson. And yet, let it be observed, this influence was not exercised by attacking old opinions, nor by argument, denial, and criticism. Theodore Parker did all this; but his influence on thought has been far less than that of Emerson. Parker was a hero who snuffed the battle afar off, and flung himself, sword in hand, into the thick of the conflict. But, much as we love and reverence his honesty, his immense activity, his devotion to truth and right, we must admit to-day, standing by these two friendly graves, that the power of Emerson to soften the rigidity of time-hardened belief was much the greater. It is the old fable of the storm and sun. The violent attacks of the tempest only made the traveller cling more closely to his cloak; the genial heat of the sun compelled him to throw it aside. In Mr. Emerson's writings there is scarcely any argument; he attacks no man's belief, he simply states his own. His method is positive and constructive. He opens the windows and lets in more light. He is no man's opponent, the enemy of no one. He states what he sees, and that which he does not see he passes by. He was often attacked, but never replied. His answer was to go forward, and say something else. He did not care for what he called the "bugbear consistency." If to-day he said what seemed like Pantheism, and to-morrow he saw some truth which seemed to reveal a divine personality, a supreme will, he uttered the last, as he had declared the first, always faithful to the light within. He left it to the spirit of truth to reconcile such apparent contradictions. He was like his own humble-bee: —

"Seeing only what is fair,
Sipping only what is sweet,
Thou dost mock at fate and care,
Leave the chaff and take the wheat."

He describes his humble-bee as always on the search for fair and honey-producing flowers, —

“ Violets and bilberry bells,
Maple sap and daffodels,
Columbine with horn of honey,
Scented fern and agrimony.

• • • • •
All beside was unknown waste;
All was picture as he passed.”

By this method of positive statement he not only saved the time usually wasted in argument, attack, reply, rejoinder, but he gave us the substance of truth instead of its form. Logic and metaphysic reveal no truths, — they merely arrange in order what the higher faculties of the mind have made known. Hence the speedy oblivion which descends on polemics of all sorts. The great theological debaters, — where are they? The books of Horsley and Magee are buried in the same grave with those of Belsham and Priestley, their old opponents. The bitter attacks on Christianity by Voltaire and Paine are inurned in the same dark and forgotten vault with the equally bitter defences of Christianity by its numerous champions. Argument may often be necessary; but no truth is slain by argument, no error can be kept alive by it. Emerson is an eminent example of a man who replied to no attacks, but went on his way, and saw at last opposition hushed and hostility at an end. He devoted his powers to giving to his hearers or readers his best insights, knowing that these alone feed the soul. Thus men came to him to be fed. Those who felt themselves better for his instruction followed him. He collected around him an ever-increasing band of disciples, until in England, France, Germany, in all lands where men read and think, he is looked up to as a master. Many of his disciples were persons of rare gifts and powers, like Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker, George Ripley, Hawthorne; many others were unknown to fame, yet deeply sensible of the blessings they had received from this prophet and seer of the nineteenth century. This then was his office. He was a man who saw. He had the vision and the faculty divine. He sat near the fountain-head, and tasted the waters of Helicon at their source.

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His first little book, a duodecimo of less than a hundred pages, called "Nature," published in 1836, already indicates these qualities. It begins thus, with statements which were then paradoxes, but are now commonplaces:—

"Our age is retrospective. It builds the sepulchres of the fathers. It writes biographies, histories, criticisms. The foregoing generations beheld God and Nature face to face; we, through their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy our original relation to the universe? Why should not we have a poetry and philosophy of insight, and not of tradition, and a religion by revelation to us, and not the history of theirs? . . . The sun shines to-day also. . . . Undoubtedly we have no questions to ask which are unanswerable."

This was his first doctrine,—that of self-reliance. He taught that God had given to every man the power to see with his own eyes, think with his own mind, believe what seemed to him true, plant himself on his instincts, and, as he says, "call a pop-gun a pop-gun, though the ancient and honorable of the earth declare it to be the crack of doom." This was manly and wholesome doctrine. It might, no doubt, be abused, and lead some persons to think they were men of original genius when they were only eccentric. It may have led others to attack all institutions and traditions, as though, if a thing were old, it was necessarily false. But Emerson himself was the best antidote to such extravagance. To a youth who brought to him a manuscript confuting Plato, he replied, "When you attack the king, you ought to be sure to kill him." But his protest against the prevailing conventionalism was healthy, and his call on all "to be themselves" was inspiring.

The same doctrine is taught in the introductory remarks of the editors of the "Dial." They say they "have obeyed with joy the strong current of thought which had led many sincere persons to reprobate that rigor of conventions which is turning us to stone, which renounces hope, and only looks backward, which suspects improvement, and holds nothing so much in horror as the dreams of youth." This work, the "Dial," made a great impression, out of all proportion to its small circulation. By the elders it was cordially declared to be unintelligible mysticism; and so, no doubt, much of it was. Those inside, its own friends, often made as much fun of it as

those outside. Yet it opened the door for many new and noble thoughts, and was a wild bugle-note, — a reveillé calling on all generous hearts to look toward the coming day.

Here is an extract from one of Emerson's letters from Europe, as early as March, 1833. It is dated at Naples.

"And what if it be Naples! It is only the same world of cake and ale, of man and truth and folly. I will not be imposed upon by a name. It is so easy to be overawed by names, that it is hard to keep one's judgment upright, and be pleased only after your own way. Baia and Pausillippo sound so big that we are ready to surrender at discretion, and not stickle for our private opinion against what seems the human race. But here's for the plain old Adam, the simple genuine self against the whole world."

Again he says: "Nothing so fatal to genius as genius. Mr. Taylor, author of 'Van Artevelde,' is a man of great intellect, but by study of Shakspeare is forced to reproduce Shakspeare."

Thus the first great lesson taught by Mr. Emerson was Self-Reliance; and the second was like it, though apparently opposed to it, — God-Reliance. Not really opposed to it, for it meant this: God is also near to *your* mind and heart, as he was to the mind and heart of the prophets and inspired men of the past. God is ready to inspire *you* also, if you will trust in him. In the little book called "Nature," he says, —

"The highest is present to the soul of man, — the dread universal essence, which is not wisdom, or love, or power, or beauty, but all in one; and each entirely is that for which all things exist and by which they are. Believe that throughout Nature spirit is present, — that it is one, — that it does not act upon us from without, but through ourselves. . . . As a plant on the earth, so man rests on the bosom of God, nourished by unfailing fountains, and drawing at his need inexhaustible power."

And so, in his poem called "The Problem," he teaches that all religions are from God, — that all the prophets, sibyls, and lofty souls who have sung psalms, written Scripture, and built the temples and cathedrals of men, were inspired by a spirit above their own. He puts aside the shallow explanation that any of the great religions ever came from priest-craft.

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“Out from the heart of Nature rolled
The burdens of the Bible old,
The litanies of nations came,
Like the volcano's tongue of flame,
Up from the burning core below,
The canticles of love and woe.

* * * * *
The word unto the prophet spoken
Was writ on tables yet unbroken;
The word by seers or sibyls, told
In groves of oak or fanes of gold,
Still floats upon the morning wind;
Still whispers to the willing mind.
One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost.”

In all that Emerson says of Nature, he is equally devout. He sees God in it all. It is to him full of a divine charm. “In the woods,” he says, “is perpetual youth. Within these plantations of God a decorum and sanctity reign, and we return to reason and faith.” “The currents of the Universal Being circulate through me. I am part or particle of God.” For saying such things as these he was accused of Pantheism. And he *was* a Pantheist,—yet I think only as Paul was a Pantheist when he said, “In Him we live and move, and have our being,” “From whom, and through whom, and to whom, are all things,” “The fulness of him who filleth all in all.” Emerson was, in his view of Nature, at one with Wordsworth, who said, —

“The clouds were touched,
And in their silent faces he could read
Unutterable love. . . .
. . . . Sensation, soul, and form
All melted into him; they swallowed up
His animal being, — in them did he live.
. . . .
And by them did he live, — they were his life.
. . . . In such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.”

Emerson has thus been, to our day, the prophet of God in the soul, in nature, in life. He has stood for spirit against matter. Darwin, his great peer, the serene master in the

school of science, was like him in this, — that he also said what he saw, and no more. He also taught what God showed to him in the outward world of sense, as Emerson taught what God showed in the inward world of spirit. Amid the stormy disputes of their time, each of these men went his own way, — his eye single, and his whole body full of light. The work of Darwin was the easier; for he floated with the current of the time, which sets at present so strongly toward the study of things seen and temporal. But the work of Emerson was more noble; for he stands for things unseen and eternal, — for a larger religion, a higher faith, a nobler worship. This strong and tender soul has done its work, and gone on its way. But he will always fill a niche of the Universal Church, as a New England prophet. He had the purity of the New England air in his moral nature, a touch of the shrewd Yankee wit in his speech, and the long inheritance of ancestral faith incarnate and consolidated in blood and brain. To this were added qualities which were derived from some far-off realm of human life, — an Oriental cast of thought, a touch of mediæval mysticism, and a vocabulary derived from books unknown to our New England literature. No commonplaces of language are to be found in his writings; and though he read the older writers, he does not imitate them. He also, like his humble-bee, has brought contributions from remotest fields, and enriched our language with a new and picturesque speech, all his own.

One word concerning Mr. Emerson's relation to Christ and to Christianity. The distinction which he made between Jesus and other teachers was, no doubt, one of degree and not one of kind. He put no gulf of supernatural powers, origin, or office between Christ and the Ethnic Prophets. But his reverence for Jesus was profound and tender. Nor did he object to the word Christian or to the Christian Church. In recent years, at least, he not unfrequently attended the services of the church in his town; and I have met him at Christian conventions, a benign and revered presence.

In the cemetery at Bonn, on the Rhine, is the tomb of Niebuhr the historian, — a man of a somewhat like type, as I judge, to our Emerson. At least some texts on his monument would be admirably appropriate for any stone which may be placed over the remains of the American Prophet and Poet

in the sweet valley of tombs in Concord. One is from Sirach, xlvii. 14-17 : —

"How wise wast thou in thy youth, and filled with understanding!
Thy soul covered the earth, and filled it with dark parables!
Thy name went far unto the islands, and for thy peace wast thou beloved!
The countries marvelled at thee, for thy songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations!"

And equally appropriate would be the Horatian line, also on Niebuhr's monument: —

"Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis."

Mr. Emerson died at his home in Concord, April 27, 1882.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1885.

The Society resumed its meetings, which had been omitted during the summer, on Thursday, the 9th instant; and in the absence of Dr. Ellis, who had recently met with a personal bereavement, Mr. DEANE, Vice-President, took the chair. He congratulated the Society that during the long vacation no name had been dropped from the Resident or the Honorary and Corresponding roll. He expressed regret at the absence of the President, and read a note which he had received from him referring to the loss of his beloved brother.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Secretary.

The gifts to the Library were reported by the Librarian; and they included additional volumes from the family of the late George Ticknor.

Mr. SALTONSTALL, in behalf of the Committee formed to procure a portrait of Mr. Winthrop, then said:—

I take great pleasure in calling the attention of the Society to the portrait of our ex-President, Mr. Winthrop, which is before them.

Your Committee corresponded at once with Mr. Huntington, the artist who had twice painted so successfully portraits of Mr. Winthrop,—that now in his dining-room, and the noble full-length portrait in the Capitol.

The artist most willingly undertook for the third time the work of painting the portrait of the eminent gentleman, and preferred to paint another original rather than to duplicate either of the others. He had, I believe, but one sitting, and produced the admirable portrait which is before you. It is a spirited and true presentment of one who is very dear to this Society, and to whom it is and always will be grateful for his long and valuable services as its President.

The Committee, if you remember, was instructed to procure a full-length portrait; but at Mr. Winthrop's earnest request it was painted in the usual size,—he being unwilling to have it in form differing from those of his father and the other

ex-Presidents. I trust the members will agree with me as to the merit of the portrait.

The Committee is under great obligation to Mr. Cobb for his zealous attention to the work of procuring it.

The portrait was received with great gratification; and Judge DEVENS expressed the opinion of all present that the Committee had discharged their duty most satisfactorily, and that the thanks of the Society should be given to them.

Mr. DEANE read the following paper, which had been written by Dr. Ellis:—

It is fitting that our Proceedings should bear record of the successful results achieved by patient research in clearing up an obscure subject which has been frequently referred to in the meetings and publications of this Society,—namely, the time and place of birth, and the lineage of the revered man known as “the first founder of Harvard College.” The President of the College was privileged to make public announcement of the facts at the Commencement this year. Members of this Society who have united with other contributors in securing the services of Mr. Henry F. Waters in historical and genealogical research in England, in matters of interest in our early New England annals and concerning our early colonists, had already felt themselves abundantly rewarded by the rich discoveries which he had previously made, as noted in our Proceedings. The method, which he was the first to adopt, of a thorough, page-by-page examination of the folios of wills, in the chaos of imperfectly indexed volumes, has been fruitful and rich in its revelations. His latest discovery may well crown his faithful and intelligently directed labors. The mystery which had heretofore enshrouded the personality of John Harvard had become baffling and provocative of the imagination. It is somewhat remarkable that our bards, who sometimes sport with history for the sake of sentimentalizing poetry, had not made him the theme of some romantic fancy. If any of us had idealized the mystery about him, taking the *ignotum pro magnifico*, we must reconcile ourselves to the revelation which has assigned to him a parentage and kinship with the sterling class of our old English stock, the guilds and mechanics and tradespeople, whose rank was lowly, and whose frugal means were the savings of honest, useful toil.

Mr. Waters has transcribed for us the wills of John Harvard's father and mother, of two step-fathers, of brother, uncle, aunt, and father-in-law. Harvard was baptized — a ceremony soon following birth — in London, on Nov. 29, 1607, and so was in his thirty-first year when he died here. His property, the half of which he left to the College, had come to him from the decease of these relatives, including the inheritance of his mother from her second and third husbands, by whom she had no children.

There yet remains as desirable, what Mr. Waters' further researches may disclose, the evidence and documents relating to the settlement of Harvard's estate in England, and to the transfer of property for his legacy to the College.

In immediate connection with this subject, recognition should also appear in our Proceedings of the commemoration, on June 18 and 19, 1884, of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England. That was Harvard's Alma Mater; his degree of Master of Arts dates in the first half-century of the existence of the College. A volume containing the exercises on that observance has been presented to this Society by the Master and Fellows. The signal, if not the supreme, interest assigned to the founder and to the historic importance of our College in the exercises, the speeches, and honors of that occasion may be inferred from the remark in a reference to them, in the "Saturday Review" of June 28: "We could have wished to have heard a little more about Emmanuel and a little less about Harvard; for we were assembled to celebrate the tercentenary of the mother, not that of the child." Yet, if it may not seem ungracious, we would add that there are two points of interest which do not appear to have been noticed in the relations in the olden time between the old and the new Cambridge. Emmanuel was founded by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1584. There were very close relations of intimacy, and at least two by marriage, between the families of Mildmay and Winthrop. Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel, was the uncle of Sir Thomas Mildmay who married Alice the sister of our Governor's father. It was from Alice, Lady Mildmay, the aunt of our Governor, that he received the "stone pot, tipped and covered with a silver lid," a curious relic now in the Cabinet of the Antiquarian Society in

Worcester. Another of the strong ties between the two Cambridges is the "Cambridge Agreement," on Aug. 26, 1629, which assured the coming hither of the Massachusetts Company. It is not known exactly where in Cambridge the twelve leading and responsible men met and signed that Agreement. No other place there would have been more fitting or likely than some hall or chamber of Emmanuel, the Puritan college. One may refer in this connection to the speech of our ex-President at the banquet in St. Peter's College, when the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him in 1874.¹

In answer to an invitation from the Master and Fellows of Emmanuel, our own College was represented at the commemoration by our associate, Professor Charles Eliot Norton. Another of our associates, His Excellency James Russell Lowell, American Minister near the Court of St. James, held a place of honor at the exercises, in speech and banquet. He modestly left to the official delegate a grateful service, most felicitously rendered, of rehearsing the memories and relations of the ancient days. It may be well to note an error of oversight in the Memorial Volume (page 66). From the fact that Mr. Joseph H. Choate presided at our Commencement dinner at which the announcement of the intended gift of a statue of Harvard was made, the gift is said to be from him instead of from its real donor, Samuel J. Bridge. Professor Norton in his speech, so rich and eloquent in its matter and spirit, is reported as assigning to Governor Winthrop thirty years' residence in New England, instead of nineteen.

The two following letters from Mr. James Eddy Mauran, of Newport, Rhode Island, were sent by the President:—

Boston April 9 : 1770

Mess^{rs} SAM^l & W^m VERNON.

GENTLEMEN — I Rec^d y^e money you sent & that for the order on M^r Mumford & gave him a receipt allso wrote by him & sent it to his Lodging Last week that it was the Ballance of your acct — as to Haddock their is none & Jamaica Fish I Can now get at 5-7-6 & not under it Very scarce at this Season of y^e year

I am gentlemen yours [to] Serve

W^m WHITWE[LL]

¹ See his "Addresses and Speeches," vol. iii. p. 319.

We hear the vessell that is Come in to Newport is full of goods if so
whats become of your signing & Sons of Liberty &c W^m W

As to the money from the Custom house you mention I dont understand we know not any thing about it here — the most we know is that they Procured an Evedenc to sware he heard some body that Fatal Night say we hope to have the sharing of the money in their but none beleives it Even themselves I think.

[Indorsed "W^m Whitwell Apr^l 9th 1770."]

[Addressed "To Mess^{rs} Samuel & William Vernon
Merchants
New Port."]

Mess^{rs} SAM^l & W^m VERNON

Boston April 10: 1770

GENTLEMEN — Yestrday I wrote you N Port and one princapal reason of writing was to Inform you I sent your Letter to London by Cap^t Gardner who was hired by the Town to Carry our Packett he saild y^e first Instant. I find we had Need Enough to send as some person was wicked Enough to write to York & get publish^d their a most vile wicked & false acct of the affair of y^e 5th of March which is Direct the reverse we have abundant Evidence of a preconcerted Scheem of y^e Soldireys Intention of Somthing Very Bad as they had Previously Cautiond some of their acquaintance not to be out at such a Time others Telling of mere Blood would be spilt in Boston before the Next week was out than ever was Known before &c all which is Printed in a pamphlet and sent home with all the Evedence but they are not suffered to come out here yet as the persons have not had their Tryal and its thot it might be a means of Predjuceing the minds of Persons &c in Due time I hope you^l see & to your Surprize their abominations

I am Gentlemen Yours to Serve

W^m WHITWELL.

Mr. A. A. LAWRENCE presented to the Library Mr. F. B. Sanborn's "Life of John Brown," accompanied by a letter commenting upon certain statements in it.

Dr. CLARKE remarked that John Brown did what he thought to be his duty, although his views of duty were different from ours.

The Secretary announced from Dr. Peabody a memoir of the late Rear-Admiral George H. Preble, which he had been requested to write.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN, being called upon, spoke as follows :

There is an interesting episode in the history of the Old Province House which has escaped the notice of local antiqua-

rians. I refer to its occupation by the Earl of Bellomont, when governor, for fourteen months from the latter part of May, 1699. The accepted opinion has been that in 1716 Colonel Samuel Shute "probably became the first gubernatorial occupant of the Mansion House;"¹ but the fact is otherwise, as will duly appear after a brief recital of the history of the Old Mansion of Peter Sergeant, for which I am mainly indebted to Dr. Shurtleff. Its site was on the westerly side of Washington Street, the third lot southerly from School Street; and according to the "Book of Possessions," Thomas Millard was its first owner. From him the title passed to Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, who sold it in 1676 to Peter Sergeant, for £350. The lot had a frontage of eighty-six feet on the street, and extended westerly two hundred and sixty-six feet, its western boundary being seventy-seven feet.

Peter Sergeant, who came over in 1667, was a London merchant of wealth, apart from what he acquired by three marriages, and was honorably distinguished in colonial history. In 1679 he built a Mansion House, afterwards better known — from 1716, when it was purchased by the province — as the Province House, the residence of the royal governors from Colonel Shute to General Gage. Governor Shute reached Boston, Oct. 4, 1716, and for a time was the guest of Paul Dudley. When he went to the Province House, does not appear. It was worthy of such distinction; for undoubtedly it was the most eligible residence in Boston. Built of brick, three stories high, situated in spacious grounds ornamented with magnificent trees, it merited the decorative handiwork of Deacon Shem Drown which was placed on its cupola, — the identical Indian chief, with his drawn bow and arrow, which was presented to the Historical Society by Mrs. Emily W. Appleton, and its gift announced with interesting and valuable remarks from Dr. George E. Ellis.²

In this mansion Sergeant resided for twenty years before it acquired any distinction other than that which attached to it as the most sumptuous in the colony, owned and occupied by a gentleman renowned for his hospitality and honored by the consideration of his fellow-citizens. He lived in the disturbed

¹ Shurtleff's *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, p. 593.

² *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* vol. xv. p. 178.

times which witnessed the overthrow of the first charter, the usurpation of Andros, whom he strenuously opposed, and the grant of the new charter, with all the heart-burnings, jealousies, and aspirations which these events occasioned. Sergeant was one of the councillors named in the charter. Of his domestic life we know but little. Though thrice married, his home was without children of his own, — a circumstance which may have had something to do with the opening of his mansion to the Earl of Bellomont, first as his guest, and later as a tenant.

By the death of Governor Phipps, in London, Feb. 18, 1695, whither he had been summoned to give an account of his administration, which had caused some dissatisfaction, the way was prepared for rumors respecting his successor. Joseph Dudley, a native of the colony, was ambitious to succeed Phipps; but notwithstanding the influence of Lord Cutts in his favor, Dudley's action in the condemnation of Leisler worked to his prejudice, and the report of the appointment of the Earl of Bellomont instead was not slow in reaching the province.¹ Sewall records, 1695, Aug. 25: —

"The Flag is out almost all day at the Castle, for Pincarton comes in in the even, brings word that the Lord Bellamont is coming over our Governour in the Unity Frigat."²

Sept. 20. "The Lord Bellamont is made our Governour. Hardly will come before the Spring."³

But his lordship did not come even then. His affairs detained him in England until the fall of 1697,⁴ when he embarked for his government in one of his Majesty's ships, which was blown off the coast, and he was obliged to winter in Barbadoes. The next spring, Sewall records: —

"Third-day. Apr. 12. 1698. By a sloop from thence we hear that the governour arrived at Sandy-Hook Apr. 1. and was received magnificently at New-york Ap. 2. Capt. N. Williams told me first of it in the Meeting-House, after Catechising."⁵

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. vol. ii. p. 86.

² Diary, vol. i. p. 411.

³ *Ibid.* p. 413.

⁴ Drake, misreading Hutchinson (vol. ii. p. 108), says "1698." History of Boston, p. 517.

⁵ Diary, vol. i. p. 476.

For a year the Governor was detained in New York, which with Massachusetts and New Hampshire fell under his government; but he was not without intelligence from Massachusetts during that time.

"Immediately upon advice of his lordship's arrival [in New York], a committee was sent with congratulations from the Massachusetts; and during his residence at New York he was frequently consulted, and all matters of importance were communicated to him."¹

Nor were the good people of Massachusetts indifferent to the Governor's welfare while his coming was delayed. Sewall records, April 16: —

"His Excellencies Letter to the Lt. Governour and council is read, dated Ap. 4. N. York. Thanks for Praying for Him, which saw by the order for the Fast; doubts not but far'd the better. Shall write more by the next, was now in pain by the Gout."²

A year passed, and the hopes of the people were changed to the enjoyment of the reality of his lordship's presence.

1699, Apr. 13. "Orders are issued to Lt. Col. Hutchinson to prepare for my Lords coming as to the Regiment."³

With diarian fatality, Sewall is reticent where we would have him garrulous. He puts us off with the following meagre hints of the pageantry and feasting which accompanied the Governor's entry to the capital of the province, and refers us to his "Journal of meeting the Gov^r. June 7th," which does not appear.

1699, May. "Gov^r dines at Roxbury, four coaches. Capt. Byfield give the Committee a Treat."

June 5. "Mr. Willard preaches an excellent Election Sermon. Gov^r dines at Monks. Major Walley chosen Capt., Capt. Byfield Lieut. Tho. Hutchinson Ens. Gov^r Bellomont [Sewall has now learned the true spelling of the Governor's name] delivers the Badges, saying that He aproved of the choice."⁴

But after these ebullitions of provincial joy, which at last doubtless fatigued even a politician as desirous of making a favorable impression as the Earl of Bellomont is said to have been, his lordship must have been grateful for the sight of a

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. vol. ii. p. 108.

² Diary, vol. i. p. 477.

³ *Ibid.* p. 495.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 497.

quiet couch. He found one in the mansion of Peter Sergeant, who, as a man of wealth and social distinction, could hardly have resisted the claims of his Excellency to the hospitality of his mansion; and he was nothing loath, we may presume, to entertain the noble representative of royalty under his roof. Sewall says:—

“Midsuñer Day, 1699. Mr Secretary, Capt. Belchar, Capt. Mason and S, are invited, and dine with my Lord and Lady, at Mr Sergeant's.”¹

Sewall seems to have made a favorable impression upon the new-comers.

“Wednesday; July, 19 The Lady Bellomont and Madam Nanfan visit us.”²

Lord Bellomont married Catharine Nanfan, of Bridgemorton, in the county of Worcester, and had two sons, successively Earls of Bellomont. John Nanfan, a kinsman of the Earl of Bellomont, came over with the Earl, as lieutenant-governor of New York; and Madam Nanfan, presumably his wife, accompanied the Earl and his lady from New York.

The Governor used the Sergeant Mansion not only for social purposes, but also for official occasions.

“July 20. Deputies are sent for to Mr. Sergeant's, and in his best Chamber, the Governour declares his Prorogation of the Court.”³

“Third-day, July 25 1699. My Lord Bellomont deliver'd me my Comission for Judge of the Superiour Court. And the Chief Justice, Mr Stoughton, Mr Cooke and myself were sworn in Mr Sergeants best chamber before the Governour & Council.”⁴

Sewall at this time, as ever after his marriage, undoubtedly lived on the easterly side of Washington Street, between Summer and Bedford Streets, and not in the house on Cotton Hill, as has been sometimes supposed. This Cotton Hill estate was occupied by Captain Tuthill. On the same day that Sewall received his commission as Judge, July 25, he made the following entry:—

“Between 6 and 7, I have my Lady up upon Cotton Hill, and shew her the Town; Madam Sergeant, Nanfan, Newton there; and Majr

¹ Diary, vol. i. p. 498.

³ *Ibid.* p. 500.

² *Ibid.* p. 499.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 500.

Genl and Mr Sergeant. Mrs. Tuthills Daughters invited my Lady as came down and gave a glass of good Wine. As came down again through the Gate I asked my Lady's Leave that now I might call it Bellomont Gate. My Lady laugh'd and said, What a Complement he puts on me! With pleasancy."¹

The scene Lady Bellomont looked upon from Cotton Hill no longer exists in its original beauty, as when the rivers, unweaved by bridges, ran to the ocean, and the adjacent heights and headlands, with the lenticular hills beyond, and the hundred islands in the bay, were untouched by despoiling hands, and around all was the encircling sea. Sewall's Diary contains these last memoranda:—

"Seventh-day, Nov^r 4. This day the Gov^r treats the Council and sundry other Gentlemen in Mr Sergeants best chamber."²

1700, July 17. "The L^d Bellomont our Gov^r sets sail for New York."³

1707, March 15. "The Town is filled with the News of my Ld Bellomont's death, last Wednesday, was seignight."⁴

From these and other entries it is evident that Lord Bellomont was popular with the Massachusetts people while living, and that he was regretted when dead. Peter Sergeant was not the only one who, to his own inconvenience, was willing to accommodate his lordship. Sewall himself, who owned a coach-house and stable on the Pyncheon lot, where the Horticultural Hall now stands, and not far from the Sergeant Mansion, gave them up to the Governor. Whether the gate named Bellomont in compliance with Sewall's gallant request long bore that distinction, does not appear; but he records, as late as Dec. 18, 1706, that—

"Bastian Lops the Elm by my Lord's stable; cuts off a cord of good wood. Mr. Sergeant came up Rawson's lane as we were doing it."⁵

But the whole of Peter Sergeant's complacency towards the Governor has not been told; for his lordship, finding "Mr. Sergeants best chamber" quite to his mind, desired the whole

¹ Diary, vol. i. p. 500.

² *Ibid.* p. 504.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 174.

estate. This Sergeant not only accorded to him; but that he might do so, hired and moved into a house owned by William Gibbins, on the other side of Washington Street. When Lord Bellomont went to New York, and death had precluded his return to Boston, Sergeant gave up the Gibbins house, and resumed his own; but it is uncertain whether Madam Sergeant returned to the mansion, or was carried to her last resting-place from the Gibbins house. She died Nov. 10, 1700.

Apparently Earl Bellomont arranged with Sergeant and Sewall for their respective estates with the expectation of paying the rents out of his own pocket, as appears from the following:—

"1699 Aug. 28. Earl Bellomont writes to the Lords of Trade that he paid £100 a year for a house in Boston, besides a charge for a stable."¹

But it is now certain that the province not only paid these rents, but also Sergeant's expenses for entertaining the Governor in his house before arrangements were made by which he became sole occupant. His lordship, as is seen above, sailed for New York July 17, 1700. About three weeks later, August 5, Sewall wrote to the Earl, then at Albany, as follows:—

"I congratulate your Excellency, and my Ladys safe arrival at New York, and condole your repeated affliction by the Gout. . . . The Committee appointed by the Gen^l Court, have agreed to the proposals made by Mr. Sergeant and myself. They allow me Fifteen pounds p^añum for the Stable, from the first of Octob^r till May next; And the Province is to have what Benefit can reasonably be made of it during your Lordships absence."²

Though this agreement with the General Court is for prospective rent, it will appear in the sequel that the province paid for the whole time during which the Mansion House of Mr. Sergeant and Sewall's coach-house and stable were used by the Governor.

The following records require little or no comment:—

¹ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. vol. vi. p. 83.

² Sewall's Letters, vol. i. p. 240.

*General Court Records.*¹[March 23, ¹⁶⁹⁹/₁₇₀₀.]

A Resolve of the House of Representatives in the Words following was Sent up, read, and Concurred with Vizt,
Resolved

That the whole Charge arising for House Rent for the Accomodation of His Ex^{ty} for this Year, be paid out of the Treasury of this Province at the Expiration of the Year

His Ex^{ty} house rent to be paid out of the Treasury.

Consented to

BELLOMONT

The foregoing resolve, as will be noticed, is not a legislative act consented to by the Governor after it had passed both bodies, but a resolve of the Council, authenticated and approved by the Earl of Bellomont, and sent up to the House of Representatives for concurrent action; and it is an illustration of what Hutchinson says of him:² "There was something singular and unparliamentary in his [Bellomont's] form of proceeding in the Council; for he considered himself as at the head of the board in their legislative as well as executive capacity."

Council Records.

Whereas the Committee appointed by the Great & General Court or Assembly at their session begun & held at Boston the 20th day of May last, to treat with Peter Sergeant Esq^r for the hire of his house wherein his Excell^{cy} the Earl of Bellomont lately dwelt, have reported their agreement That the s^d M^r Sergeant be allowed & paid after the rate of one hundred pounds p annum for fourteen months and a halfe from his Lordp^s entring thereon.

Hire for the Earl of Bellomont's house.

Advised and consented That his honour the Lieu^t Governour issue forth his Warrant unto M^r Treasurer to pay unto the said Peter Sergeant Esq^r Rent for his s^d house for the space of fourteen months and a halfe, after the rate of one hundred pounds p annum amounting to the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, sixteen shillings and eight pence.³

Order for the paying it.

Whereas the Committee appointed by the Great & General Court or Assembly at their Session begun and held at Boston the 29th day of May last, to treat with Samuel Sewall

Sewall's acct for the Earl of Bellomont's use of his stable & ca

¹ Gen. Court Rec. vol. vii. p. 64.² Hutchinson's Hist. vol. ii. p. 113.³ Council Rec. vol. iii. p. 146.

Esq^r for the hire of his Stable and Coach House for the use of his Excellency Richard Earl of Bellomont, have reported their agreement that the s^d Mr. Sewall be paid the sum of Fifteen pounds for one yeares Rent of the s^d Stable and Coach house to the 1st of October currant.

Order to pay
him.

Advised and consented That his Honour the Lieut^t Governour issue forth his Warrant to M^r Treasurer, to pay unto the said Samuel Sewall Esq^r the afores^d Rent or sum of Fifteen pounds.¹

[30 May 1701.]

Advised and consented. That there be paid unto Peter Sergeant Esq^r the sum of Twenty pounds for entertainment of his Excell^{cy} the Earl of Bellomont & his Family, at his first coming into this Government before his Excell^{cy} keeping house.

And that his honour the Lieut^t Gov^r issue forth his Warrant unto M^r Treasurer for payment of the same accordingly.

Advised and Consented that there be paid unto Samuel Sewall Esq^r the sum of seven pounds, ten shillings for the last halfe yeares rent of Stables for his Excellency Earl of Bellomonts horses.

And that his honour the Lieut^t Gov^r issue forth his Warrant unto M^r Treasurer for payment of the same accordingly.²

[5 Nov. 1701.]

Whereas the Committee appointed by the General-Assembly at their Session begun and held the 29th day of May 1700 to treat with Peter Sergeant Esq^r about the hire of his house in Boston wherein the Earl of Bellomont lately dwelt, have reported, that he be allowed and paid after the rate of one hundred pounds p^a annum for fourteen months & a halfe from his Lord^{sh} entring thereon, and after the same rate till the Sessions of the General Court in May Anno 1701. the Windows in s^d house to be mended at the Province charge. But in case his Lord^{sh} should not afterwards live in s^d house, then s^d Sergeant to be allowed nothing more than for the fourteen Months and a halfe past, but only the dead rent of the house he hired of William Gibbins.

And whereas payment having been already ordered for the fourteen months and a halfe rent aforesaid, there remains yet to be paid the dead rent of the house hired of William Gibbins for the space of nine months, ending on the seven-

¹ Council Rec. vol. iii. p. 160.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 208.

teenth day of April last past, at the rate of Twenty five pounds p annum, and Twenty eight shillings and five pence for mending of the Windows of s^d Sergeants House.

Ordered, That a warrant be made out and issued unto the Treasurer to pay unto the s^d Peter Sergeant Esq^{re} the sum of Twenty pounds, three shillings, in full for repairing the Windows of his own house, and the hire of the afores^d House rented of William Gibbins.

And, a Warrant for payment of the s^d sum accordingly, being drawn up was signed by fourteen of the Members of Council present at the Board.

After remarks by Messrs. G. S. HALE and PAIGE, the meeting was dissolved.

MEMOIR
OF
REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE HENRY PREBLE.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

THE first American ancestor of the Preble family was Abraham Preble, from the county of Kent, who settled in Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1636. Among the distinguished members of the family we may name Commodore Edward Preble, William Pitt Preble, United States Minister to Holland and Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine, and Brigadier-General Preble, the grandfather of our late associate.

George Henry Preble, son of Enoch and Sally (Cross) Preble, was born in Portland, Maine, Feb. 25, 1816. Educated in the public schools of his native town, at the age of fourteen he became clerk in a bookstore, and was so employed in 1835, when he received an appointment as a Midshipman in the navy. On examination he was made a Passed Midshipman in 1841; and in 1846, without further promotion, as acting Master of the "Petrel," he rendered important service in the Mexican War. His commission as Lieutenant was received in 1848; he was made a Commander in 1862, and Captain in 1867. In 1853, under Commodore Perry, he was put in command of a steamer chartered for the protection of American commerce against Chinese pirates; and in this service he manifested such signal promptness and efficiency as to receive not only emphatic praise from his commanding officer, but also the special thanks of Rear-Admiral Stirling of the British Navy. In 1862, while still a Lieutenant, he commanded the "Katahdin," under Farragut, and took part in all the principal operations on the Mississippi.

Shortly after he received his commission as Commander, occurred an event, unavoidable but disastrous, and threatening

an abrupt close to his honorable career. In September, 1862, while he was in command of the "Oneida," on the blockade of the Mobile harbor, the rebel steamer "Oviato" broke the blockade. The "Oneida's" steam-apparatus was undergoing readjustment, and could not be put in motion till the rebel vessel was beyond her reach. On the intelligence of this failure Commander Preble was summarily dismissed from the service, without the opportunity of making his statement of the affair, and not without reason for suspicion that some hostile outside influence of which he was the innocent and unconscious victim had been exerted with the functionaries of the Navy Department. This arbitrary action of the Department was warmly resented by his brother-officers and by large numbers of citizens conversant with public affairs; and the numerous testimonials to his long-trying and universally recognized ability and courage as an officer, together with fully certified statements of the circumstances which rendered the "Oneida" unseviceable in the stress of need, led to his restoration to his rank and position by the President in February, 1863. Seldom can so many and so hearty tributes have been paid to the sterling merit, personal and official, of any man, as were poured in upon him, in great part unsought, during the few months of his suspension; while he never for a moment doubted that he would be exonerated from all blame when the facts of the case could be clearly known.

In June, 1863, Commander Preble took command of the "St. Louis," and remained in active duty till the close of the war. In 1871 he received his commission as Commodore, and was Commandant of the Philadelphia Navy Yard from 1873 to 1875 (inclusive). He was commissioned as Rear-Admiral in 1876. His last sea-service was the command of the South Pacific squadron. In 1878 he was placed on the retired list.

He then established himself at Brookline, Massachusetts, and devoted the residue of his life to historical and literary pursuits. Though apparently in vigorous health, he had been made aware of the probable existence of organic disease of the heart, which, without a moment's premonition, terminated his life on the 1st of March, 1885.

Admiral Preble had the unqualified respect and esteem of all who knew him. To the virtues that adorn his profession

he added those which made him, in all the relations of home and of private life, honored and beloved. In manners and in character he realized the ideal of that highest style of man, the Christian gentleman. He was fervently patriotic; and the narrative of his career in the navy would be a singularly full record of large and varied public service, much of it requiring not only the courage and skill of an accomplished seaman and commander, but equally the finer culture of one widely conversant with books and with men. In his latter years of retirement his house, with its large and well-selected library, and its generous and genial hospitality, was a favorite resort, both of those who had served with and under him, and of those in sympathy with the studies and researches which gave employment to his well-earned leisure. None can have been associated with him, or can have enjoyed his intimacy, without regretting his departure, and holding him in reverent and enduring memory.

Admiral Preble, in 1868, published a very elaborate account of the "First Three Generations of the Preble Family." He was for many years a frequent contributor to the "New England Historical Register," to the "United Service," and to several newspapers in Portland and in Boston. For the "United Service" he prepared a valuable series of articles on the "Ships and Shipping of the World, from the Ark to the Great Eastern." In 1872 he published his work on the "Origin and Progress of the Flag of the United States of America," of which what purported to be a second edition, but was in great part a new work, appeared in 1880, under the title of "History of the Flag of the United States of America, and of the Naval and Yacht Club Signals, Seals and Arms, and Principal National Songs of the United States." In 1883 he published a "Chronological History of the Origin and Development of Steam Navigation." The materials for this last work and for the second edition of the preceding had been accumulated during his many years of active service, while in their present form they represent also the strenuous industry of his retirement. They are thorough and accurate, and are possessed of an historical value which can only grow with the lapse of years.

Admiral Preble was a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; of the American Antiquarian Society; and

of the Historical Societies of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Admiral Preble was married, in 1845, to Susan Zebiah, daughter of John and Thankful (Harris) Cox, of Portland, who died in 1875. Of four children of this marriage, two — Susie Zebiah and George Henry Rittenhouse Preble — survive.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1885.

The monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, the Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS occupying the chair.

The record of the previous meeting having been read, and the donations to the Library reported, the PRESIDENT made the following address:—

Since our last meeting we have lost from our *rôle* the oldest, in years, of our members, the Hon. James Murray Robbins, who was elected to the Society in June, 1860. He was born on Milton Hill, on June 30, 1796, and died in his home on Brush Hill, in the same town, on the 2d of November. He had thus entered upon his ninetieth year, having till within the last few months engaged in his usual occupations and intercourse. He was a lineal descendant of the famous Mrs. Ann Hutchinson. His grandmother was a cousin of the royal provincial governor Thomas Hutchinson. His immediate ancestors came from Scotland to our Cambridge in 1670. His family, in its generations, have filled honorably many offices of professional service. His father, Lieutenant-Governor Edward Hutchinson Robbins (H. C. 1775), was a lawyer; member of the Constitutional Convention of this State; Representative in the Legislature for fourteen years, in nine of them being Speaker; for five years Lieutenant-Governor; and then for eighteen, till his death in 1829, Norfolk Judge of Probate.

Our late member began his career as a merchant, was Deputy Consul at Hamburg, then Representative and Senator for his native State. He early formed historical and antiquarian tastes, being patient of research and accurate. He explored Dorsetshire, England, and particularly the old town of Dorchester. He furnished the first six chapters of the History of our own Dorchester, was the orator of the bi-centennial celebration of the town of Milton in 1862, and was one of a committee appointed by the town in 1883 to prepare its history,

— a work now in progress, — which engaged his zeal and labor. He was educated at Milton Academy, largely founded by his father, who, with the son, were the presidents of it for seventy-six years. Dying childless, he was the last of his generation, though his family is represented among us by Lymans, Howes, Reverses, etc.

In the last letter to his family, written by the late Dr. Rufus Ellis, minister of the First Church in Boston, — received here after an ocean cablegram had communicated the intelligence of his sudden death in Liverpool, on September 22, the night preceding his intended embarkation for home, — he refers to a very interesting visit which he had just made to Dedham, in England. Ancestral ties on both sides attracted him to the old town. His first maternal ancestor in this country was the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, first minister of Ipswich, Massachusetts, whose son John was President of Harvard College. Nathaniel, a graduate of Emmanuel, Cambridge, was driven by persecution to New England in 1636. He was a son of the famous Puritan divine, John Rogers, of Dedham. Dr. Ellis's paternal ancestor was one of the company that, coming from the English town, first settled in our own Dedham. Dr. Ellis's visit was on the 11th of September. He made notes of it which he hoped to write out on his homeward passage. A friend who accompanied him has furnished me some particulars of the excursion. An early train from London brought the travellers, in two hours, through the eastern country to Manningtree Junction, whence a drive of four miles, in a private conveyance, took them to Dedham, up and down a series of hills. Dedham lies in a valley on the river Stour, on the northeast of the county of Essex, bordering on Suffolk. A pretty village street creeping up the hill showed on its left side a fine old fifteenth-century church, with a lofty square tower, — a large and imposing structure for such a small town. But Dedham was not always the unimportant place which it has now become. A gentlemanly old shopkeeper, of whom the visitors sought information in his back parlor, spoke mournfully of the falling away even within his own memory. In old times the manufacture of wool gave it prosperity. Almost every house then had its loom, when factories were not. Government made great efforts to promote this industry in

Essex ; and among them was the passage of a law that every one who died in the county should be buried in a woollen shroud. They were hospitably welcomed at the vicarage by the gentleman who was doing duty during the vicar's vacation, and who politely produced the pile of church records at Dr. Ellis's request. As the latter sat in a chair by the pleasant window overlooking the churchyard, and took up the baptismal record, he exclaimed, "Why, I have come directly on my own name." It was that of a little Richard Ellis, son of Robert,—or Robet, as the name was spelt,—who was baptized about the year 1600. Though Dr. Ellis does not appear to have entertained the thought, there is a strong probability that the Richard Ellis on whose baptismal record his eye fell, was his first paternal ancestor in this country. The name appears among those who received the first allotments of land in our Dedham, in 1642; and from that date onward, in that town and the neighborhood, the family and its progeny have been numerous, as land-owners. Members of eight generations now rest in the village cemetery, the last one committed to it being the late Dr. Calvin Ellis of this city, by the side of his parents, both of whom bore the family name. Dr. Ellis found the old Dedham church books beautifully kept, owing, as he was informed, to a certain bishop of ancient times who made it his special care to see that within his range that duty was not neglected. The visitor pronounced the characters fair to look at; but he thought they might almost as well have been written in an unknown tongue, so strange were the letters and the spelling. He said, "If my brother George were here he could read them." On entering the church he found its interior not disappointing. On the outside the fine south porch was specially pointed out as much in need of repair. Dr. Ellis frankly expressed his surprise that some well-to-do parishioners did not do what was needful. Though he was informed that very few of the parishioners were so prospered, his professional instinct and experience led him to suggest that an effort by small weekly contributions would secure the desired result.

Dedham has an old endowed Elizabethan grammar-school, whose head-master was most civil and obliging in showing the visitors all of interest there was to see. None of its buildings dated back to the times when some of the people came

over to this country, though the oldest of the school-rooms would seem to have suffered the wear and tear of centuries. Dr. Ellis's surprise was great at the amount of hewing and hacking suffered by the desks and forms; even the floor bore marks of hard treatment. His astonishment evidently was not shared by the head-master, who mildly remarked that he supposed if similar disfigurement was not seen in America, it was because the boys were not left alone in the school-rooms.

The people whom they met were pleased and proud in doing their kindest services to the strangers, and were gratified at hearing Dr. Ellis say, "I am sure more people will come, now we have been." He was particular to note the time of the trains to and from London, for the information of others. A lady whom he met afterwards sent to him, in London, some little historical pamphlets of the town. In returning to the great city the visitors drove to Ardleigh, to take the train, and found the way more attractive than that to Manningtree.

Special recognition should be made of the gift to our Library, by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale College, a Corresponding Member of this Society, of a valuable volume from his pen. It is a labor of love for his college; and though the author derived aid from predecessors in his own field, its preparation required of him much extensive and difficult research. Its title is "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College, with Annals of the College History. October, 1701,— May, 1745." The names of four hundred and seventy-two graduates appear in these pages. The volume conforms to those from the pen of Librarian Sibley, of Harvard College ("Biographical Sketches," etc.), in giving memoirs of the alumni, under their classes, with their careers in life, a list of their publications, and references to the sources of information concerning them. It differs from Mr. Sibley's volumes in omitting the theses of the graduates at Commencement, and in introducing under each year the historical and the internal "Annals of the College" during the period. It thus happily combines with its personal sketches a sufficient history of the college. A discerning reader will find in the volume many significant suggestions of the matters and interests

in which Massachusetts and Harvard and Connecticut and Yale, respectively, were in sympathy and harmony, and in which divergent influences display themselves.

Dr. ELLIS said that the usual resolutions would be adopted; and he announced that Mr. Roger Wolcott had been nominated by the Council to prepare a memoir of Mr. Robbins.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then said:—

I have a little communication which may not be wholly without interest, and which will at least serve to fill up a few spare minutes this afternoon. It deals with a Massachusetts Town and with a late distinguished citizen of Boston; and if it has more about myself than I could wish, I am sure the Society will pardon me. It is an episode in the history of the National Monument to Washington, which has been recently completed and dedicated.

About the 1st of July, 1885, I received, at Richfield Springs, N. Y.,—where I was passing a few weeks for the benefit of my wife's health, as well as my own,—the following letter:

GREAT BARRINGTON, MASS., June 29, 1885.

HON. R. C. WINTHROP:

DEAR SIR,—I send you by express to-day a tin box of money contributed in this town for the Washington Monument. It was overlooked by my predecessor in office of Town Clerk, and was only recently handed to me. Noticing your name on the box as one of the sub-committee, I take the liberty to send it to you.

Very respectfully,

C. J. BURGET, *Town Clerk.*

The box was accordingly forwarded to Boston; and on my return to my summer residence at Brookline, on the 27th of July, I found it awaiting my examination.

It has recalled some interesting facts which I proceed to mention before they are lost to my memory.

It happened that my venerable friend the late Thomas Handasyd Perkins had been particularly impressed with the Oration which I delivered on the laying of the corner-stone of the National Monument to Washington, on the 4th of July, 1848. He had known Washington personally, had spent a day with him at Mount Vernon, and had conceived and cherished

the most exalted sense of his character and services and principles. The Oration had revived all his early enthusiasm in regard to Washington's pre-eminence, and it seemed that he could not read it or hear it too often. He even had it read aloud to him and to his family circle, on more than one Sunday evening, by his son-in-law the late William H. Gardiner, as Mr. Gardiner himself told me; and he afterwards published, at his own expense, for distribution and sale, a cheaper edition of it than that published by the Monument Association at Washington, in order to secure it a wider circulation.

More than four years afterwards I received from him the following note:—

BOSTON — say BROOKLINE, Thursday, A. M.

DEAR SIR,—When at Washington, I visited the Monument, the foundation of which you aided in laying. It was at a standstill, to my great chagrin. I determined therefore, on my return, to endeavor to raise enough to induce the gentlemen who have charge of the business to recommence the work. The Government, it is thought, will not let the work be suspended for want of funds. I want to consult you respecting the matter, and if you are in the vicinity will thank you to call. I have already written to Mr. Bates,¹ who I have no doubt will give his thousand dollars, and induce other Americans abroad to do something. I think a considerable sum can be raised before Congress rises. I will head the list with \$1,000. William Appleton will do the same, as will many others. I passed some days at Washington very pleasantly, and saw Mr. Fillmore, who was very gracious.

Your friend,

T. H. PERKINS.

This note was written by "the Colonel," as he was always called, and received by me on the 23d of December, 1852. He was then in his eighty-eighth year, and he died less than two years later.

I did not fail to call at once on my venerable friend, and I found him full of enthusiastic interest in the subject of his note. After some consultation it was agreed by us that a meeting of gentlemen should be held at his own house without delay, to devise a plan for carrying out the purposes which he

¹ Joshua Bates, the eminent banker, the founder of the Boston Public Library.

had so much at heart. Meantime he begged me to draft an appeal to the people of Massachusetts for contributions to the Monument, to be signed by the gentlemen who should assemble at his call. I accordingly prepared the following paper:—

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS :

The undersigned take the liberty to appeal to you in behalf of an object which cannot fail to be deeply interesting to every true American heart.

On the 4th day of July, 1848, the corner-stone of a Monument to GEORGE WASHINGTON was laid, with imposing ceremonies, in the city which bears his name. It was designed to be a national monument to the acknowledged Father of his Country. It was projected under the auspices of an Association of which John Marshall and James Madison had been successively presidents. A considerable sum of money had already been raised, and it was confidently believed that when the structure was once fairly commenced, and before the sum in hand should have been expended, there would be a sufficient interest excited in the object to insure an ample contribution for its completion.

More than four years have now elapsed, and the Monument has reached a height of a hundred and twenty-six feet from the ground. Four hundred feet remain to be built up in order to complete the original design, and the resources of the Association are wellnigh exhausted. Occasional contributions continue to come in from various parts of the country, but not to an amount or with a regularity to give assurance that the work can be prosecuted afresh at the opening of the ensuing season.

The idea will not be entertained for an instant that in this day of our national prosperity and pride a Monument to WASHINGTON can be suffered to remain unfinished for want of funds. An intelligent and grateful people will never permit this well-merited tribute to one whose memory will ever stand *first* in all their hearts to be left permanently incomplete.

But in order that the means for finishing it may be seasonably procured there is need of some concerted and systematic action. There must be a commencement somewhere of an earnest effort to acquaint the whole community with the character and condition of the work, and to give direction to the interest which such an object cannot fail to create; and there must be an example, in some quarter of the country, of a general and generous contribution among all classes, ages, and sexes of the people.

Where can such an effort be so appropriately made, where can such an example be so fitly exhibited, as in Massachusetts? It was here that

the great Revolution of Independence began. It was here that the first resistance to oppression was manifested. It was here that the first blood was shed. It was here, upon our own Massachusetts soil, that WASHINGTON first drew his sword in defence of American liberty. It was here that his first triumph was achieved, in expelling the enemy from Boston, and in restoring our metropolis to a condition of civil freedom, which has never since been interrupted. And nowhere have the benefits and blessings of the Federal Constitution, over whose formation WASHINGTON presided, and which afterwards he so wisely and nobly administered, been more signally enjoyed and illustrated than in our own ancient and beloved Commonwealth.

Let Massachusetts lead the way, then, in the completion of this National Monument to WASHINGTON. Let every man, woman, and child within her limits seize the opportunity of testifying their gratitude for his unequalled services, their reverence for his pure and spotless character, their adherence to his lofty principles and patriotic policy, and their affection for a memory which will be hallowed in all ages and in all lands.

It cannot be doubted that other States will be incited by our example to do their share, also, in a work which was designed to be accomplished by the united efforts of the whole American people.

The meeting was held and organized, with Thomas H. Perkins as Chairman, his grandson, T. H. Perkins, Jr., as Secretary, and Ignatius Sargent as Treasurer.

The appeal was dated "Boston, Feb. 1, 1853," and was sent forth to the people of Massachusetts with the following signatures:—

Thomas H. Perkins,
Abbott Lawrence,
Robert C. Winthrop,
Richard Frothingham, Jr.,
Samuel Walker,
Benjamin Seaver,
William Appleton,
S. D. Bradford,
Isaac P. Davis,
Charles W. Upham,
John E. Thayer,
Jonathan Preston,
John T. Heard,

Nathan Appleton,
George S. Boutwell,
Edward Everett,
John H. Clifford,
Elisha Huntington,
C. H. Warren,
George Bliss,
Nathan Hale,
Joseph Grinnell,
Francis Peabody,
Jonas Chickering,
Ignatius Sargent,
T. H. Perkins, Jr., *Secy.*

Of these twenty-six signers only three, I believe, are still living.


Before the meeting adjourned a sub-committee was appointed to carry out the plans of Colonel Perkins; and by this committee a great number of subscription books were prepared, with the appeal to the people as an introduction, which were sent to official persons and leading individuals in all the cities and towns of Massachusetts.

Tin boxes were also prepared and distributed for receiving the contributions of the people. This is one of them. Upon these tin boxes the following short appeal was pasted, in large type:—

THE
NATIONAL MONUMENT
TO
WASHINGTON,
IS STILL UNFINISHED.

Let every son and daughter of Massachusetts cast in their mite for its completion. Let those who cannot afford dollars give dimes, or even half-dimes. Let no one refuse to contribute *something* to the commemoration of the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

| | | |
|--|---|----------------|
| THOMAS H. PERKINS, ABBOTT LAWRENCE, ROBERT C. WINTHROP, RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR., SAMUEL WALKER, | } | Sub-Committee. |
|--|---|----------------|

 Boxes are prepared for every town. Which shall be filled first?

The good old Colonel, in his eighty-eighth year, devoted no little time and labor to the preparation of these tin boxes. I wrote the inscription, or label, for them at his request; but he had it printed, and pasted it on many, if not on all, of them with his own hand. He made it his work for many months to prepare and distribute them, sometimes carrying them in person to hotels and halls and offices where they could be fastened to the walls and attract public attention. I know not which of them was "filled *first*,"—if any of them were ever filled. But this Great Barrington box comes back to me *last*, after the Monument has been completed, at the end of thirty-seven years

after the corner-stone was laid, to recall circumstances which I had almost forgotten. It has not yet been opened; but the rattling of the contents gives promise of a good many coppers, if not dimes and quarters. I dare not hope that it contains many gold pieces; but I shall pass it over to the Treasurer of the Monument Association just as it has come to me, with this history of the transaction.

A considerable sum was remitted to the treasurer from time to time, as the result of Colonel Perkins's efforts. A sum of at least five thousand dollars was, I believe, credited to him on the books of the Association at one time, and I think that not less than twice that amount was contributed on the appeal which he originated. But he died in his ninetieth year, only a little more than a year after he took the matter seriously in hand, and others entered into his labors.¹

In replying to a complimentary toast, at a dinner of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, in October, 1854, I took occasion to allude to this labor of love of my venerable friend, who had died a few months before, in the following terms:—

"You have alluded, in the sentiment which called me up, to the humble service which I rendered some years ago, as the organ of the representatives of the Union, at the laying of the corner-stone of the National Monument to Washington. I cannot but remember that the latest efforts, in this quarter of the country, to raise funds for the completion of that monument were made by one whose long and honorable life has been brought to a close within the past twelve months. I cannot forget the earnest and affectionate interest with which that noble-hearted old American gentleman devoted the last days, and I had almost said the last hours, of his life to arranging the details and the machinery for an appeal to the people of Massachusetts in behalf of that still unfinished structure. He had seen Washington in his boyhood, and had felt the inspiration of his majestic presence; he had known him in his manhood, and had spent a day with him, by particular invitation, at Mount Vernon,—a day never to be forgotten in any man's life; his whole heart seemed to be imbued with the warmest admiration and affection for his character and services; and it seemed as if he could not go down to his grave in peace until he had done something to aid in perpetuating the memory of his virtues and his valor. I need not say that I allude to the late Hon. Thomas Handasyd

¹ Born Dec. 15, 1764; died Jan. 11, 1854.

Perkins. He, too, was a Boston boy, and one of the noblest specimens of humanity to which our city has ever given birth; leading the way for half a century in every generous enterprise, and setting one of the earliest examples of those munificent charities which have given our city a name and a praise throughout the earth. He was one of your own honorary members, Mr. President, and I have felt that I could do nothing more appropriate to this occasion, — the first public festive occasion in Faneuil Hall which has occurred since his death, — and nothing more agreeable to the feelings of this Association, or to my own, than to propose to you, as I now do, 'The Memory of THOMAS HANDASYD PERKINS.'

Such is the story which the Great Barrington box has recalled to me.

I cannot conclude without a suggestion which I shall communicate for the consideration of those who have the Monument in charge, and who are about to affix tablets on the inside walls, commemorative of the progress and completion of the great work.

In the subscription books prepared by Colonel Perkins for circulation throughout Massachusetts, one of which I reserved for myself at the time, and which I have here, there was inserted a printed copy of the rules which had then been adopted by the Board of Managers of the Monument Association. One of those rules is as follows: —

"Four marble panels are to be inserted in the Monument. One panel is for the names of those who contribute \$1,000; one for the names of those who contribute \$500; a third for the names of those who contribute \$200; and the fourth for the names of those who contribute \$100.

Now, it may not be practicable to comply with this rule at this late day, even if it were expedient to do so. Private contributions failed to accomplish the work, and it would hardly be possible to ascertain, after so many years, by whom contributions of these various amounts were made. But the history which I have narrated, and the records of the Association, establish the fact that Thomas Handasyd Perkins contributed \$1,000 in 1852, besides being instrumental in securing large contributions from others. Is it not due to his memory that his name should have a place on one of the tablets to be affixed to the inside walls of the Monument?

I have brought with me the Great Barrington box, so strangely returned after a full third of a century, and I submit it for inspection, still unopened, as a curious relic of a past generation, and of the loving care and zeal of Colonel Perkins. Possibly there may be other boxes of the same sort in other places, which the mention of this one and the good example of the town clerk of Great Barrington may lead to being discovered and sent to their destination. I am sorry to say, however, that I have an indistinct recollection of having heard long ago that some of them had been stolen and rifled.

Dr. GREEN presented the following letters from John Marston Goodwin, Esq., which relate to an affair mentioned some years ago in the Proceedings:—

SHARPSVILLE, MERCER CO., PA., Aug. 14, 1885.

Librarian of Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston, Mass.

SIR,—On page 163 of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for December, 1869, you will find an account of the reading of a letter addressed to the Society by Captain Nathaniel Goodwin (then temporarily residing at Framingham, Massachusetts), explaining the reason of the desertion of the house and shop of *William Beadle*, at Wethersfield, Connecticut, mentioned in the journal of Samuel Davis, published in the Proceedings as per foot-note on said page 163. Said *Beadle* married Lydia Lothrop (daughter of Ansell Lothrop and Mary Thompson, his wife), and, according to Captain Goodwin, had four children by her, "*all of whom, with his wife, he murdered; then cut his own throat.*" "Hence arose the reluctance" of the people of Wethersfield to occupy the house and shop in question.

By order of Roger Newberry, Esq., Judge of the Court Probate for the District of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, in New England, dated March 13, 1783, attested by Jonathan Bull, Clerk, Isaac Lothrop was appointed administrator of the estate of *William Beadle*.

I have recently come into possession of some of the papers of Mr. Lothrop, relative to the settlement of the Beadle estate by him as administrator; and on examining them find a bill, rendered by Ashbel Riley, of Wethersfield, for services and sundry disbursements for account of said estate, the first item in which is (*horresco referens*): "Dec. 1782, To Josiah Deming's bill for 5 coffins: £2. 15. 0." Another item is: "To Andrew Combs, for Digging Graves, £0. 15. 0." Another, suggestive of the existence of popular excitement at the time: "To Saml Curtice, with his gard, £2. 1. 6." The fact that there were *only* "5 coffins" gives rise to the query, Were there, indeed, *four*

children? If all the dead were buried at one time, and there were four children, the number of coffins should have been, presumably, *six*. Were all buried together, or was the murderer and suicide buried "where four roads meet, with a stake thro' his heart"? The inscription on the memorial-stone is perhaps still legible, in which case one may learn from it something of the facts in the case. The "Table for ye grave — 6 foot by 3 — cost £4. 10. 0;" and the "Inscribing 427 Letters on ye same — £1. 15. 7."

I have also a memorandum addressed by *W. Beadle* to *P. Vandervoort*, of Hartford, Connecticut, dated Nov. 18, 1782 (close to the time of the horrible deed whereby six persons met violent deaths), and in these words:—

WETHERSFIELD, Nov. 18, 1782.

MR. VANDERVOORT.

SIR, — I have sold 34^{lb} your sugar and used just the same Quantity myself 34^{lb}.

6^{lb} more used myself
3^{lb} more.

May God keep you and Yours,

W. BEADLE.

The papers are in perfect preservation; not torn nor stained, and the ink but very little faded from its original blackness.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN MARSTON GOODWIN.

P. S. I have, among other papers (happily not associated with deeds like that of the desperate man of whom we have been writing), a *Journal* kept by a native of Massachusetts, who was in "the King's service," on board the flagship of Admiral Rodney's fleet in the "West Indies" seas, from Oct. 25, 1761, to Sept. 26, 1763. The entries concerning the operations of the fleet are quite full, particularly at and about the time of the capture of Fort Royal, Martinique. The book is in excellent preservation, and every word in it is legible. It contains a list of the fleet, with code of signals used for certain purposes. The writer of the Journal went to England from "The Havannah" in one of the line-of-battle-ships captured by the English from the Spaniards at the taking of Havana.

J. M. G.

In re Beadle, of Wethersfield, Connecticut.

SHARPSVILLE, MERCER CO., PA., Sept. 23, 1885.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, Esq., Librarian Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston.

DEAR SIR, — Since my letter to you of August 28, I have been in correspondence with Mr. Albert Galpin, Town Clerk of Wethersfield, Connecticut, seeking to learn something of the local traditions in the *Beadle* matter. I append a copy of the inscription on the *Beadle* tablet, quoted by Mr. Galpin from the "Connecticut Historical Collections,"

and some memoranda by Mr. Galpin himself. You remember that I sent you a copy of the items from the bill of Ashbel Riley *vs.* Isaac Lothrop, administrator of the estate of *William Beadle*, one of which items is: "To Josiah Deming's bill for 5 coffins: £2. 15. 0." Beadle's *victims* were *five* in number (wife and *four* children: see letter of N. Goodwin, Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., December, 1869, p. 163). My query was, What did they do with *Beadle's* body? Did they bury it at the place "where four roads meet, with a stake thro' his heart"? or how? Mr. Galpin writes: "The people of this place were so indignant that they took Beadle's body through a window of the house, placed it on a sled, *without a coffin*, and with his horse dragged it to the riverside and buried it between high and low water mark." So the administrator had to pay for only *five* coffins, as per bill aforesaid.

The inscription, as given by Mr. Galpin, contains 432 letters and figures. The bill (copy sent you) calls for "427 letters."

The "inscription," as given by Mr. Galpin, reads as naming *five* children, whereas there were but *four*. The first two names — given thus, "Ansell, Lothrop" — are to be (properly) read *Ansell Lothrop*, one name. The name of Mrs. Beadle's father was *Ansel Lothrop*, he of Plymouth, Massachusetts.

The inscription reads thus: —

"Here lie interred Mrs. Lydia Beadle, aged 32 years, Ansell, Lothrop, Elizabeth, Lydia, and Mary Beadle, her children, The eldest aged 11 years, the youngest 6 years, Who on the morning of the 11th of Dec. A. D. 1782, fell by the hands of William Beadle, an infuriated man, who closed the horrible sacrifice of his wife and children with his own destruction.

"Pale round their grassy tombs bedewed with tears
Flit the thin forms of sorrows and of fears
Soft sighs responsive swell to plaintive chords
And indignations half unsheath their swords."

Yours truly,

JOHN MARSTON GOODWIN.

Dr. Green also called the attention of the Society to a letter dated Feb. 27, 1795, and printed in the "Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of Sir William Jones. By Lord Teignmouth." Philadelphia, 1805 (pp. 416-418). It was written by James Sullivan, at that time the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, informing Sir William of his election as a Corresponding Member. He had been chosen at the January meeting in 1795, although he died in Bengal on April 27, 1794, nine months previously. This fact brings out

in strong contrast the great improvements of the present time over those of the last century in the way of international communication throughout the world. It would be practically impossible now for a man of such eminence in the domains of literature and science to be taken away in any part of the world without the fact being known at once wherever newspapers are published.

Dr. EVERETT presented a pamphlet containing his address on the late Dr. Rufus Ellis; and a "History of the United States for Schools," by Alexander Johnston, Professor in Princeton College, which he highly commended.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then quoted a remark of Daniel Webster, that he never went on a journey without taking in his trunk Mrs. Emma Willard's "History of the United States," the marginal notes of which he considered very valuable.

Dr. CHANNING referred to a manuscript in the Society's possession labelled "Proceedings about the Lands at Narragansett, etc., April 2, 1672," given by Mr. Winthrop on March 14, 1871. It contains attested copies of all the important documents relating to the Atherton Company. Among them are two bearing date Oct. 13, 1660, which are printed below. Neither of these papers in itself is of much interest; but as forming important links in the history of one of the early colonial land speculations, they are of considerable value.

Whereas there is a writeing upon y^e other leafe of this paper giuen by Suckquansh Ninegrat & Scuttup in behalfe of themselves & their associates wherein they have made over all these Lands to Maj^r Humphry Atherton & his Associates for y^e paym^t of six hundred fathom of peage wth y^e charges to y^e Comisso's Also an ingagem^t not to sell any land to any person or persons except Maj^r Atherton & his associates as more amply appears by y^e s^d writeing: now if this Land do any wayes come in to y^e hands of y^e s^d Maj^r his Associates or assignes or their heires or assignes wee promise to y^e s^d Maj^r & agree amongst o^r selves not wth standing in regard y^e Indians put a great deale of trust in y^e s^d Maj^r & Expect kindness from him y^t wee will not wth standing use the Indians wth all Curtesy & not take y^e Land from them for five or six yeares & when wee shall have Accation to plant it y^t not wth standing wee will suffer them to plant in y^e Country & enjoy their privilegedes of Royalties & from time to time allow them Competancy of planting

ground for them & their successors for ever dated this 13th Octob^r 1660
In witness whereof wee have joyntly subscribed our hands,

HUMPHRY ATHERTON for himselfe & son

EDWARD HUTCHENSON for himself & son

RICHARD SMITH

THOMAS STANTON for himself & son

RICHARD SMITH Jun^r

WILLIAM HUDSON

JOHN ALCOCK

AMOS RICHISON

JAMES SMITH

THOMAS WILLETT

JOHN BROWN

JOSIAS WINSLOW

Recorded in the 28 page of the old Court
Booke Hartford Sep^r 7. 1664

as attest JOHN ALLEN Secretary

true Coppy of the originall

attest ^WNATH^{LL} CODDINGTON assis^t

HARTFORD 13 of 8^h m. 1660

WORSHIPFULL S^r — o^r ho^{ed} Govern^r p^rsenting unto y^e Considera-
tion of y^e Gener^{ll} Court yo^r desires respecting y^e wampom to be p^d by
y^e narragansets to this Colony it seemed good to y^e court after serious
consideration about y^e propositions to come to this determination w^{ch} I
was ordered in y^e name of y^e court to certifie unto yo^r selfe wth any
other therein concerned y^t according unto y^e Comis^{rs} order this court
Expects, y^t y^e sum of wampom imposed by y^e hon^ded commiss^{rs} & security
given for y^e paym^t thereof by y^e narragansets shall be cordingly
p^rformed unto o^r worshipfull Gover^r here at Conecticot as also 140
fatham for y^e Charges of y^e mesengers up on y^e payment whereof y^e
agreem^t wth y^e Narragansets is to be surrendered & not otherwise & it
is likewise Expected y^t y^e paymement be made in Currant & well stringed
wampom not else but respects presented from

yo^r loving friends & Confederats y^e

To y^e worshipfull Maj^r Humpry
atherton at Dochest^r these wth
trust p^rsent

Gener^{ll} Court at Connecticott in
y^e name & by their order sub-
scribed ^WDAN^{LL} CLARK secr^y

a True Coppy of y^e Originall compared

as attest NATH^{LL} CODDINGTON assis^t

The collection also contains a list of the associates of Hum-
phrey Atherton in this transaction. It corresponds exactly
with that in the Records of the company,—the so-called
“Fones Records,”—which are in the custody of the Rhode

Island Secretary of State, and is here given as being more accurate than the list printed in the "Trumbull Papers."

The names of such as are associates and have Interest with Major Humpry Atherton in this writeing and have as full Interest in it as the said Major paying their proportions of what shall be paid to the Comissioners In Witness whereof the major hath put to his hand under this this writeing this 13th October 1660

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| M ^r John Winthrop Gover ^r of Connecticott | |
| M ^r Simon Bradstreet | |
| Maj ^r Gener ^l Daniel Denison of Ipswick | |
| Maj ^r Josias Winslow of Marshfield | |
| Cap ^t Thomas Willett of Rehoboth | |
| Cap ^t Rich ^d Lord of hartford in Connecticott | |
| Cap ^t George Denison of Southertown | |
| Cap ^t Edward Hutchinson | } all of Boston |
| Leif ^t William Hudson | |
| M ^r Amos Richenson | |
| Elisha Hutchinson | } all of Narragansett |
| M ^r Richard Smith sen ^r | |
| M ^r Richard Smith Jun ^r | |
| James Smith | } of Southertowne |
| M ^r Thom ^s Stanton sen ^r | |
| M ^r Thom ^s Stanton Jun ^r | |
| M ^r Increase Atherton of Dorchester | |
| M ^r John Alcocke of Roxbury | |
| M ^r John Browne sen ^r of secucke | |

HUMPRY ATHERTON

Recorded in y^e 28 page of y^e old court booke of Hartford
 Sep^t y^e 7 1664 as attest JOHN ALLEN Secretary

a true copy of y^e originall
 compared by mee

NATH^l CODDINGTON assis^t

The within are a true copy
 of y^e originalls attest NATH^l
 CODDINGTON assis^t

Mr. DEANE said that if he had been aware of the existence in the Society's archives of the manuscript referred to by Mr. Channing, he should probably have made use of some portions of it when preparing the recent volume of "Trumbull Papers" for the press. It was entitled "Proceedings about the Lands at Narragansett, etc.," and was presented by the late President, Mr. Winthrop, as appears by an indorsement on it, "March 14, 1871." It was not communicated at a meeting of the Society,

and for that reason found no place in the Proceedings. The paper is a transcript of several documents relating to the transactions of the Atherton Company for several years, and was probably drawn up or compiled early in the beginning of the last century. Mr. Deane thought it was desirable to print any portions of these documents not known to have been already printed elsewhere, as indicated by Mr. Channing. The Narragansett papers known as the "Fones Records," which have been sealed from public inspection for so many years in the Secretary's office in Rhode Island, contain, it is believed, but few papers of value not already published. (See Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. vol. iii. Introd. p. xiv.)

DECEMBER MEETING, 1885.

The Society held its regular meeting on the 10th instant, the Rev. Dr. ELLIS, the President, in the chair.

The Secretary's report of the previous meeting was read.

The Librarian's list of gifts to the Library was submitted; and among them were about a hundred volumes which had been received from the President.

Dr. ELLIS then said:—

The death at Cambridge yesterday, after a completed life of fourscore years, of our associate John Langdon Sibley, Librarian Emeritus of Harvard College, has been long expected, and perhaps would have been earlier welcomed by himself and his friends as a release from protracted infirmities. His name has been upon our roll for thirty-nine years. He was one of those intelligent workers in the fields of historical and biographical studies, for whom such a Society as this exists, who use its stores and enrich its productions. He had all the special qualities which are most requisite and most fruitful in his and our appropriate pursuits,—curiosity, interest, and sympathy with the subjects of his studies; extended, thorough, and patient research, carried into obscure and minute details; and a conscientious respect for accuracy. He was impartial, candid, and generous in his judgments. We have all of us identified him with the College. It might well be so, for it was his own appropriation of his life and service. He was one of those marked personalities, in aspect, garb, and bearing, which fit and grace a college or university, as certifying to its age, its historical and traditional type of character and of service. All ancient institutions of learning gather during the years such congruous personalities, in their officers and servants,—like the famous Tutor Flynt, of the elder generations of Harvard, and the quaint Grecians, Popkin and Sophocles, of more recent times.

With the exception of a few of the early years of his manhood spent in the ministry, Mr. Sibley had through his long

life found his field and its centre in the Library of his Alma Mater; and his "Library was dukedom large enough." It was not strange that in his later years his vision was impaired; neither was it strange that he should renew it through surgical help, for further poring over ancient and crabbed manuscripts. His labors upon those most engaging of periodicals to the lovers of ancient Harvard, — the "Latin Catalogues," — and his revivification in three noble volumes of the far-off Graduates of the College in its years of penury, frugality, and stern fidelity, have conferred for perpetual memory his useful and blameless life.

Judge HOAR paid an eloquent tribute to Mr. Sibley, and spoke with high appreciation of his generous gift to Phillips Exeter Academy for the benefit of poor boys, and of his persistent effort through life to advance what was associated with the tender memories of childhood and youth.

Dr. PAIGE expressed his sense of personal loss in the death of one with whom he had been most intimately associated, and who had assisted him to the utmost in preparing his History of Cambridge.

The customary resolutions were adopted; and Dr. Peabody was appointed to prepare a memoir of Mr. Sibley.

Mr. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL presented to the Society an autograph letter of Burns to Miss Benson, afterwards the mother of Mrs. Bryan Waller Procter, who gave it to him. Mrs. Procter's own maiden name was Shepper; and, through her father, she was descended from that Scheffer who disputes with Faust and Gutenberg the invention of printing. Her mother married, as her second husband, Mr. Basil Montagu, and her own husband was known in literature as Barry Cornwall. Since the death of Miss Mary Berry, there has been no personage more marked in London society than she. Born with the century, there is hardly any celebrated person of the last sixty years, except Byron, whom she has not known. With most of them she has been on terms of friendship, and with many of intimacy. Her conversation is delightful, not only for its wealth of anecdote and reminiscence, but for its unfailing wit and its sprightly shrewdness in the delineation of character. The letter should be considered as a gift from her to the Society. Mr. Lowell added that he had not been

unmindful of the Society while abroad. It was at his personal suggestion that the Conde de Toreno sent to the Library the superb volume of "*Cartas de Indias*."

The letter of the Scottish poet, which is framed and carefully preserved between plates of glass, was examined with much interest by the members; and it was voted that the grateful acknowledgments of the Society be given to Mr. Lowell, and communicated by the Secretary to Mrs. Procter for this choice gift.

Mr. APPLETON spoke of a portrait of Washington now on exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in this city, and similar to the picture of which a copy belongs to the Society. It is one of the group of repetitions painted by Charles Wilson Peale, and adds one to the list recorded in our Proceedings for November, 1874. It was owned by Elias Boudinot, well known in our history, is now the property of his descendant, Miss Boudinot, and is offered for sale at the price of \$6,000. It is somewhat smaller than all the others, so far as known, and is perhaps more likely than they to have been painted from life.

The PRESIDENT then spoke of a picture in water-color representing the landing of the British troops here in 1768, and dedicated by "C. R." to John Hancock, which was owned in Maine and had been offered for sale.

Mr. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., communicated the following letter to Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, from Henry Boade, one of the leading settlers of Maine. The Society has already printed a letter of his in Part III. of the Winthrop Papers;¹ but this one, though belonging to the same collection, had been wrongly indexed, and has only recently been identified. Like its predecessor, it is indorsed by Governor Winthrop "Cosin Boade;" and the precise degree of this cousinship has hitherto been a puzzle. Dr. C. E. Banks, U. S. N., the author of several valuable contributions to the early history of Maine, has now pointed out that Thomasine Hilles, wife of John Forth, of Great Stambridge, in Essex (the father of Governor Winthrop's first wife), had previously been the widow of one Thomas Boade, of Rochford, in Essex. There is good reason to suppose Henry Boade to have been a

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 358.

nephew of this Thomas Boade, and thus a sort of step-cousin by marriage to the Governor. The "Mr. Adam" mentioned in the letter is obviously the Governor's son of that name.

Henry Boade to Gov^r John Winthrop. 1648.

To the right wo^rshipfull & my assured friend M^r John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, this present.

RIGHT WO^rSHIPFULL: My best respects remembred etc. These are to give you thanks for you^r counsell in those things I desyered. I desyre to know whether a letter of attorney from the whole towne expeyting 2 or 3 y^t are engaged to the ptie sued be not sufficient to prosecute for the towne.

I am very sory y^t I could not doe y^t in M^r Adam's busynes as I desytyned. I went presently before I came to mine owne house to demand the cattle for his debt, and they were then under an arest at the sute of Thomas Mercer for a debt due to him from John Lee. I spake with M^r Cleaves himselfe about the busynes and his answer was in regard the cattle were not delivered for the use of M^r Adam, notwithstanding his ingagement yet they were loyable to any debt of John Lee's. We doe still rely upon you^r wo^rshipec to helpe us in the Maine, in y^t one thinge necessary the meanes of grace, it would much rejoyce ou^r harts to receive a comfortable letter from you^r wo^rshipp to this end.

M^r Cleaves hath measured his 40 miles and hath beene wth me at Wells & saith his line reacheth us to be wthin his pattent of Legaonia, for the wth we are very sory, for we intended to joyne ou^rselves to the government of Massachusetts bay. If it might be we hope yet upon a second survey to find ou^rselves wthout his line. It is the vote of the most that he cannot come neere us if he begin to take his measure according to his pattent wth is at Sakado-hec river the South west syd of yt; but he began at M^r Purchas's house at the river called Mengipscott river, and sett one to measure that hath neither art nor skill for to doe such a busynes. He measured and came short of our towne 3 miles; there was one told him he would give him a quart of sakk to measure in such a man John Wadloe who dwelleth in y^e middell part of ou^r towne; he goeth back againe & then he reacheth all ou^r towne only 2 houses. When he was wth us he shewed his power under M^r Rigby over all that are wthin his regiment, as also wa^rants y^t he had received from you^r wo^rshipec and other of y^e assistants for the ayding of him in his proceedings, and wthall demanded our submission. This was but 18 dayes before his village court; our answer was this, that we were sett into ou^r possessions first by M^r Craddock's agent who bought y^e pattent of Stratten, secondly by M^r Thomas Gorges. We desyered of him he would give us some time to consyder of yt, the matter being of waight,

that we may have good grounds for what we doe, but he would not grant it unto us. We told him we would be at the charge of a second survey done by a sufficient artist and then yf we be found wthin his line willingly to submitt. But nothing will please him but ou^r present submission upon his survey by his owne man Booth, and what he will doe wth us we knowe not, but we heare he doth purpose to complaine to you^r wo^rshi^pe y^t we are rebellious. But indeed there is noe such thinge, we are ready to submitt upon good grounds and sent a man to his village-court wth our answere and to see his pattent [torn] we are to begin to take our measure. [torn] answere is we could not see it, yt was gn for old England. Thus I thought good to lett you^r wo^rshi^pe understand how things goe wth us here in y^e east. And rest you^rs to be commanded,

HEN: BOAD.

WELLS, this 20th of
Septber, 1648.

Mr. WINSOR presented some extracts from a family letter handed to him by Mr. C. W. Sever, of Cambridge, which relate to the burning of the Castle in Boston Harbor, in March, 1776, when the British evacuated the town, and which describe the consternation prevailing in Plymouth when Captain Manly was driven into that harbor by a British frigate in the same month. In the extracts some little carelessness in the spelling has been corrected.

[KINGSTON,] Saturday March 23.

MY DEAR, — . . . We were greatly surprised Wednesday evening by the appearance of a great light in the north, which many people thought could be occasioned by nothing less than the burning of the town of Boston. . . . I assure [you] it made a terrible appearance, but after a little reflection I was convinced it could not be the town, as the light, if that had been the case, would have been more extensive; but was at a loss to conceive what it could be. Could not think it possible it could be the Castle, but we since hear it is.

Thursday evening we had a new alarm, that the light-house and dwellings upon the Gurnet were in flames, upon which I looked out and discovered two large fires, which appeared exactly in the range of those buildings; supposed the enemy had landed and fired them, but comforted myself that if they had designed any further mischief they would not have begun by burning those buildings, as they must have been sensible it would give a universal alarm. Went to bed at my usual time tolerably well composed, but it was not so with our friends in Plymouth. Mrs. Otis drank coffee with me yesterday. She tells me they were in the utmost confusion there. It seems there were a

number of guns fired about the same time the fires were kindled (the guns we did not hear), which were both designed to give an alarm, but they supposed, as we did, that the buildings were on fire. They also supposed that the enemy fired the cannon, upon which they sent down a boat to see if they could discover the enemy. They soon returned with terrible accounts, that there were three or four large ships within the Gurnet, and that they were landing their men very fast, which threw the town into the utmost consternation. They kindled a fire on the burying hill, and despatched messengers to all the towns around, even as far as Wareham and Middleborough, to call in the militia; sent off many of their women and children, and as much furniture as they could get away. Mrs. Otis tells me they had their chairs at the door and cloaks on from half past ten till half after four, ready to fly in a moment. . . . In the morning to their great joy [they] found that the fleet which had thrown them into such a panic was Captain Manly with four other privateers, who were driven into the harbor by a large man-of-war, — and so ended this mighty affair.

Mrs. Thomas requests the favor that you would just call at a goldsmith near Mr. Hull (?), — she has forgot the name, — and take a pair of silver buckles, which the General left there to be mended, and that you would pay him for the mending them, and also for a pair of spectacle-bows [which] the General had of him. She also begs you to inclose her newspaper with your own. I have been to visit her [and] find her very dull. . . . My compliments to our friends at Watertown. I hope to see you next week; till then adieu.

Yours affectionately,

SARAH SEVER.

General John Thomas, it will be remembered, had led the force which, by the occupation of Dorchester Heights, had caused the evacuation of Boston, March 17; and he had probably started on his way to join the army in Canada, without attending to the little business his wife was now anxious to complete. Dr. Thacher, in his "History of Plymouth" (p. 214) makes brief mention of the fright on Manly's coming.

Dr. GEORGE H. MOORE, of New York, being called upon by the President, presented and read the following communication: —

The approach of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus revives universal interest in the history of the man and the event. Already the keynote of preparation has been sounded more or less

distinctly from many points of direction, and the busy hum of preparation begins to grow on the ear.

Whether or not that great Christian Church of which he was an enthusiastic devotee will inscribe his name among the saints on her crowded calendar may yet be doubtful, but that she will become more and more proud of his achievement under the banner of the renowned Catholic sovereigns of the Spanish Peninsula in the waning years of the fifteenth century is plainly written in the prophetic books of history. The claim has already been set up that is intended to vindicate the Roman Catholic countries and peoples of Europe against the just charge of gross and criminal neglect and indifference to the name and fame of one of the grandest of men among the sons of the Church.

But it is on the free and inspiring air of Protestantism, chiefly if not alone, that the trumpet of fame has rung out the great notes of celebration and honor to him among the generations of men who have filled the stage of human life since Christopher Columbus passed away from it in the cruel martyrdom of envy and neglect; and nowhere in the round world, or among them that dwell therein, have all the honors due to him been recognized or vindicated more fully and fairly than in the United States, where the first public celebrations of the discovery of America took place in 1792,¹ and a few years later the genius of the greatest master of the English language who has yet appeared in America was inspired to produce the best record of the life of the discoverer.

The name of Vesputius was written on the land of Columbus in 1507, within a year after his death. It appeared in the maps before 1521, where it has kept its place, and is likely to continue. I do not know that any considerable effort has ever been made to change it, although a sense of its injustice has haunted the minds of men in all these generations; but we are all familiar with a name which has grown into use in literature, especially poetry, as a substitute for the cumbrous descriptive political title with which the United States of America assumed a place among the nations of the earth.

¹ By the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, in the city of New York, on the 12th of October; and by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston, on the 23d of October.

The name is identified with the period of the Revolution and the years immediately following it; and when Joseph Hopkinson wrote his famous song, "Hail Columbia," he summed up the patriotic sentiment of nationality which had been steadily growing from the beginning of the War of Independence. It is creditable alike to the heads and the hearts of the people who achieved the independence of the United States that the name of *Columbia* took at once (as it were) so firm and lasting a hold upon their affections. The name of Columbus was thus revived in the new birth of Freedom, and has not ceased to be cherished to this day.

The earliest recognition in this part of the New World of the name of the discoverer as appropriate for the lands which he had discovered was by a famous man of New England, — Chief Justice Sewall. In his "*Phænomena Quædam Apocalyptica*," first published in 1697, and again in a second edition, 1727, he calls the country *Columbina*. At a later period he intimated the opinion, doubtless formed many years before, that "where (Tebel) World is mentioned in the Psalms, it is to be understood of the New World, *Columbina*."¹

The source of Sewall's inspiration on this subject is plain enough from his record. Nicholas Fuller, one of the best Oriental scholars, and who has been chronicled as "the most admired critic of his time" (1557-1622), was one of the first, if not the first of the English nation, who has recorded a protest in favor of Columbus: —

"Indiam Occidentalem, quam passim *Americam* dicunt, verè ac meritò *Columbinam* potius dicerent, à magnanimo Heroe Christophoro Columbo Genuensi primo terrarum illarum investigatore atque inventore planè Divinitus Constituto."²

"These are the sentiments of Mr. *Nicholas Fuller* concerning the New World. . . . This learned Man, agreeable to his great Ingenuity, endeavours to do *Columbus* the Justice, as to eternize his Honour, by engraving his Name upon the World of his Discovery. *It is everywhere called America; but according to Truth and Desert, men should rather*

¹ Dec. 2, 1725: *Diary*, vol. iii. p. 367. Compare Jan. 1, 1710, in vol. ii. p. 271.

² *Miscellanea Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. iv. *Crit. Sac.* ix. 2281, 63-67. Lond. 1660. Compare Poole's *Synopsis*, v. 1904, 31: "Fullerus noster in *Misc.* 2, 4 in fine probare Nationes Americanæ sint Magogiticæ gentis colonix, ob brevem Oceani in Scythicis istis oris tractum."

*call it Columbina, from the magnanimous Heroe Christopher Columbus a Genuese, who was manifestly Appointed of GOD to be the Finder out of these Lands."*¹

In these generous sentiments of the ancient Oxford scholar and critic, Sewall evidently agreed. The most emphatic illustration of his zealous interest in the name and fame of Columbus was given in the height of his courtship of Madam Winthrop in 1720, so graphically recorded in his Diary as printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society. October 11th he "writ a few Lines to Madam Winthrop," thanking her for her "unmerited Favours" of the day before, and hoping "to have the Happiness of Waiting on her" the next day "before Eight o'clock after Noon," concluding thus:—

"I pray God to keep you, and give you a joyfull entrance upon the *Two Hundred and Twenty Ninth year of Christopher Columbus his Discovery*: and Take Leave, who am, Madam, your humble Servt

"S. S."

Upon his following visit, as appointed, he found the fair widow's "Countenance much changed from what 't was on Monday, look'd dark and lowering;" and among other items which he records of that momentous interview, he appears to have found it necessary to "explain the expression Concerning Columbus."² He was sixty-nine and she was fifty-six years of age at this time. What the more or less lively widow thought about it is nowhere recorded among the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose publication of these matters and the discussions to which they have led furnish us with very entertaining as well as instructive reading.

A few years after the publication of Sewall's second edition of the "Phænomena," the "Gentleman's Magazine" began its long and useful career. The reports of debates in Parliament were made a feature in this publication; and in their preparation Cave, the editor, was assisted by Mr. William Guthrie. Dr. Johnson had not yet entered upon his work as an editor or author of these debates, which his name and fame have since made so celebrated; but they aroused the wrath of the House of Commons, in which, on the 13th April, 1738, it was duly

¹ *Phænomena Apocalyptica*, 1697, pp. 46, 47.

² *Diary*, vol. iii. pp. 266, 267.

resolved, concerning the publication, "that it is a high indignity to, and notorious breach of, the privileges of this House . . . and that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offenders." In this extremity, some expedient being necessary, Cave shrewdly prefaced the debates by what he chose to call "An Appendix to Captain Lemuel Gulliver's Account of the famous Empire of Lilliput;" and the proceedings in Parliament were given as debates in the Senate of Lilliput, with feigned names and other disguises. In the very first number of these reports there is a significant reference to "their Conquests and Acquisitions in *Columbia* (which is the Lilliputian name for the country that answers our *America*)."¹ These Lilliputian disguises were continued beyond the period of Johnson's debates. So far as I have been able to find out, this Lilliputian name for the country answering to English America was the first appearance of "Columbia" anywhere.

But when and where did the name *Columbia* first appear in the land to which it justly belongs? Until an earlier date is found for it, I am disposed to claim the honor of its introduction for an inhabitant, though not a citizen, of Massachusetts, — a negro woman, a native of Africa, and a slave at the time, the property of a citizen of Boston. She was a poet of no mean capacity. At any rate, the volume which contains many of her writings is a poetical monument quite as considerable as could be shown for Massachusetts at the time, and second only to that of another female writer of that colony, — Mrs. Anne Bradstreet.

In October, 1775, Phillis Wheatley was inspired by the patriotic muse to address a poem of forty-two lines of heroic verse to General Washington, who a few weeks before had taken command of the American Army of the Revolution. In that poem, printed a few months afterwards in the "Pennsylvania Magazine" in Philadelphia, the name "Columbia" appears for the first time, so far as I know, on this continent.

If an earlier use of it by any writer here may yet be pointed out, still this negro slave woman must have the honor of having led in the van of the little army of poets who speedily after her date made the welkin ring with the echoes of "Columbia." I do not find that she had ever used it before in any of her

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, vol. viii. p. 285.

poems; but it appears more than once in one of her subsequent productions.

Timothy Dwight followed; but his spirited lyric —

“Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
The Queen of the World and the child of the skies,”

was not written until the latter part of the year 1777, or perhaps later. His chaplaincy at West Point began in October of that year. In his “Conquest of Canaan,” the name appears several times, of which the first is in the ninety-second line of the first book, concluding his sympathetic tribute to the memory of Nathan Hale: —

“And sad Columbia wept his hapless doom.”

It was, however, the Tyrtæus of America, the New York Huguenot poet of the Revolution, Philip Freneau, who gave the greatest impulse to the new name of *Columbia*. In his “Dialogue between His Britannic Majesty and Mr. Fox, supposed to have passed about the time of the approach of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain to the British Coasts, August, 1779,” first published in the “United States Magazine” at Philadelphia in December, 1779, he repeats the word many times very effectively: —

“How shall I make Columbia yet my friend?”

“How vain is Britain’s strength! her armies now
Before Columbia’s bolder veterans bow.”

“And we no more for lost Columbia mourn.”

“Columbia, thou a friend in better times,
Lost are to me thy pleasurable climes.”

“Of all the isles, the realms with which I part,
Columbia sits the heaviest at my heart.”

“Withdraw your armies from the Americ’ shore,
And vex Columbia with your fleets no more.”

“Since Heaven has doomed Columbia to be free.”

He emphasizes the novelty of the name by his note subjoined to the first line in which he uses it, informing the reader that America is “so called by poetical liberty, from its discoverer.” His view of the matter is more fully illustrated in

his "Sketches of American History" written in 1785. The lines which I quote are certainly better history than poetry:—

"Good fortune, *Vespucius*, pronounced thee her own,
Or else to mankind thou hadst scarcely been known —
By giving thy name, thou art ever renowned —
Thy name to a world that another had found.
COLUMBIA the name was that Merit decreed,
But Fortune and Merit have never agreed —
Yet the poets, alone, with commendable care,
Are vainly attempting the wrong to repair."

It is unnecessary to pursue the topic much further. The name was speedily associated with many objects and subjects, natural, civil, and political, as well as literary. The first time it appeared in legislation was in the law of the State of New York giving the name of Columbia to King's College in 1784. Two years later (April 4, 1786), a new county was set off from Albany County, and established with the name of Columbia County. Since that time the name is legion, scattered throughout the land —

"Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa."

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP alluded to a note which he had received in reference to an elaborate picture of Niagara Falls, which represented it as it was sixty-two years ago. The writer of the note wished to dispose of the picture, which had been painted on canvas in oil by his father; but Mr. Winthrop thought that it ought to be purchased by the State of New York, which now had charge of that region, or, better still, that a museum should be established in connection with the Niagara Falls Park, and that this, together with all other views illustrating the same subject, should be deposited there for all coming time.

Mr. JENKS said:—

I have here a photograph presented to this Society at its last meeting, which I think you will agree with me deserves more notice than the mere mention of the donor's name; and perhaps some here will be glad to have their attention called to it, and to take the opportunity to look at it, for it

is a representation of the flag under which the minute-men of Bedford marched to Concord fight.

It is of red silk, about two feet square, not far (as nearly as I can remember from having seen it borne in processions once or twice) from the size of, and in general appearance resembling, the celebrated Eutaw Springs flag, which is held with such pride and affection by the Washington Light Infantry Company of Charleston, South Carolina; and it seems a pleasing coincidence that there should be in existence, and carefully preserved, two flags of such a nature, — one borne in the first battle of the Revolution, and the other carried in one of its latest conflicts.

The device on the flag is a mailed hand, extended out of what appears to be intended for a cloud, and grasping a dagger or small sword. Three large silver balls are on different parts of the surface, and the whole is partially encircled by a scroll bearing the motto, "Vince aut morire."

Perhaps some of our members more familiar with heraldry may explain the significance of the bearings, and tell us more about this flag. It has been kept in the family of the Ensign John Page, who bore it to Concord, and on the 19th of October, of this year, was presented to the town of Bedford by his grandson, now in his eighty-fifth year.

The long staff to which it is attached shows plainly that it was a cavalry flag; and it is said to have been carried in the French and Indian war by a cavalry company, largely or entirely made up from this town, in which, I believe, the same Page had been ensign. When the minute-men were summoned to go to Concord, he came, and naturally brought with him the flag he had borne before; and under it they marched to the fight.

This flag and the event with which it is connected have a special interest for me, because the house before which the minute-men assembled, supposed to be the oldest now standing in the village of Bedford, had been opened some years before by my great-grandfather as a tavern, and has remained for over a hundred years in his family (in the same name of Fitch); and it is reported that Jonathan Wilson, their captain, having drawn them up in line, addressed them, saying, "Boys, we will give you a cold breakfast, but before night we will give the British a hot supper."

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Wilson was killed in the Concord fight. His body was brought back to Bedford and buried in the old burying-ground. Whether there is any significance in it I cannot tell, but it is interesting in this connection to know that on his grave-stone is cut a hand holding a dagger similar to that on the flag. Perhaps it refers to his having been killed while fighting under it; perhaps there may have been in the device on the flag some personal reference. Further light upon the flag may also explain this.

Mr. E. J. LOWELL stated, in response to an inquiry by the President, that very few Hessian officers came over to our side during the Revolution; that a few soldiers did so, but they were mostly those who had been taken prisoners, and subsequently others who were about to return from America to Germany; but that Washington was especially averse to enlisting deserters.

Remarks were made by Dr. EVERETT, Mr. DEANE, and Mr. T. C. AMORY; and Mr. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL mentioned that John G. Saxe had declared that he was descended from a Hessian deserter.

JANUARY MEETING, 1886.

The first meeting of the new year was held on the 14th instant, the President, Dr. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read and accepted.

The additions by gift to the Library were reported.

The President read a letter from Mrs. William B. Rogers of this city, who presented for the Cabinet a box containing thirty-three coins and four medals, being part of the collection made by Mr. George Ticknor, when in Spain, for Mr. James Savage, and bequeathed by him to the Society. A descriptive letter, dated Madrid, Sept. 1, 1818, accompanied the collection.

It was voted that the grateful acknowledgments of the Society be communicated to Mrs. Rogers by the Recording Secretary.

Dr. GREEN said : —

In behalf of Dr. Peabody and myself, who are the executors under the will of our late friend and associate, Mr. Sibley, whose death was announced at the last meeting, I present here a printed copy of his will. It is probably known to the members that he has constituted this Society the residuary legatee of nearly all his estate. This amount is by far the largest sum of money ever given or bequeathed to the Society, — the property being appraised at upwards of \$150,000 ; and it will place the name of Sibley among the most munificent promoters of historical research.

Will of John Langdon Sibley, of Cambridge.

I, John Langdon Sibley, of Cambridge, in the County of Middlesex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, make this my last will and testament, hereby disposing of all my property and estate, real, personal, and mixed, including all real estate acquired after the execution of my will.

1st. To my dear wife, Charlotte Augusta Langdon (Cook) Sibley, in token of her entire unselfishness, and of her self-sacrificing devotedness to my comfort and happiness, I devise and bequeath all my property and estate, in trust, to collect the rents and income thereof, and of all substituted property, and to retain the same to her own use, in every year during her natural life, she first paying out of the said rents and income all taxes and repairs, all assessments, except those for betterments, and all premiums of insurance, and keeping all property which is liable to damage by fire fully insured for the benefit of the trust. I empower my said Trustee to vary investments at her discretion, and for that purpose to sell, convey, and transfer any trust property, original or substituted, by public or private sale, without the aid of any Court, and to invest the proceeds of any such sales according to her best judgment. And I empower my said wife, in every year when she deems the said net rents and income to be insufficient for her comfortable support, to apply to such support so much money out of the capital of the trust-fund as in her judgment may be requisite therefor.

2d. Upon my said wife's death, I give to Phillips Exeter Academy all photographs and other portraits of her and myself, and also the portraits now in my house, painted by E. E. Finch, of my parents, Dr. Jonathan Sibley and Mrs. Persis (Morse) Sibley, by whose indefatigable industry, rigid economy, and painful self-denial was accumulated the small property which constituted the beginning and foundation of the Sibley Charity Fund.

3d. All the said trust property and estate remaining at my said wife's death, after deducting the said legacy, I give and devise to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to be kept as a separate fund, and called the Sibley Fund; and the income thereof to be applied to the publication of Biographical Sketches of the graduates of Harvard University, written in the same general manner as the sketches already published by me, and in continuation thereof. If any income then remain, the same shall be applied first to the purchase of printed books, pamphlets, or manuscripts, the same being composed by graduates of Harvard University, or relating to such graduates; and next, to the general purposes of the Society. *Provided, however*, that at least one fourth part of the said income be accumulated and added to the capital in every year during the hundred years next succeeding my said wife's death, and *provided, also*, that the said Corporation may in its discretion apply not exceeding one half part of the said accumulated fund toward the erection of a new fire-proof building to be called by my name.

4th. I appoint the Reverend Andrew Preston Peabody, D.D., President of the Board of Trustees of Phillips Exeter Academy, and Samuel Abbott Green, M.D., Mayor of Boston and Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, executors of this, my will; and I exempt

them and my Trustee from giving any bond. Upon all sales by my executors or Trustee, the purchaser shall not be concerned to see to the application of the purchase-money. The provision for my said wife is in lieu of dower, or thirds, and of every other provision or allowance out of my estate. Each of my executors shall be liable only for his own receipts, payments, and wilful defaults, and not one for the others.

And finally I hereto set my hand and seal, and declare this instrument to be my last will and testament this first day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three.

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

SEAL.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the above-named John Langdon Sibley, as and for his last will and testament, in presence of us, who in his presence, and in presence of each other, and at his request, have hereto set our hands as witnesses.

FRANCIS EDWARD PARKER.

JOSEPH W. SHATTUCK.

ROBERT LEVI.

It was voted, on motion of Mr. C. C. Smith, that a committee consisting of Judge Hoar, Mr. Cobb, and Professor E. C. Smyth, be appointed to consider and report to the Society what action should be taken in view of this munificent bequest.

MR. PUTNAM exhibited, from the collection of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, a number of celts, small axes, and ornaments made of jadeite obtained from burial-mounds in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, principally from the explorations of Dr. E. Flint. Several of the specimens agree, in specific gravity, hardness, and color, with the Asiatic jadeite; and in the absence of any known locality of that variety of the stone in America, it is presumable that they were all derived from the known localities in China.

Similar celts and small axe-shaped implements, made from the same mineral, were exhibited from the pile-dwellings of the Swiss lakes. Mr. Putnam thought it reasonable to regard the specimens from Central America as brought from Asia originally in the form of celts. Owing to the habit of placing such objects in the graves of their owners, with the lack of a further supply from Asia, gradually they became rare and valuable, and remaining specimens were then cut and recut, and cherished as ornaments, until finally these pieces were deposited in the burial-mounds.

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In support of this supposition is the fact that among those from Central America, one is an elaborately carved celt, one a large plain celt, and nine others are either halves, quarters, or smaller pieces of celts. That these small pieces are parts of celts is shown by their shape and by the portion of the cutting edge of the celt which remains on most of them; also by the exact fitting of two forming half a celt, which had been perforated to be suspended as an ornament, and afterwards cut on a line through the hole and so made into these two ornaments, in each of which a hole is drilled. Eight pieces are perforated, and one is carved and notched.

Such facts, he said, deserve most careful consideration as records of the probable migration from Asia of the ancient people of Central America.

Implements were also exhibited, made of other varieties of green stones known under the general name of jade, including a beautiful celt made of dark jadeite obtained from a mound in Michigan. This dark variety is said to have been found in boulders in the Frazer valley, but it is unlike the specimens from Central America.

Further remarks on this interesting subject were made by Mr. HAYNES and Dr. CLARKE.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., then said:—

Mr. President, more than twenty years ago the late President of this Society (the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop) found among his family-papers a packet of letters, written between 1693 and 1700, from Lieutenant-General Lord Cutts to Colonel Joseph Dudley, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, and afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. Our late President, in running his eye hurriedly over these letters, satisfied himself that they in no way related to New England History, and laid them aside for perusal at some more convenient season, which never came. More than once, however, has he suggested to me to make an exhaustive examination of them, which I have now done, carefully collating the copies which I am about to communicate to the Society. They are thirty-two in number; and while I do not pretend that they can fairly be considered of much historical importance, yet I have found them extremely entertaining, and I believe they would have possessed no little interest for the late Lord

Macaulay, who had an evident liking for the martial figure of Lord Cutts, and who styles him in his history "the bravest of the brave," "unrivalled in that bull-dog courage which flinches from no danger," and "so much at ease in the hottest fire of the French batteries that his soldiers gave him the honorable nickname of the Salamander."

The most diligent investigation has not enabled me to state with certainty the date of John Cutts's birth, but I imagine him to have been a somewhat younger man than his correspondent. He came of a good Essex family, inherited an estate in Cambridgeshire, adopted the profession of arms, served as aide-de-camp successively to the Dukes of Monmouth and Lorraine, distinguished himself at the taking of Buda in 1686, and still more so, four years later, at the battle of the Boyne, where his intrepid conduct, under the eye of William of Orange, resulted in his being raised by that monarch to the Irish peerage, and in his being named, not long after, to the governorship of the Isle of Wight. This post was then by no means the sinecure it has been for more than a century past; on the contrary, the exposed situation of the island, the disturbed condition of public affairs, and the prevalence of Jacobite plots made it an office of much responsibility as well as of considerable emolument. Cutts's duties in attendance upon the King and Parliament, together with his military command in Flanders, rendered it impossible for him to be continuously in the island. It was essential that he should have on the spot a lieutenant-governor possessing his entire confidence; and he chose Joseph Dudley, who for eight years was the *alter ego* of Lord Cutts in Wight, and for several of those years the representative in Parliament of one of the island boroughs.

Dudley, as we know, was born in 1647, a younger son of Governor Thomas Dudley, of Massachusetts, and had been before in England at two earlier periods in the intervals of high civil employment in his native country; but precisely how or when or why he became so intimate with Lord Cutts it is difficult to determine. General Hugh Mackay, in his "Characters of Military Officers of his own Time," speaks of Cutts as "tall, lusty, and well-shaped, an agreeable companion, with abundance of wit, but too much vanity, affable, familiar, and brave;" in short, a lively, dashing soldier, who at first sight would seem to have had little in common with

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Joseph Dudley, who was originally bred to the ministry, and who preserved throughout life much of the gravity of a professed believer in a somewhat rigorous Calvinism. But the two men were alike ambitious, and resembled each other in a thirst for profitable public station, equalling that of their illustrious contemporary, John, Duke of Marlborough. Cutts, in these letters, is continually stimulating Dudley's zeal by promise of preferment; and it is evident that he exacted from him in return almost every variety of service. Writing to him at intervals from a dozen different places, — from Whitehall and Kensington, from Plymouth and Portsmouth, from Newport and Carisbrooke Castle, from Gravesend and Tunbridge-Wells, and from the various headquarters of the Allied Army in the Low Countries, — he deals not merely with public affairs and local politics, the island elections and the island garrisons, but he employs his Lieutenant-Governor to pay his bills, to pacify his creditors, to order his liveries, to do his marketing, and even to bottle his wine.

Now and then, as will be seen, Dudley is taken to task with a good deal of vivacity; but it is evident that he and Cutts were necessary to each other at this period, and their coolness was never of long duration. His Lordship's official correspondence is doubtless to be found on record in London, and his autograph is occasionally to be met with in private collections; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, this fragmentary series of his confidential letters is the only one of its kind in existence, and the evident sincerity of the writer gives them a marked flavor of actuality even after the lapse of nearly two centuries.¹

Mr. Winthrop then proceeded to read a number of extracts from the letters, which are here given in full: —

WHITEHALL, Jan: 15. 1693.

S^r — I am but just come from the Committee (and could by no means come away sooner) so that I can only desire you to be with me at eight o'clock to-morrow-morning. Necessity must be submitted to; and Vexing is best let alone where 't will doe no good. I am very much tyr'd and fear I have catch'd cold with waiting for a coach in the Pallace yard. But let it goe how it will, I am S^r

Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

My Service and Excuse to Cosen Hooke.

¹ I am informed that a number of letters from Lord Cutts to the second Duke of Ormonde are preserved in the muniment-room of Kilkenny Castle in Ireland.

[No date — probably 1693.]

Memorandum to Mr Dudley.

To goe or send early in the morning to Mr Goodchild, Inkeeper at the Whitehorse in the haymarket (where my horses stand), to tell him you have orders to pay him what he demands upon his bills, before the horses goe out of the stable; and that you are expecting the money every hour. To pay fifteen pounds to Mr England, a brewer, and tell him I could not receive any more before I went; but that he shall have the rest as soon as I return. To pay forty pounds to Mr Sterton, a Cornchandler, and take up his bond. To pay ten pounds to Mr. Fisher. To come out with the coach and six horses, and my Groom; to bring one footman behind the coach, and to let the other footman ride along with the coach upon my Nephew Rivet's horse. To be at Cambridge on Wednesday, and to order your journey so as to bring the horses as fresh and unfatigued as you can. To hasten the payment of the 300^{lb}. To give notice to Captain Blood's man (at my house) what time you set out.

WHITEHALL, December 28th 1693.

S^r — I received your letter and shall take care of the contents. I desire you to come up to town as soon as you can, for the sake of your own affairs as well as mine. My hearty service to all your good company; I am S^r

Y^r humble Servant,

CUTTS.

PLYMOUTH, Jan 22: 1694.

S^r — I heartily wish you had not propos'd to Mr Blathwayt to take the 300^{lb} instead of five; you cannot imagine the Injury you have done me. Indeed you should never take upon you to decide in matters of that moment without orders. I insist upon the 500^{lb} and nothing but your offer of taking three could hinder me of it. I'm sure it will be the hardest thing in the world if I have less. I design to be at Salisbury on Sunday, at Basinstoke on Munday, at Southampton on Tuesday, &c. If you receive not the money between this and that, meet me on Munday at Basinstoke and we'll discourse farther on it. Present my service to Coll: Withers and tell him I desire (if possible) that he would meet me at Basingstoke on Munday next; and desire the same of Coll: Hope, but desire them both not to speak of it to any one. Speak to Rouse my coachmaker and order him to finish my mourning-charriot just as the Peers have their Charriots; desire my brother Acton¹ to furnish him the Cloath; of as good as any body puts to that

¹ John Acton, Esq., of Basingstoke, married a sister of Lord Cutts.

use; and tell Rouse I would have the harness likewise done as the Peers have their harness; and all finish'd as soon as may be. Tell him I would have the fore-Glass whole. I desire you to bespeak me a mourning saddle and bridle, with holsters and hoose. Joseph will bring my sadler to you. Inform your self how the Peers have their furniture. Let Joseph set out as soon as it is done, and bring my 2 saddle-horses to Portsmouth, not suffering any one to get on their backs but himself; and let him come very gently. Desire my brother Acton to give him mony to bring him thither; but he must be there by Saturday come sennit without faile. Enquire for one Pancefort a Clothier (Brother Acton will inform you of him), he cloaths severall regiments. Receive 200^{lb} of brother Acton and pay it to this Pancefort (taking a receipt according to the enclos'd modell) and telling Pancefort from me that I design'd to have employ'd him in the cloathing of my regiment, but being sent out of Town, I'm forc'd to leave it to others; besides something that I'll tell him when I see him; and give him five Guinys as a present from me (which my Brother Acton will give you) and if he makes any complaint, soften him as much as you can, and tell him it was impossible for me to avoid it. Desire my brother Acton to meet me at Basiustoke on Munday with the Patterns of my regiment's cloaths. Tell my sister Cutts¹ I ask her excuse for not writing this post, being full of worke. My most humble service to the Speaker² (if you will doe me that favour) and give him a note of the places where I am to be, with a handsome compliment if he has any comands for me. The Fleet bound for Jamaica sayl'd this afternoon, the wind E. N. E. I beg of you these favours, and that you will be a little exact and carefull in Pancefort's business.

I am sincerely Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. Desire brother Acton to bid Loggars goe about my servant's mourning and to bargain for the cloath.

P. S. Tell brother Acton I'll satisfie him for the cloath for the Charriot.

PORTSMOUTH, Mar. : 22. 1694.

S^r — I really love and honour you for not despairing (as the Romans once said of a brave Gen^l) of the affaires of the commonwealth. I have an Express from Petersfeild that M^r Woosely will be here in an hour, or two; and he and I both will be at Yarmouth to-morrow God

¹ Miss Joanna Cutts, his unmarried sister.

² Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls under James II., subsequently expelled from the House of Commons for corruption.

willing. I desire you to exert vigorously the King's, and mine, and your own Interest; and I hope God will bless the honest Williamite side. Send Hope a Cordiall; and give him kind, endearing, respectfull, encouraging words. I shall follow all your advice. Hasten this away with the utmost speed. I am sincerely Sr

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL. DUDLY.

P. S. Please send speedily in my name to Coll Lee, S^r John Dillington,¹ and all partys concern'd in the Island, in such terms as y^r prudence shall direct.

NEWPORT, June 23. 1694.

Sr. — I desire you to help this Gentleman (Major Moncal) to the quickest passage to Portsmouth, you can. I desire my letters with all speed; & am (with my most humble service to the good Ladys) Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

For the hon^{ble} COLL. DUDLY

L^t Governor for the Isle Wight.

AT THE KING'S QUARTERS AT WANEGHEM
NEAR COURTRAY. Aug. 30. 1694.

Sr. — Setting out late from the Camp near Portsmouth I arriv'd not a London 'till five o'clock on fryday morning. I could have arrived sooner, but knowing y^t I could not see her Majesty² the same night if I arrived late, I thought it better to repose myself upon the road and arrive early the next morning. On Saturday morning I took post for Harwitch; on Munday in the afternoon I set sayl, and on Tuesday I landed at Helvoet-Sluis in Holland. I took post immediately (having her Majesty's letters to the King³) and I arriv'd in the Camp severall hours before the Post. His Majesty receiv'd me very kindly; and every body beleives I am like to succeed in my pretentions. I have as yet no station allotted me in the line of battle; and so for the present I am in the Court-Quarters, and wait upon the King's Person. Pray tell M^r Cole and Partners that I doe not forget their mony-affairs. I had finish'd it before I left London, but that I came away Express immediately upon my arrivall here, but it shall be dispatch'd with all possible speed. Pray acquaint Collonell Gipson of my coming away Express; and that I shall not fail to dispatch those affaires concerning our Camp at Portsmouth with all possible speed. This with

¹ Sir John Dillington, 4th baronet, of Knighton in Wight.

² Mary of Orange.

³ William III.

my humble service to him. Desire he will please to write to Court to have our sick men in the Country supply'd with subsistence; if he pleases to use my name in it, he may. Make a discreet and modest use of what I write to you concerning myself. I am Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

FROM HIS MAJESTY'S CAMP AT ROUSSLAR,

Sept: 14 1694.

S^r, — I send you here enclos'd a Deputation to discharge for me (in my absence) the Office of Mayor of Newtown; with a clause in it to recommend you to be elected Mayor for the ensuing year; I need say no more, but only desire you to prepare and order things so, that it may have its desir'd effect. I send you at the same time (enclos'd) a letter to the Corporation of Yarmouth; w^{ch} when you have read it, you will seal and deliver; but pray be present at the opening of it, and (as I said before) prepare and order things so, that it may succeed. Let the Corporations have Vennison, as is usuall; and remember, that when you Swear the Mayor of Newport at Carisbrooke Castle, you are to give him no treat, any farther than a Glass of Wine; and that only if you please; and not let them be carry'd any where but straight into the chappell before prayers. I recommend these and all other things to your care; hoping to be soon with you. I dare venture telling a discreet man y^t I don't much doubt of succeeding in my pretentions, which will put me in a fair way. Be assur'd I don't forget you, but will effectually take care of you; being Sr,

Your affectionate humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. We expect every hour an account of the taking of Huy, the Fort Piccar being allready taken by storm. I never saw so flaming, and healthfull an Army at this time of year. For ordinary news see the publick letters.

FROM HIS MAJESTY'S CAMP AT ROUSSLAR

IN FLANDERS, Sept: 14. 1694.

Mr Mayor, and you Gentlemen of the Corporation of Yarmouth:

I think it for the good of their Majesty's service and the Corporation, y^t the present Mayor be continued another year. And therefore I desire you to order it so, that he may be continued accordingly. I doubt not of your compliance in this, since I am so much inclin'd (tho' hitherto my great hurrys have hindred me giving you such markes of it as I will soon do) to show myself in all occasions

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

CUTTS.

Whereas I was elected by the Corporation of Newtown to serve as Mayor of the same for this present year; and whereas their Majesty's service necessitates my attendance in Flanders with their Majesty's forces now there; I doe by these presents depute the hon^{ble} Collonell Dudley, L^d Governor of their Majesty's Isle of Wight, to execute the office of Mayor of the said corporation in my absence. And I doe by these presents recommend the said Collonell Dudley to be Mayor of the said Corporation for the Ensuing Year. Given at his Majesty's Camp at Rousslar in Flanders Sept: $\frac{1}{2}$. 1694.

CUTTS.

Deputation to COLLONELL DUDLY &c.

WHITEHALL, Nov: 15. 1694.

S^r — I had answer'd all your letters sooner, but that we have been coming over this month, and I thought every day to be with you. The sessions being so immediately begun (upon our arrivall) it was impossible for me, with regard to the King's affayres here, any ways to come down. I shall send down one on Munday to releive you, and refer all to our meeting; and I think it by no means safe for the service that you come away before I send one. You may read the enclosed, then seal it and give it coll: Urry as if you knew nothing of the matter. By the person that comes to releive you, I shall write more at large. My affaires (thanks to God) prosper very much. I am S^r,

Your humble serv^{nt},

CUTTS.

WHITEHALL, Jan: 4th 1695.

SR — I have receiv'd yours by Captain Rivet, and am glad every thing is in so good Order. You write me word something of a share you shall have a right to; which I don't very well understand. I allways understood that you had acted in the Isle of Wight only as my Deputy, that what you did by Vertue of the Power you have from me, was as much (& solely) my act and deed as if I (only) had done it; for that without that Power you could not be in a Capacity to doe it. I speak not this that I have the least thoughts of being unkind, or ungenerous; but indeed I allways expected that you would have left the whole matter to me. For, as to the King's Comission, you know how you came by it; and you know what promise you made (upon your word and honour) when I gave it you. I beleive you an honest man, and will not imagine, that we shall disagree in anything. And indeed, after my having disoblig'd so many people in your Defence & favour, it would be unhappy if you and I should fall out. You may leave the Island on Weddensday, or as soon after the receipt of this as you please. I am sincerely, S^r, your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL: DUDLY.

[Fragment of a letter endorsed by Dudley "April 2^d 1695." The earlier portion is missing.]

which I forget. I hope this will confirm all Persons in their inclinations to sign the association. I beg of you to make as much of it as possibly you can. It is the best peice of service you can doe the King, me, & your self. I hope you have taken care to have it handsomely engross'd. Don't omit one living soul; and be sure to keep a list of the names of all who refuse it. I think it will be proper for you to come up with it, and it would be well if you could set out on Monday; and I wish (upon so very great an Occasion) two or three people of credit would come with you. If you bring a jolly number of hands, you'l doe your self and me a great kindness, but force nobody against their inclination. The Yarmouth Association is given; it was not read, and the King said nothing to it. It will not signify much if ours succeeds. For if those who have sign'd that, refuse mine, it will not doe 'em a kindness here; and all the world will know how Yarmouth is managed. I am S^r,

Your very humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. I have made some steps in your affaire,¹ & wish you were here for five or six days.

KENSINGTON, May 11. 1695.

SR, — I have been coming every day for the Island; but am prevented by a very extraordinary affaire. The King had sign'd a Commission for Captain Pitman to be Governor of Hurst-Castle; upon which the Marquis of Winchester, supported by severall of the Ministers, represented it to the King as a thing that would be a very great hardship upon my Lord Duke his Father,² and would disoblige all the Hampshire-Gentlemen, that Castle being in Hampshire, and not in the Isle of Wight. The King, upon this, order'd the Duke of Shrewsbury³ that the Commission should lye in the Office, 'till he had discours'd farther with me upon it. I have discours'd with his Majesty upon it since; and so have the other side; and it remains yet in suspence, no affirmative, or negative, being put upon it. The last thing, the King said to me concerning it was that he could not presently resolve himself, but would be put in mind of it again. When I give you this

¹ The "affaire" in question was undoubtedly the Governorship of Massachusetts. Narcissus Luttrell, in his diary of March, 1694, says: "Coll. Dudley stands fairest to succeed Sir William Phips."

² Charles Paulet, 1st Duke of Bolton, an eccentric personage, whose son succeeded Cutts as Governor of Wight.

³ Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, then Secretary of State, and one of the purest statesmen of his time.

account, you are sensible that I cannot come down 'till it is decided one way or other; nor can I say when I shall come down till the hour before I take horse; because it depends upon the King's saying yes or no. I would have you make this use of what I write you, as to let every body know that I am every hour coming out of Town; but that my departure depends upon the finishing some matters (necessary to be dispatch'd before I come away) and which depend upon the King, & not myself. If they have got any thing of the Story by the End, set them right; but don't you say any thing (but in gen^l terms) unless they begin. You and I must be very discreet, for our Enemy's have spys upon what we say. But don't loose heart; and all will goe well at last. I suppose by this time the Dragoons are come. I would have them Quarter'd at West-Cows. You may give the Officer leave to turn his horses to Grass (I mean his Dragoons horses) with such of the Country People near the Quarters, as he can agree with; keeping all-ways eight in the stable, in case of alarm; which may be releiv'd every week or fortnight, as the Officer will. When you have two whole Companys, let One be at Newport; with orders to give constant Guard to Carisbrooke. Pray make much of all our freinds, especially my Newport Freinds; speak kindly and heartily to 'em. Present my service to M^r Shergole; and tell him, I'll write to him by next post about M^r Loving. Let the Wine-Cooper at Yarmouth kno' too, that he shall have his Warrant by next Post. Orders are gone to Portsmouth from the Office of Ordinance to supply your stores; pray send over to enquire for 'em speedily, and by some carefull Person. I desire to hear from you, and am sincerely, Sr,

Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL: DUDLY.

P. S. I would not have the Dragoons doe any Guards; and I would not have you order any of them to attend you, for reasons.

ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S YATCH THE MARY,
NEAR GRAVESEND. May the 31. 1695.

SR, — I had wrote to you sooner, but that I have been transacting something, relating to our Isle of Wight affaires (of which this brings you an account) of which I could come to no certainty till now. But before I enter upon that, I will say something relating to Newtown. It was necessary (and not thought so without the advice of better Persons than my Self) to agree to certain Articles, whereof I send you here enclos'd a Copy. Accordingly they were agreed to, and confirm'd upon honour; so that I have nothing to add, but positively to direct and require you, that the same be most religiously observ'd and executed.

This being my Positive Orders to you, you will I'm sure make no delay or chicane in the same. Having settled that matter, I am to let you know something of what I have done in other matters. S^r William Trumbold¹ (whom, with a great deal of Pains we have got to be Secretary of State) is a very honest man, is intirely my freind (and will be cordially your Patron), I design to set him up for Newport (but would not have him nam'd as yet) with my self; intending afterwards to be chosen myself elsewhere and slip in a freind in my room. At Newtown I shall set up the rich (ingenious) M^r Henly,² and some country Gentleman of Figure with him; and at Yarmouth M^r Woosely³ and the rich Alderman Duncomb;⁴ who is sworn fast to us (under God and the King) against all Majors whatsoever. S^r William Trumbold, and the best part of the Ministry, are acquainted with this sceme; and I doubt not but it will be supported. You must not name people as yet (not 'till you have my orders for it) but only say, that I shall set up men without Exceptions, without so much as the pretence of Exceptions against them; that we shall have country Gentleman with us (and some to stand) of very great figure and Estate; that I shall recommend no souldier; and such like Generall things. And here I cannot but wave my particular business, to tell you (by way of Cordiall to you) that I have very sanguine hopes that this winter will produce something which will be very acceptable to you and I. I have really very Good Grounds for this; tho' it is not a thing fit to be trusted to Paper. *Verbum sapienti*. Direct all my Pacquets to S^r William Trumbold (who is my fast and intirely beloved freind) who has taken down your name in his minutes; has promis'd to take care of any business you write about, and expects constant accounts from you of such things as deserve the notice of One in his Office. You will be sure to make a modest use of this; never to be tedious, much less light or trifling; nor to trouble him but upon serious business & in a modest way. He is a good man, and will doe you and I all the Good he can. I have had long conferences with him, and he is exactly upon our bottom. Sydford's comission will be sent down by brother Acton. In the mean time order him (by vertue of the Power I here give you) to act as

¹ Sir William Trumbull, of East Hampstead Park in Berkshire, who married Lady Judith Alexander, daughter of the 4th Earl of Stirling, and had served as Ambassador at Paris and Constantinople. Burnet styles him "a learned, diligent, and virtuous man."

² Anthony Henley, M. P., alike well-known as a politician, man of letters, and patron of the drama. His son Robert became Lord Chancellor and Earl of Northington.

³ So spelled, but probably Henry Worsley, brother of Sir Robert; subsequently Envoy to Portugal and Governor of Barbadoes.

⁴ Afterwards Sir Charles Duncombe, Lord Mayor of London, whose nephew became Lord Feversham.

Gunner & receive pay. How's Order is sent here enclos'd, and shall be fuller by the return of these yatches. Your money cannot come but by the return of these yatches, for reasons you shall then know. Say only that you expect it soon. We are under sayl; My Lord Rivers¹ in the Henrietta yatch; some of the Bone of Eng^d in the Will and Mary; and I'm in the Mary; with a considerable number of Officers attending us. Dear S^r, keep up your Heart, & use y^r head, and be assur'd I'll study your service. Write me a particular account of the receipt of this. Compliments to whom you please; as if nam'd.

I am sincerely, S^r,

Your faithfull humble servant,

COLL: DUDLY.

CUTTS.

Postscript to Coll: Dudley, May 31. 1695.

SR, — I send you here enclos'd a Gen^l Warrant to Bowler to obey your Warrants, not exceeding two hundred Pounds; which I would have you make use on, as follows. Fifty Pounds to the poor of the Town of Newport; five and twenty of the said fifty to be paid out of the mony now in his hands, and the remaining five and twenty out of the Michaelmas-rent next ensuing. The rest I would have employ'd, to pay such bills as I owe in the Island, and especially the In-Keeper at Newport where my Horses stood. I desire you'll give Bowler good Words, & try to make him advance something (to the use of these payments) upon the Michaelmas-rent. As to the Souldier's place vacant, I would not (for twice forty pounds) that any body should take any mony for it; because I know the King's mind so fully upon those matters. But you may put one in, for this summer, with this proviso (as from your self) that, if I have any One to put in at my return, he must resign. Pray send me an account what companys & Officers you have. That there is a constant Guard at Carisbrooke, Cows, & Yarmouth. Pray don't let Yarmouth-Bridge fall, since a little matter will save it. You shall find (take my word and honour for it) that your pains is not lost in serving me. The Lords of the Admiralty have been so kind as to order me One of the King's best yatches; & the cabin I am now sitting in is finer & richlyer furnish'd than any room in the Isle of Wight. Dear Dudley, God prosper us, and our Master. Adieu.

CUTTS.

Postscript to Coll. Dudley, May 31, 1695.

I send you enclos'd a Deputation for the Mayoralty of Newtown. If it wants any part of the formality of Law; yet being in this Juncture all of a Mind, you may make it pass. You must write to Holmes,

¹ Richard Savage, 4th Earl Rivers of the second creation, a soldier and diplomatist, Master-General of the Ordnance.

& consult him about it, before you call the Hall. I desire you to make Hales easy in this matter, and give him what assurances you please of my future kindness; for I really mean it & intend it. You may tell him (as a dead secret) I have layd a Scheme that will, in a little time, by Gods help blow up all our Enimys. And all I doe now, is but to cast a mist before their Eyes. I would have you exert your utmost interest, & mine, to have S^r Robert Worsely¹ chosen a capitall Burgess of Newtown. Doe it, formally, as my careless compliment to his figure & Quality; but I mean it (intentionally) to a particular aim, which in due time will produce a good effect. Carry it very civilly to him & (between you and I) I have assurances that in due time he'll be ours. You must not let the Enemy suspect this of him; for they don't dream it; nor must you let him suspect you know it. But I would very fain have him Burgess. I desire you will send the enclos'd to Major Holmes by an Express forthwith; you may send your own message with it. Once more adieu, and depend upon me for your sincere freind and humble servant,

CUTTS.

WHITEHALL, Jan: 28^d 1696.

S^r — By the next you shall not fail to have an answer to every Article in each of your letters, which I have this day revis'd; tho' I havn't time now to answer them, by reason of y^e multiplicity of business which I have at this time (actually) upon me. Now my Lord Galloway² is nam'd by the King for the 3^d Lord Justice in Ireland, I hope our Isle of Wight freinds will let me stay here. I am, in hast,

S^r, yours &c,

CUTTS.

KENSINGTON, May the 12th 1696.

S^r, — I send you here enclos'd the Noli prosequi. Pray enquire about it, if it is to be produc'd in Court; if any Plea to be made upon it, &c. And particularly learn if any thing may be done by them this morning by way of praeccluding us. For (with all M^r D—s fine complements of fairness —) *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Pray have an Eye to this with the greatest care & speed, not loosing a minute. Pay the Porter, & I'll repay you; as allso any necessary fee. At my house at four.

I am, S^r, your humble servant,

CUTTS.

¹ Sir Robert Worsley, 4th Baronet of Appuldercombe, then perhaps the largest landed proprietor in the island.

² Not the Scotch Earl of Galloway, but the brave Huguenot soldier de Ruigny, Earl of Galway in the Irish peerage.

FROM PRINCE VAUDEMONT'S CAMP NEAR BRIDGES,
Sept 20th N. S. 1696.

Sr, — I am infinitely delighted at your Success in the affaire of Newtown; and your likelihood of success at Yarmouth. If you can carry the point of those two Corporations, I'll improve it so much to your advantage to the King and every body else (and I promise you to doe it), that it shall be the best Card that ever you play'd. Whatever Expences you are at (publick or private) as far as 200th goes, I'll willingly repay you immediately at my return. This will be a matter of greater moment than you imagine, and you'll have a large share in the advantage of it. I wonder how Captain Phillips comes to be cow'd by S^r R. Worsely. I beg of you to talk with him; and if good words, promises, or mony will doe, secure him; & pray don't omit this a moment. And let all things be done with Calmness & Gravity. Some matters of the greatest moment (with regard to the Publick, as well as my own affaires) make it impossible for me to come over before the King comes; and Major Morgan slip'd away of a Suddain before I knew any thing of it. How happy it will be (just upon the conclusion of the War) to have our matters settled in the Isle of Wight. I beg of you to employ your whole head, and heart and hands in it. And we will (with God's leave) meet with more Joy than ever; and I will improve it essentially to your advantage. My Compliments to all as if nam'd. I am sincerely, S^r, Your faithfull humble servant,

CUTTS.

KENSINGTON, Oct: 20th 1696.

S^r, — I wrote you word in my last that when the Battle of Yarmouth was over you might come up to Town; but I mean't that of Newtown; that is to say your Election of a Mayor there. M^r Morgan will be sufficiently mortify'd for his rampant carriage at Yarmouth. We have done a very good day's worke in the house of Commons to-day, of which I doubt not but our members give you an account. I have so much business and Company at my first coming over, that (my Secretary not being yet arriv'd from fflanders) I cannot undertake to send any news. Holmes waits only for the return of his letter to you; and he comes away to you. You shall be a Witness your self, that I'll set all that you doe in a good Light; and (if you are successfull in Newtown) I doubt not but to graft something upon it that you'll be pleas'd at. Compliments to all as if nam'd. I am, S^r,

Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL. DUDLY.

P. S. Pray bottle out and send up the Spanish wine as soon as may be, directed for me at my house at Whitehall.

WHITEHALL, Christmas-Eve.
(25th Decm^r 96.)

Sⁿ, — Your Express had return'd to you sooner, but that I was willing to goe to the bottom of the matter first. I have retain'd the best conceall of Doctor's Comons, & advis'd with some of the ablest Lawyers in England; and upon their advice, my directions to you (and my Orders) are positively to keep the possession of the Goods; and not to part with any thing, without my Order under my hand. I receiv'd yesterday one of yours dated Cows, Dec: 21, which I can make nothing of; 'tis of so different a style and temper from your others. You make abundance of repetitions of your good wishes and kindness to my Lord Marquiss's servants, and say some other things (wth I won't repeat here) which are inconsistent with your other Letters. I can't have so unjust a thought of you, as to imagine you will vary a tittle (directly or indirectly) from what you have allways pretended. Keep the things in your Possession, and let them be taken care of; there shall be no neglect on my side. I am, S', Your most humble servant,

CUTTS.

FROM THE ENGLISH CAMP AT CORKLEBERG COMMANDED
BY PRINCE VAUDEMONT, Aug: the 12th N. S. 1697.

SR, — I have receiv'd yours of the 19th of July, for which I give you my hearty thanks. What you write of Morris surprizes me to a degree beyond Expression; and I can't but own to you (between you and I) that I'm glad the War is at an end; that I may have leisure to deal with him and some other Persons at home, that use me ill. For I can now write you word (tho' no Wise man will take upon him to answer for the certainty of any Humane Affaires, till they are done) no Man doubts but that the Peace will very soon be concluded, all matters being now fully adjusted between England, France, and Holland; Spain being well inclin'd, and only the Emporour (I mean of any considerable Power) that makes any difficultys. And tho' measures are kept with him, and an Exterieur Deference is due to an Ally of his Rank; yet 'tis thought he must comply, since England and Holland have resolv'd; and the Houses of Brandenburg, Hanover, Hesse, Zell, &c. are inviolably fast with England and Holland. So that there is no manner of doubt, humanely speaking, but that the Peace will very soon be concluded; the ffrench having given but six weeks to the Allys to take their final resolutions. And so, if God blesses me with life, I shall certainly make my next Campagne in the Isle of Wight. And I mention all this only as an Introduction to what I'm going to say: that, when I can spend a summer in the Isle of Wight, 't will make a great Alteration both as to Persons and Things; besides that, I doubt not of being Vice-Admirall of Hamshire before I see you, and I hope to see

you before the Election of Mayors in the Island. But as to this of my being in the Island so soon, pray let it be a dead secret from all Mankind, till I write to you more certainly upon it, and of my being Vice-Admiral you may talk as of a common discourse, and a thing likely. And, since I am upon the subject of my designs in the Island, I'll tell you an other part of them. I shall order it so as to place a Commander at Sandham-Fort, and another at Yarmouth, who will serve without pay (only for the honour of the Command and the Pleasure of Passing the summer there) and One also at Cows, if I can get something for you that will more then recompense to you the Profit of that Castle; and all these Officers shall not be less than Lt-Collonells, such as will keep their Coaches, and spend their monys there during the whole Summer, Men of Courage, Figure, and Merit.

These Officers (all serving without Pay) shall be Commanders in cheif and, by the Courtesy of the Island, will be call'd Governours of their respective Garrisons, and so will have their respective Commanders under them, who will receive pay; and all these Gentlemen (besides that they shall meet you at your club once a Week) will in the Island in Generall, and in their respective Stations, a little Counter-balance the dead weight of the factious Country Gentlemen; for, besides their Courage, Conduct, and Authority; they'l spend every One 2 or 300^{lb} in the Island (more or less) every summer. And so many Officers of Distinction begin (now the Peace is certain) to ask this of me; that, engaging to none, I shall be able to chuse Persons so intirely my own, that they shall not only be easy under me, but under you in my absence. One who has offer'd his service, has promis'd me all-ready that, if I'l make him cheif Comander of Sandham-Fort, he'l not only serve without pay, but he'l lay out 3 or 400^l. to fit himself up an Apartement in the Castle, being a marry'd man. And all this will make you, as well as me, make quite a different Figure in the Island. And (to close all) I here promise you, and I dare venture to say, upon the finishing the War, I'm sure I shall have it in my Power: I here promise you, serve but the King, & me, effectually in this present storm, and I'l be instrumentall to put you in such circumstances as you shall have reason to be more than easy in. I mean doe effectual service in the matter of the Corporations; and the matter of my personall concerns, as to Complaints, and every thing els. You may begin with remembring me to the respective Corporations, and telling them from me that the Peace is now in a manner concluded, and that this Campaigne will (in all humane Appearance) be the last Campaigne of this so long and bloody War; in which the King has lost so many Subjects, the Nation so many Inhabitants, and we (who have serv'd, and are living) many of us, so much blood. And I hope, I shall now be able to spend a great part of my time with them, and to see every thing settled

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in the Island to every One's satisfaction, for which I shall use my utmost endeavour. You may tell them the very great Expence I have constantly been at, in sending an Equipage every year into this Country; and living at very great Expences here (of which whole burthen I shall now be intirely eas'd); these Difficultys, and at a time when the King has not been able to pay me the quarter of what's due to me; these Difficulty's, I say, have put me under great disadvantages; but that I shall now have my hands more at liberty, not only to pay offe all Debts contracted in the Island vpon my Score, but to doe such acts of Generosity and Charity (both in Publick & private Occasions) as becomes a Man of Honour, and a Man of Conscience. Thus much you may tell them from me, which you ought to doe with as much solemnity and gravity as the thing will well bear. You may begin with the Corporation of Newport, sending them word that you have receiv'd a Packet from me with very considerable news in it, and that you desire to drink a Glass of Wine with them, to communicate it to them; where you may tell them what I have wrote you of Holland, Spain, the Emperour, &c. But tell them my Message first intire &, sometime after, tell them particulars by way of discourse, as part of what I have wrote you in particular. You may introduce my Message to them by telling them that the Peace being so very near at hand, as in Appearance it is, I thought they would not dislike hearing an account of it from me, and tho' it will be not yet concluded; yet 'tis so near it, that there is no manner of Doubt of it, &c. As for Yarmouth and Newtown, you may send for their respective Mayors, or such of their cheif Burgesses as you think fit, or you may frame some business to assemble them, or send for them, or such of them as you please, and tell them the news in a more careless manner & with less ceremony than to those at Newport. As, for Instance, I would have it told to those of Yarmouth and Newtown as if you met them upon some other Occasion and told them this by chance without any compliment; but to those of Newport I would have you speak, as meeting them on purpose to remember me to them & tell them that good news. But as for Yarmouth and Newtown use intirely your own Discretion.

[The last sheet of this letter is missing.]

KENSINGTON, NOV: 9th 1697.

SR, — I receiv'd by your last an account of your rejoycing with our freinds, which I am very well satisfy'd with; and as to what you say of repeating it again upon the news of his Majesty's arrivall, something will be fit to be done, but (I think) an exact repetition of the same is not necessary. And therefore (if you please) observe the following Directions. Upon receipt of this (by Expresses immediately), give order that the respective Garrisons of the Island have their Guns in a

readiness of a minute's Warning, with their matches lighted (their Guns being all loaded) and a Gunner in close waiting, to fire that minute that you receive an Express of the King's being landed, which I shall not fail to forward to you with Dilligence as soon as it comes to Whitehall. And when you send these Orders circularly, let them know you are to have an Express from me of the King's landing; and that 't is my Order that all the Garrisons doe instantly (without a moment's delay) tell the joyfull news aloud to the Country. And let it be insensibly made known (upon your receipt of this) that you expect every hour an Express, & y^t, upon y^e arrivall of it, the Garrisons will answer One another round the Island (order Hurst to answer Yarmouth) to make known the King's landing: Drink a Glass of Wine wth the Corporation at Night (but no firing after this upon any account), let something be done at Cows and Yarmouth; and illuminations every where. Let the yatch be at Southampton. Expect my Express hourly.

Yours,

CUTTS.

KENSINGTON (Sunday), Nov: 14th 1697.

SR, — The Duke of Shrewsbury (who lodges next door to me in this Square) sent a Gentleman to me about two hours ago, to acquaint me that this day about ten o'clock his Majesty landed safe at Margate; that he will lye this Night at Canterbury; to-morrow-night at Greenwich; and on Tuesday make his Entry through the City. The Duke's letter (by the Express) was very short; and so I can write you no news. I hope you have receiv'd mine, in which I order'd you to have all the Guns at every Garrison in the Island, and at Hurst, ready loaded; and a Gunner waiting at every post, ready to fire at a moment's warning, & to make the Garrisons take it from One another, and fire in a round to proclaim the arrivall of the greatest Monarch on Earth. Upon receipt of this loose not a moment's time, but (tho' you are at Cows) let Carisbrook-Castle begin. You will doe well to goe to Newport; but publish not the news till the Guns have fir'd. Depend upon 't, I'll serve you. I am Your humble servant,

CUTTS.¹

KENSINGTON. Apr: 1. 1698.

SR, — I won't complain of your unkind behavior to me, that is not the matter now in dispute; tho' in a week (all things consider'd) some

¹ In connection with the two foregoing letters it is not inappropriate to quote four lines from some verses congratulatory of King William's return to England after the Peace of Ryswick, and attributed to Charles Hopkins: —

"The warlike Cutts the welcome tidings brings,
The true, best servant of the best of kings:
Cutts, whose known worth no herald needs proclaim;
His wounds, and his own worth, can speak his fame."

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men would have shown some concern for One's health and affaires; but I don't insist upon it, your Personal Civilitys are most certainly your own, & dispose on 'em how you please; provided you trouble me no more if Fortune should chance to smile on me, than you doe now She seems at least to do otherwise. But this (as I sayd before) is not the matter now in dispute. That which I have just reason to complain of is your reall neglect of the King's service in your station. For if I neither see nor hear of a Lieut-Governour in a Week, I would fain know (when so many things are to be consider'd now the Spring comes on) what you are payd for. You have the 4^s per diem which I give you gratis, w^{ch} no other Governour ever had (I mean y^e Captain of Cows, w^{ch} Captain allways took some notice of me) & you have 2^s per diem out of my own pocket; both which you know I can stop when I please; & really I can employ 'em better if you treat y^r Employment so remissly. Thus much as y^r fellow servant I could not in duty omit. I have sent you the letter you desire. I would not have you think from this letter that I would constrain you to spend so much as an Ev'ning here from Company you like better; but wⁿ you come to the King's Levee (w^{ch} you should doe if ever yⁿ expect any thing) you can make y^r reports, & take my Orders as you goe up. I have very good Neibours now & want no Company.

I am, S^r, Your humble servant, CUTTS.

CARISBROOKE CASTLE, Sept: 2nd 1698.

SR, — Some business is fallen out, which makes me I cannot come to Cows to-day; pray make my Compliment to S^r William Oglander¹ whom I told I would come. My Hounds lye at M^r Stevens's to-night; they will unharbour the Stag between 4 & 5; but (for fear of my ague) I dare not goe out so soon. But I design to be upon Wotton-common by six o'clock, and I'll take a snap with you (for I shall not venture out the whole hunt; tho' this to y^r self only) at two o'clock at Cows; and visit the Ladys after dinner. If S^r Harry Pickering² lands at Cows to-night (for whom pray look out sharp) give him 3 Guns & no more. Tell him, we are forbid giving any Guns.

[The rest of this letter is missing.]

CARISBROOKE CASTLE, Sept: 16th 1698.

SR, — I desire (if possible) y^t you would, by this bearer, send me some prawns (because I have some Roman-Catholicks to dine with me to-day, that come out of the main land) and, if you can, any other fish. And let the Messenger be back by ten o'clock. I am

Your humble servant, CUTTS.

¹ Sir William Oglander, 3d Baronet of Nunwell, head of one of the oldest families in the island.

² Sir Henry Pickering was father of the second wife of Lord Cutts.

LONDON, Oct: 20th 1698.

SR, — Your letters, either by the Negligence or willfull mistake of our Cambridge-shire Postmasters, were very long coming to my hands; and that obliges me to send this by Expresse, which brings you enclos'd a Deputation to be in the Chair at Newtown for the Election of a new Mayor, in which I'll give you no other Instructions, than to try to choose a man as well affected to me & my Interests as you can. I am but this minute alighted out of my coach from S^r Harry Pickering's and am sitting down to dinner at M^r Row's, one of the clerks of the Green-cloath; and therefore cannot answer the rest of the contents of your Respective letters 'till Tuesday's post; by which you shall have answers to every particular. My service to S^r R. Worsley and my particular freinds. I am,

S^r, Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

COLL: DUDLEY.

KENSINGTON, Dec: 3^d 1698.

SR, — I have receiv'd your last, for which I thank you. I believe it will be requisite for you, for the cherishing of your own Interest, to show your self to the King at his Arrivall. I hint it to you, & if you have a mind to come up, I'll think of one to releive you; but write to me first. Send me word what How would have & I'll answer his Petition; but don't let him play the fool.

I am, S^r, Your humble servant

CUTTS.

C. D.

P. S. There must by no means be a Gallon of Wine brought into Carisbrooke Castle. I keep that only for my own Residence and convenience; & therefore as this is my positive Order to you, S^r, so pray give it to Major Collins. Wreck-Wines must be lodg'd at Cows or Yarmouth. Major Collins must not let the Castle of Carisbrooke be search'd; but give very civill answers, and say he *dare* not doe it without my Orders, but that he will write to me.

KENSINGTON, May the 10th 1699.

SR, — I am oblig'd to you for your repeated concern to know how my principall Affaire goes; which (I thank God) is in a very good Posture. On Saturday last I din'd with the King at Hampton-Court and had the good fortune to walk with him in the Wilderness after dinner and tell him my business at large; to all which he gave a very obliging, positive, and determinative answer; and, if his affaires are not in such a Posture, as that he can doe at present what he would, he will (at least) doe that w^{ch} will be honourable and make me easy. My Lord

Arbemarle¹ has espous'd my Interests with great seeming zeal, & publicly professes great Respect and Kindness for me; upon which Commentatours are various, but y^t to you only. My Lord Orford² is out of all his Employments; which has disgusted some of his Creatures. Many changes are soon expected, but none yet certain, except that Lord Pembroke³ and Lord Lonsdale⁴ (& another freind of mine) doe certainly come into business. Pray send me up a list of what Officers you think proper to fill up the Militia. As soon as ever my own Life is safe, I'll endeavour to save your's. I shall soon have the Vice-Admiralty now. I am, S^r,

Your humble servant,

CUTTS.

P. S. What have you done with the fellow, y^t pretended to buy the ship?

TUNBRIDGE-WELLS, Aug: 7th 1699.

Sr, — I can't tell how it happens, but I have receiv'd five of your letters all at once; to prevent which for the future, Direct — *for me at Tunbridge-wells by way of London* — without sending them to any particular Person or Place at London. The Waters have (by the blessing of God) wrought such a miraculous change upon me, as well in my looks as in my state of body, that I am given as an Instance every day of their Virtue and Efficacy; and I'm advised by the Doctors by all means to stay out this month, so that I shall not see the Island 'till something later than I came there last year. I'm sorry it will be so late before I can come, tho', as the King's Governour is us'd there, one has very little Encouragement to be amongst them any more than one's Business requires, I mean my Master's service. Coll. Holmes's Usage in the business of the Hunted-Deer has so much Ill-manners in it, and Indignity to the Government, that I know not what to say to 't, only in Generall, that 'tis in vain to think of obliging some People. I am resolv'd to doe nothing that the Laws of England will not make good, and therefore, as to the business of hunting the Deer, it being out of the Limits of the Forrest, I presume we cannot have any process upon it, but we may show some tacite dislike of what we cannot help; and therefore, I hope you did (by no means) goe to the eating of the

¹ Arnold Van Keppel, 1st Earl of Albemarle of that creation, the especial favorite and flatterer of William III.

² Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, an eminent naval commander, stigmatized by Macaulay as "insolent, malignant, greedy, faithless."

³ Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke, afterwards Lord High Admiral of England, styled by Bishop Burnet "a man of eminent virtue and profound learning."

⁴ John Lowther, 1st Viscount Lonsdale, one of the great landed proprietors whose adhesion to William of Orange was fatal to James II.

Venison, or in any measure partake of it; that indeed would lessen both the King's Authority and the Credit of his Governour. Nay, I think you ought to receive what is sayd to you upon it with Coldness & some seeming Dislike, & by letting fall such Expressions, both to them and others, on all fitting Occasions, as may show a just Resentment on my behalf, without coming to a Rupture openly. I doe approve of your conduct in the business of the Dragoons; I wish I had had your letter sooner, but I have wrote (now) to some of the Ministers about it. I dare not write more with my Waters at present. Pray give my keeper a rebuke for going with those Gentlemen (when they us'd me so) and for taking a Fee upon such an account. Tell him, I don't mean that I would have had him use any force, being out of the Forrest Bounds, but he should not have waited on them, or had any thing to doe with them, when they refus'd him the Deer. I'll write to you, God willing, twice a week henceforwards. I am,

S^r, your humble servant,

CUTTS.

S^t JAMES's, May 14th 1700.¹

S^r,—I desire you to assist M^r Hampton with present necessarys (w^{ch} Morris is order'd by this to repay you out of Parke-farm Rents); pray doe this a little promptly, and it shall be made up in your affaires here.

Our Grand affayres are yet undecided, we are in great expectation. I am not idle in y^r affaire. Be as zealous for,

S^r, your humble servant,

For his Majesty's service.

CUTTS.

To the hon^{ble} COLL: DUDLEY, L^d Governour
of the Isle of Wight.

FREE, CUTTS.

A number of letters are undoubtedly missing from this correspondence, which here ends abruptly. In the following year the close intimacy between Cutts and Dudley substantially ceased, his Lordship going to Holland as second in command to Marlborough, and his subordinate vacating his post in Wight with the promise of the governorship of Massachusetts, though the King's death delayed his commission. It was about this time that Richard Steele, then Cutts's private secretary, dedicated to him his "Christian Hero"; and it was about this time that Jonathan Swift, prompted by Tory pamphleteers to

¹ This last letter was not found among the Winthrop Papers, but is copied, by permission, from the rich collection of autographs of our associate, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain.

whom the robust Whiggery of Cutts was especially obnoxious, made him the subject of a scurrilous lampoon, styling him, among other things, "the vainest old fool alive." Whatever his vanity may have been, he was staunch in his devotion to the revolutionary principles of 1688, and the untimely death of William III. was ultimately fatal to his prospects. The outbreak of another great continental war in 1702 afforded him fresh opportunities for the display of brilliant personal heroism; and at a dozen different places, and more particularly at Blenheim, he covered himself with glory. But Queen Anne's secret liking for her half-brother, the Pretender, and increasing preference for Tory statesmen and Tory generals, resulted in his transfer, early in 1705, to the command in Ireland, — a nominal distinction, but an exchange peculiarly galling to him, occurring, as it did, just at the beginning of a new campaign.¹ His health was already somewhat undermined; and the thought that without him his comrades were again measuring swords with France — that without him Marlborough and Peterborough were likely to win additional laurels on many a hard-fought field — fairly broke his heart; and in January, 1707, he was buried in Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin.

An extract from a published letter of his to the Earl of Nottingham, in September, 1702, describing the taking of Venloo, will serve to show that, upon occasion at least, he knew how to be as modest as he was brave. He says:—

"Of my action at Fort S^t Michael I will say no more than that it was my own contrivance & execution. . . . It was successful, and produced good & quick effects, by occasioning the speedy surrender of Venlo, & making way for farther successes; and it met with general approbation, for the world has made more noise of it than it deserves. I had the honour to command brave men; I had the fortune to take my measures right; and God blessed me with success."

There is a soldierly bluntness about his epistolary style which displays but one side of his character. In his leisure hours Cutts cultivated the Muses, and was a poet of no mean capacity. Besides a poem on the death of the Queen, and

¹ Narcissus Luttrell, in his diary, states that, in May, 1704, Queen Anne made Cutts a present of a thousand guineas, in recognition of his recent exploits; but there is no doubt that his popularity with the army was distasteful to the Jacobite party.

some occasional pieces, he published, in 1687, a little volume entitled "Poetical Exercises," now extremely rare, from which Horace Walpole, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," quotes a few extracts, and, in particular, two amatory stanzas, which seem to my old-fashioned taste to be fully as melodious as half of Robert Browning's verses, and they are certainly a good deal more intelligible (whatever Archdeacon Farrar may say to the contrary).

"Only tell her that I love,
Leave the rest to her and Fate,
Some kind Planet from above
May, perhaps, her pity move;
Lovers on their Stars must wait;
Only tell her that I love.

"Why, oh why, should I despair,
Mercy 's pictured in her Eye;
If she once vouchsafe to hear,
Welcome Hope, and farewell Fear,
She 's too good to let me dye;
Why, oh why, should I despair!"

The poems in question are preceded by an elaborate dedication to the Princess Mary of Orange, afterwards his sovereign, which contains two passages I think worth citing:—

"A quick, and right Apprehension of Things; a clear & solid Judgment; with a Natural Tendency to all that is Just, and Good, and Charitable; are such inestimable Blessings in a high Station; that You are more beholding to God for being so qualified, than for being born a Princess. When I add to all this, that your Soul is touched with a Spark of that Fire, which warms the Hearts of Angels, and kindles Mortality into Desires that are Immortal, it gives such a double Lustre to all the rest of Your Accomplishments; and invests You with something so Glorious, and Divine, that we can never have Eyes enough to Admire You, or Tongues enough to praise You. . . .

"Justice & Truth are the particular Care of Heaven. They surmount everything; and their Lustre breaks through the thickest Clouds. When any Subtilty, or Force of Argument can persuade men to believe, that the Sun does not Shine; or that the Stars are not bright; then (and not till then) shall the Glory of an Illustrious Life be stifled, and obscur'd."¹

¹ There are few copies of this book in existence; but, by the kindness of Mr. Moorfield Storey, of the Suffolk bar, I have been permitted to see one which belonged to his father-in-law, the late General Richard D. Cutts, of Washington.

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Lord Cutts married, first, Dec. 18, 1690, a rich widow, Lady Trevor, sister of Sir George Treby, Attorney General of England, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. She, however, died a few years later; and King William consoled him for the loss of her jointure by the gift of an estate in Sussex, which he sold for eight thousand pounds. He married, secondly, in February, 1696, another lady of fortune, the only daughter of Sir Henry Pickering, Bart., of Whaddon in Cambridgeshire; she died in the following year, leaving him without issue by either marriage, and the collateral branches of his family are extinct.¹ It is interesting, however, to remember that he came of the same original stock with the distinguished American family of that name, long seated at Portsmouth in New England, who descend from Richard Cutt, or Cutts, a member of one of Cromwell's Parliaments, whose son John was, in 1679, commissioned President of the province of New Hampshire. I can find no evidence that the General was personally acquainted with his transatlantic kinsmen; but I have thought it a not unreasonable conjecture that the "cousin Hooke," mentioned in one of the letters, may have been a son of Francis Hooke, of Kittery, or of the Rev. William Hooke, of New Haven, sometime chaplain to Oliver Cromwell.

A portrait of Cutts, taken some years before his elevation to the peerage, by Wissing, the fashionable court-painter who immediately succeeded Sir Peter Lely, was exhibited at South Kensington in 1866. A contemporary print of it, now very scarce, was copied, in 1797, by Richardson, to illustrate Granger's "Biographical History of England;" and this last is occasionally met with in a separate form. There exists, moreover, a still more rare engraving, representing him on his death-bed, in 1707, surrounded by Apollo, Minerva, and Cupid weeping; and I have been disappointed in not obtaining a heliotype of it to accompany these letters. I have been obliged to content myself with furnishing one of a portrait, hitherto little known, of Governor Joseph Dudley, which has always been in possession of the descendants of his daughter Anne, wife of John Winthrop, F.R.S., and which some members

¹ The second Lady Cutts was an eminently pious person, whose funeral sermon was preached by Bishop Atterbury. One account says Cutts married, thirdly, a widow by the name of Morley; and, according to Luttrell, he had previously found time to engage himself to one of the Queen's maids of honor, a sister of that notorious Lord Mohun, who subsequently killed the Duke of Hamilton in a duel.

may remember to have seen in the country-house of the late President of the Society at Brookline. It is believed to have been painted towards the close of his third residence in England, in 1701, when he was in Parliament, and not long before his final return to this country. The other two authentic likenesses of him are, first, a portrait believed to have been painted in London during his first residence in London, as agent for Massachusetts in 1682-86, which was presented to this Society in 1870 by his lineal descendant, Mr. Henry A. S. Dudley;¹ and, second, a much dilapidated portrait, believed to have been painted during his second visit to England, in 1689-90, and now belonging to Dr. Daniel Dudley Gilbert, of Roxbury, a descendant of Dudley's daughter, Rebecca Sewall. This last was shockingly engraved, in 1856, for the late Mr. Samuel G. Drake's "History of Boston," and the plate has been more recently used to illustrate the late Mr. Francis S. Drake's "History of Roxbury;" a cut of it appears in the "Memorial History of Boston." All three portraits are not without merit as works of art, and, making allowance for the difference in age of the subject, bear a marked resemblance to one another; but Mr. Drake's engraver has unaccountably substituted for a curly periwig the long black locks of an Indian chief, and has successfully endeavored to impart to the naturally grave expression of the Governor an air of fatuous benignity wholly foreign to his character. For more than a century the historians of New England have vied with one another in heaping obloquy upon the political career and motives of Joseph Dudley; but I fancy his well-balanced mind would have been less disturbed at the prospect of such unreasoning abuse, than by the thought that so feeble and inaccurate a pictorial representation of himself was to be handed down to posterity in the three works of reference which I have mentioned.²

¹ A replica, or perhaps only an ancient copy, of this picture is in possession of our associate, Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Cambridge, a great-great-grandson of Dudley's daughter, Mary Atkins.

² In an article in the "Genealogical Register" of October, 1856, Mr. Dean Dudley alludes to the portrait now belonging to this Society (then owned by the widow of Colonel Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury), and also to the Gilbert portrait, which latter he describes as "taken when the Governor was sick." So far as I can gather, this family tradition, of uncertain date, arose from the apparent sallowness of the face, and from a certain suggestion of dressing-gown about the costume.

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COLONEL JOSEPH DUDLEY, M. P.

AFTERWARDS GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BORN 1647. DIED 1720.

From an original portrait in possession of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

1880

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Of his wife, Rebecca Tyng, there exists, so far as I am aware, but one authentic portrait, the very interesting one belonging to this Society;¹ but, in the course of my inquiries into this subject, I received information that in the family of the late Mr. Dudley Hall, of Medford, were portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Dudley, by Sir Peter Lely. As Lely never visited this country, and died before Dudley first went abroad, I was a little incredulous; and on going out to Medford, I found two charming pictures, apparently painted by Smibert, and representing, as I have every reason to believe, Joseph Dudley's son William, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1726 to 1729, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Addington Davenport, — the said Mr. and Mrs. William Dudley having been the great-grandparents of the late Mr. Dudley Hall. It is not to be wondered at that such mistakes continually occur about old family portraits, when we consider how indifferent our wives and children often are to the associations connected with them, and how difficult they generally find it to give an accurate description of them. I am bound to add that a somewhat similar blunder was made long ago concerning the one of Joseph Dudley now at Brookline; for when, in 1860, it came into the possession of its present owner, on the death of a kinsman at New London, he found pasted on the back of it this distich:—

“ Sir Thomas Dudley 's a trusty old stud,
A bargain 's a bargain & must be made good.”

In other words, the writer of this doggerel on the back of that portrait clearly supposed it to represent, not Governor Joseph, but his father, Governor Thomas Dudley, a likeness of whom would, I need not say, be a great prize, for none is known to exist. The figure, however, is attired in the costume and long, full-bottomed wig of the later Stuart period; and no one at all acquainted with historical portraiture would be willing, for a moment, to accept it as Thomas Dudley, who

After careful examination, however, I believe the sallowness in question to be merely the effect of age and neglect, and the “dressing-gown” looks to me more like a judicial robe. As Dudley was named Chief Justice of New York about that time, he may have had himself so painted. The learned editor of the “Memorial History” has expressed to me his regret that the Drake engraving should have been followed without verification.

¹ Professor Norton possesses a replica, or ancient copy, of this also.

died at a very advanced age in 1653. My conjecture as to the origin of this mistake is, I think, a reasonable one. At Joseph Dudley's death, in 1720, this portrait became the property of his daughter, Mrs. Winthrop, who survived her father more than half a century, and died in 1776 at the great age of ninety-two. This venerable lady had outlived her sons, and the portrait then passed to her eldest grandson, a young man with a number of younger brothers, some one of whom (according to my theory) having always heard the picture spoken of at his grandmother's as Governor Dudley, hastily assumed it to be the more distinguished of the two Governors Dudley, and amused himself by scribbling on it accordingly. Had he been a man of cultivation, he would have undoubtedly preferred to transcribe several of the lines in which Thomas Dudley's daughter, Anne Bradstreet, the first New England poetess, has so quaintly and touchingly commemorated her father; but being, as he probably was, a youngster with a not very refined sense of humor, he preferred the above-mentioned distich, which was by no means original with him, as it has been ascribed to no less authoritative a pen than that of Governor Jonathan Belcher, though in my own judgment it is more likely to be a survival of the doggerel of the colonial period. The correct version begins, not "Sir Thomas," but "Here lies Thomas;" and the writer, relying upon an imperfect memory, managed to confer upon his assumed great-great-grandfather the honor of knighthood. For the benefit of those who may not have found leisure to devote much attention to the domestic history of Puritan times, it is as well to explain, by way of parenthesis, that the reason why this irreverent, not to say flippant, expression, "trusty old stud," was applied to so eminent and austere a magistrate as Thomas Dudley, is to be found in the fact that no less than three of the children of his second marriage were born after he had entered upon his seventieth year.

I will only add, in conclusion, that I can find no trace of the numerous confidential letters which Cutts must have received from his Lieutenant-Governor during their eight years of official association, and which his Lordship perhaps destroyed. The Winthrop Papers include many of Dudley's domestic letters, and among them several written by him from the Isle of Wight to his wife in New England; but they

contain not the remotest reference to public affairs, and consist, for the most part, of slightly monotonous expressions of conjugal endearment, intermingled with reiterated and edifying assurances that the consolations of religion alone sustained him during so protracted an absence from his family.¹

Mr. APPLETON then spoke as follows:—

At the last meeting Mr. Jenks showed a photograph, and gave a very interesting account, of the flag carried to Concord, April 19, 1775, by the company of minute-men from Bedford. The photograph did not reach me during the meeting; but afterwards, as soon as I saw it, I immediately recognized it, and recognized it as of far greater interest and importance than was suggested by Mr. Jenks. The flag borne at Concord on the 19th of April is the flag designed in England, 1660-70, for the Three-County Troop of Massachusetts. In 1870 Messrs. Somerby and Chester, at almost the same date, sent to Boston extracts from MS. Additional 26,683 in the British Museum, being the design and charges for a flag for the Three-County Troop, as follows:—

Worke don for New England

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|---|--------------|
| For painting in oyle on both sides a Cornett one rich crimson damask, with a hand and sword and inveloped with a scarfe about the arms of gold, black and sillver . . . | 2. 0.6 |
| For a plaine cornett Staffe, with belt, boote and swible at first penny | 1. 0.0 |
| For silke of crimson and silver fring and for a Cornett String . | 1.11.0 |
| For crimson damask | 11.0 |
| | <hr/> 5. 2.6 |

It is evident that this flag became one of the accepted standards of the organized militia of Massachusetts, and as such was used by the Bedford Company. Of this Admiral Preble

¹ A still further illustration of the untrustworthiness of family traditions is supplied by the fact that there was long ago presented to the Cabinet of this Society a quaint bit of provincial furniture, purporting to be the "Cradle of Governor Joseph Dudley." It has recently been noticed, however, that the rows of antique brass nails which ornament it, and which are evidently coeval with the wood-work, are so disposed on top as to form the distinct date "1730," which is eighty-three years after the Governor first became a candidate for a cradle, and about the time that several of his grandchildren were in need of one.

had neither knowledge nor suspicion; and I must sincerely wish that he were alive, to insert it in his remarkable work on *Our Flag*, and to add to my words such facts as he might be more fortunate in finding than I have been, for as yet I have learned nothing more of the use of this design. But it seems to me that this flag of April 19, 1775, far exceeds in historic value the famed flag of Eutaw and Pulaski's banner, and in fact is the most precious memorial of its kind of which we have any knowledge.

This flag, with the hand and sword, may have been carried on the banks of the Connecticut by the men who, under Major Samuel Appleton, so stoutly resisted the Indians at Hadley and Hatfield; and afterwards, under the same leader, may have been borne into the captured fort in the swamp of the Narragansetts. Later the same symbols were undoubtedly seen on the shores of Lake George and Lake Champlain. The men of Massachusetts may very possibly have used such a flag in the early battles of the Revolution; and at this day we honor it as the crest of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, under which thousands fought and died in the sad but glorious years from 1861 to 1865.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP presented from the Hon. John Bigelow, of New York, late minister to France, and author of an elaborate *Life of Franklin*, five ancient maps, on one of which the name of this city is spelled "Baston," and on another "Briston." The Hudson River on one of them is styled the "great river," and four other names are also given to it as being in current use. It was ordered that the grateful acknowledgments of the Society be sent to the donor for his gift.

Mr. WINSOR made the following communication:—

Professor Horsford, of Cambridge, in the pursuit of some studies in the early cartography of the New England coast, has been induced to believe that a trading-post and fort of the French in the early part of the sixteenth century was situated upon Charles River. Estimating the distance up the stream according to some of the early descriptions, he sought a spot at the confluence of Stony Brook with Charles River in the

town of Weston, and found there a ditch and embankment, which apparently have escaped the attention of all the local antiquaries of Watertown, Waltham, Weston, and Newton, since an examination of all their publications reveals no reference to them. This ditch, which is not far from sixteen hundred feet in length, runs parallel in the main to the water line of the river and brook, within the angle caused by their confluence, and follows the contour line of fifty-one feet above tide-water for most of its course; but towards the southerly end it descends somewhat, and is lost in an expansion upon a point jutting into Charles River. About midway it bends into a loop, which nearly fills the apex of the angle. Across the base of this loop is another excavation of a like kind, which seems to have completed the circuit of the knoll lying within the loop, though a cartway across this supplemental ditch has obliterated it at one place. A survey which Professor Horsford has caused to be made reveals so constant a level of the excavation as to preclude a belief in its being the result of natural causes, and its construction and direction seem to determine that it could not have been an ancient sluiceway, though some walling of stone at the upper end might indicate an intention of converting a portion of it to such purposes at a later day. The spot is now covered with a young growth of wood; but there are signs that a growth of large trees has been twice cut from it, some of which stood in the ditch. The levelness of the ditch would have adapted it to holding still water, as a part of a defensive work; but the excavation is too narrow for such purpose, and the earth is thrown towards the enemy (a river). It is, however, just such a ditch as would be dug in which to plant a stockade, returning the earth about the base. The fact that the embankment is continued three hundred feet both north and south from the enclosed portion, in a way to afford no protection against attack, seems to indicate that the whole work is but a segment of a line of circumvallation which was left unfinished, the stockade not being planted in the portions already excavated.

I refrain from outlining Professor Horsford's arguments and proofs of his belief, as that gentleman has already done so in a letter addressed to Judge Daly, which is printed in the *Journal of the American Geographical Society*. Researches of my own lead me rather to the opinion that these relics may

possibly mark the site of an early attempt to found the town of Boston. Thomas Dudley tells us¹ that Winthrop's company had intended to give this name to the place "they first resolved on." We know from the same source that a few days after the arrival of Winthrop at Salem, he set out, on the 17th of June, 1630, for Charlestown at the "Bay," whence by means of parties the neighboring rivers were explored to find a convenient spot to found their town, and that they discovered such a place as "liked" or suited them, "three leagues up Charles River." This decision as to a spot was formed not long after June 17-20; and from that time till after they had reached Charlestown on the way thither by water from Salem, they kept this purpose. We have a distinct expression of this intention in the letter of Samuel Fuller of June 28, to be referred to again. At a later date, learning by recent arrivals of the intention of the French to attack them, and finding their company so weakened by sickness that they were "unable to carry their ordnance and baggage so far" as the three leagues up the Charles, they changed their mind, notwithstanding they had already transshipped their goods for the carriage. This "change of counsel," as Dudley calls it, cannot be definitely dated; but Dr. Young places it under August.² During, then, an interval of some extent, probably of weeks, when their original purpose held, it seems reasonable to suppose that they would have sent a fatigue party to prepare the ground and make ready a fort—as Dudley tells us they intended to have one—to receive their ordnance. When the news of the French led them to take more hasty measures, and the debilitated condition of the colonists rendered it undesirable to go farther, they scattered "dispersedly," as Dudley says, about the mouth of the river; and though some months passed before a determination on a site for their town was reached, their fatigue party would naturally have been recalled, after a change of their original purpose, leav-

¹ Letter (March 12-28, 1631) to the Countess of Lincoln in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 313.

² Prince (Boston, 1826, p. 309), by his collation of the excerpts from the early writers, places this inability to carry up their ordnance, etc., some time in July; and under August 1st, he says of Charlestown, "the greater number at this time intending no other than to settle here." Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence," though he speaks of "12 of July or thereabout, 1630," as the day of their first setting foot "on this western end of the world," evidently from the context places at that time their reaching Charlestown. (Poole's ed. p. 37.)

ing their work incomplete. It is not impossible that these works at Stony Brook may be found to be this premature and abandoned Boston. It will be borne in mind that just such an extensive circumvallation as may have been here intended was some months later established at Cambridge.

Prince¹ is the first historian to try to determine the site of this preliminary choice, from Dudley's narrative; and he identifies it with Watertown. Dr. Young,² in commenting on Dudley's letter, prefers Cambridge. Both were influenced, doubtless, by the fact that any position above the falls at Watertown would have placed them away from tide-water, and the approach of vessels or boats.³ But the fact of their seeking to find a spot "up the river" indicates a purpose of leaving tide-water, and the falls at Watertown would have prevented any naval attack, to which they might have been liable both from the French and Dutch, for each claimed the region within which the English were. Further, Dudley's reference to their inability "to carry their ordnance and baggage" would hardly apply to water carriage only, after these belongings had already been "unshipped" into "other vessels," presumably of lighter draught.

It may not be supposed that Dudley's "three leagues" was more than an estimate; and a distance of that length "up the Charles" is not easy to determine when we find the early authorities varying in their practice of designating the mouth of that river, some placing it at Nantasket, others at Long Island Head, others at Copps Hill, and others at the outlet into the Back Bay. In commenting upon Dudley, Dr. Palfrey,⁴ evidently not disturbed by the falls at Watertown, and probably measuring from the Back Bay, says that the spot must have been somewhere in Waltham or Weston, and "most likely near the mouth of Stony Brook," hitting precisely the spot of Professor Horsford's discovery, and apparently without knowing that any such remains existed there.

There was a map of this locality made in 1640, which Dr. Francis says⁵ was preserved till 1825, when it was burned in

¹ *Annals*, p. 308.

² *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 312.

³ Dr. Fuller, in a letter written from Charlestown during the interval referred to (June 28), says: "The gentlemen here lately come over are resolved to sit down at the head of Charles River." *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 74.

⁴ *New England*, vol. i. p. 324.

⁵ *Sketches of Watertown*, p. 11.

the Court Street fire, and I suppose in the office of James Savage, along with one of the volumes of Winthrop's manuscript Journal. Should a copy of that map exist, it might be found to yield some information on the point before us. Winthrop himself makes no mention of this preliminary work, and by reason of a gap gave his editor no occasion to extract from the map any information if it existed. The recently identified Winthrop map (1634) seems to show Stony Brook and its junction with the Charles; but there is no legend at that point.

If the conclusion which I have ventured to suggest is ever established by indubitable evidence, these remains at Stony Brook, for whose discovery we are indebted to Professor Horsford, would certainly be the most interesting reminder which exists, of the toil and anxieties of that first year of the original Bostonians.

Mr. WINSOR presented also the subjoined paper:—

A recent popular History of the United States gives figures which are very familiar to all who have studied our revolutionary history in the printed publications of the last fifty years, to the effect that during the eight years of the war the thirteen Colonies and States furnished to the Continental line 231,959 men, as an aggregate of those furnished by the several States as follows:—

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|--------------------------|---------|
| New Hampshire | 12,496 |
| Massachusetts | 67,907 |
| Rhode Island | 5,908 |
| Connecticut | 32,039 |
| New York | 17,781 |
| New Jersey | 10,727 |
| Pennsylvania | 25,608 |
| Delaware | 2,387 |
| Maryland | 13,832 |
| Virginia | 26,672 |
| North Carolina | 7,263 |
| South Carolina | 6,660 |
| Georgia | 2,679 |
| In all | 231,959 |

The figures, according to different tabulations, vary a little from these just given, but not much. The error in considering

these numbers to represent troops furnished to the Continental line seems likely to be perpetuated at second hand in our popular histories; and it may be worth while to show the origin of the misconception, and what attempts have been made to correct it, seemingly without avail.

In 1790 General Knox, then Secretary of War, presented to President Washington a "Report on the Troops furnished by the several States during the War of the Revolution," — a title which might lead one to expect to find just such a table as has been referred to; but there is none such in it. What he does give is a series of tables showing the number of Continentals and militia credited to the several States during the nine calendar years covered by the war, and making no distinction between services rendered by each soldier, whether for a part or for the whole of a year or for several years. General Knox did not attempt to tabulate his several annual statements into one including the whole war, because no common basis could be formed from his data, either of individual men enlisted, or of length of service rendered by each. I cannot find that Knox's report was printed at the time; at least, there is no record of such printing in Ben: Perley Poore's recently published "Descriptive Catalogue of the Publications of the United States."

The first attempt to use Knox's figures historically was when a summary of them was printed in 1824, in the first volume of the Collections (p. 236) of the New Hampshire Historical Society; and here the error began. The editor of that publication did what Knox had refrained from doing, and summed up his annual figures, and gave the total of 231,959 as representing the whole number of troops furnished by the States to the Continental army. The table was printed similarly in the "American Almanac" (1830, p. 187, and 1831, p. 112), and in "Niles' Register" (July 31, 1830), and soon passed into current belief. When the Government in 1832 printed Vol. I. p. 14 of "Military Affairs," in the series of "The American State Papers," the editor of it inserted Knox's report entire, so that it became accessible to all. The unwarranted tabulation which had been given in the works referred to did not attract attention till Lorenzo Sabine, in the first edition of his "American Loyalists" in 1847 (p. 31), going, as he says, to the report as then printed, made a new tabulation, which, as

regards the Continentals, was to the same effect, and continued the misconception; and we find it still further perpetuated in Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution" (vol. ii. p. 837), Hildreth's "United States" (vol. iii. p. 441), Barry's "Massachusetts" (vol. ii. p. 304), not to name other less known books; and Palfrey cites it in his review of Mahon, which passed under Sparks's eye. The deductions which Sabine had drawn from this misconceived table, particularly as regards the share of South Carolina in the struggle, brought some attacks on him, and led to his closer examination of the original report. In his second edition of 1864 (vol. i. p. 43), he recast his tables, but was curiously unsuccessful in enlightening his readers; for in one line he repeats the statement that the figures represent troops furnished by the States for the war, and in the very next he explains that these same figures mean enlistments, not men. Thus he would have it understood that if a soldier enlisted for one year, and then re-enlisted for three years, he would count two in the aggregate; whereas the fact is he counts four, one for each year when he was reported as on the rolls.

Notwithstanding this clew to a right rendering of the figures had been so recently given, George W. Greene, in his "Historical View of the American Revolution" (p. 455), published the next year (1865), still adheres to the old view. Ten years later, when General Carrington published his "Battles of the American Revolution" (p. 653), he seems to have had a suspicion that the figures, as usually given, were wrongly interpreted, and says that the table ordinarily given must be taken as representing years' service, and not individual recruits, and explains what he means by saying that a man enlisted into the Continental line April 19, 1775 (when, by the way, no Continental line existed, as Congress did not adopt the provincial army around Boston till after the battle of Bunker Hill), who continued to the 19th of April, 1783, when the hostilities formally ceased, would be counted eight in the aggregate. Still General Carrington, in giving the old table, makes no allowance that the 27,443 given as the number of men in 1775, would count only for half that number in years' service, since their service could only be for the latter half of that year; nor does he regard, in his estimate of years' service, the various terms of less than a year which General Knox reports, or the operations of casualties in abridging terms

of service, or the diminished service of recruits for any one year who enlisted after the beginning of that year.

The truth of the matter, then, is that the figures of the usual table are worthless as representing the number of men which made up the Continental line, and also as representing the actual service by years, to which the different States are entitled, and have only a value as enabling us approximately to judge how much more or less, relatively, one State contributed year by year than another to the military force that gained our independence. So far as I know there is yet to be the first statement in print which shall explain accurately the figures which Knox reported to the President in 1790.

A new serial, including the Proceedings from June to November inclusive, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1886.

The stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at the customary hour and place, the chair being occupied by Dr. ELLIS.

The Secretary read his report of the last meeting.

The Librarian presented his monthly list of donors to the Library.

Mr. Samuel F. McCleary, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

Since our last meeting death has removed from us our highly honored and distinguished associate Francis Edward Parker. His name has been upon our roll for twenty-three years.

His various and engrossing responsibilities of trust and business did not consist with his attendance at our monthly meetings as often as we should have gladly welcomed him here. But few of our members exceeded him in an hearty and intelligent interest in our objects ; and he showed that interest by giving us wise counsel when we needed it, and by generous presents to our Library. In the various professional, business, and social circles, where his great capacities and his admirable qualities had secured for him an enviable degree of confidence, respect, and warm personal attachment, his decease has drawn forth the sincerest tributes for his character, and for his wisdom and fidelity in the care of great trusts. This Society can only, in the usual form of a Resolution, add its grateful tribute to the many which enshrine his memory. The Council commit the preparation of a memoir of Mr. Parker for our Proceedings to our associate Mr. Edward Bangs.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP made the following remarks : —

I am unwilling, Mr. President, that the name of Francis E. Parker should pass from our rolls without a few words from one who, though much his senior, had known him so long and valued him so highly as I have done.

Of his abilities as a lawyer, his fidelity as a trustee, his accomplishments as a scholar, his wit and his wisdom in social or in practical life, I can say nothing which has not been said already in the admirable tributes which have been paid to his memory in the public journals.

But it was my good fortune to have him as an associate and assistant for nearly thirty years in the management of some of the great charities of our city. He was with me at the original organization of the Boston Provident Association, as long ago as 1851, under the auspices of the late excellent Dr. Ephraim Peabody and the late Hon. Samuel A. Eliot; and during the whole five and twenty years of my presidency of that institution he was the chairman of its executive committee, and was unceasing in his devotion, in season and out of season, to the cause of the poor of Boston.

I may recall the fact, as a striking illustration of his disinterested liberality, that when the treasury of that institution was exhausted, during an exceptionally severe winter, many years ago, I received a confidential note from him, inclosing four or five hundred dollars, which he claimed the privilege of adding to our resources, with the injunction that it should not be known to any one but myself by whom the money was contributed. I observed his confidence sacredly as long as he lived, but I can have no compunction about betraying it now that he is gone.

Within a very few weeks past, I had another note from him, — the last, alas! I can ever receive, — reminding me of our united efforts in securing the erection of the Charity Bureau in Chardon Street, in which almost all the relief societies of our city are concentrated for mutual reference and associated action. He spoke of it as my own original design, as it was; but no one has done more valuable work within the walls of that noble building than our lamented friend.

To this Provident Association, it now appears, he has bequeathed a third part of his property after deducting his private legacies to relatives and friends. Familiar as he has been with its whole history, and practically acquainted with

all its principles and methods of dealing with the poor, such a bequest from such a source is at once a tribute and a testimony, and cannot fail to inspire fresh confidence in the institution, while it adds largely to its means of usefulness. There ought to be a portrait of Mr. Parker on its walls, if nowhere else, and I trust there will be.

Mr. Parker was associated with me also as one of the Overseers of the Poor of Boston from 1864 to 1867, when the organization and operations of that board were the subject of a complete and most salutary reform. As president of the board I was specially indebted to him for aid and counsel, and I can bear personal testimony to the signal ability and practical wisdom which he displayed during all our proceedings.

Let me only say, in conclusion, that in speaking exclusively, as I have done, of Mr. Parker's devoted labors in the cause of our charitable institutions, I feel that I have paid him the most enviable tribute which could be offered to his memory, and that which he himself would most have valued. Wit and wisdom, abilities and accomplishments, private virtues and public services, may secure a wider popular fame; but a life-long care for the condition of the poor and needy at our doors may look for a record above all earthly renown.

Professor TORREY continued, nearly as follows:—

Certain qualities in Mr. Parker's character had their growth in a home which was lighted up by a noble example of devotion to the duties and sympathies of a sacred office, and was adorned with winning manners and attractive conversation. Mr. Parker himself more than once dated back his opinions to this early period. Great, however, as were these influences, he did not inherit or imbibe his originality. In after years it needed no long familiarity with him to show him to be eminently a man by himself. I have lately received a letter in which a very intelligent man describes at a distance of some years the marked impression made upon him by the fine presence, the charming manner, and the excellent judgment of Mr. Parker, whom he had never before seen and has never met since.

Mr. Parker, at twelve years of age, lost his father. His youth was not spent in comfortable ease. He had to endure

hardness, and probably owed something of his rare knowledge of character and power of dealing with all sorts and conditions of men to this discipline. He took the highest honors at college,—no insignificant achievement and no bad sign even forty years ago. Though he did not afterwards take up the calling of a professed and technical scholar, he knew wonderfully well how to read and what to do with what he had read; and he kept up his scholarly tastes.

In his early manhood his agreeable address, his kindly bearing, and his intellectual and moral force opened the way to that influence over younger persons which he so strikingly exerted, and which some of our now middle-aged citizens remember and feel. His aptitude for making his way with young and old it was a pleasure to him in later years to try occasionally, even with persons of a humble station whom he casually fell in with, who opened their lives to his friendly questions and gave new food to his insatiable study of character, in fields quite outside of conventional position. He liked to relate in his interesting manner the little occurrences of his annual journeys. In one of them he made in the streets of Verona the acquaintance of an Italian peasant-boy, learned of him his whole way of life, and treated him with characteristic kindness. The men with whom he had to do professionally or socially, he made it a habit to be interested in, but with a tacitly reserved right to take their dimensions.

He was one of the keenest of observers. His inevitable eye was backed by a mental vision that as a rule was singularly quick and sure. Double-dealing and meanness had no chance with his piercing search and implacable scorn. It is related that the Emperor Charles V. once said of a noted diplomatist, that, if you would baffle his sagacity, your silence would not be enough; you must not *think* in his presence. Stripped of its extravagance, this saying offers something that brings up Mr. Parker significantly to mind. As Mr. Winthrop has reminded us, Ephraim Peabody and Francis E. Parker are foremost names in the charter of incorporation of the Boston Provident Association, the founding of which makes an epoch in the history of the charities of this city. One of Dr. Peabody's closest friends called him "a sworn measurer." The description might be extended in no small degree to his associate in that instrument.

To what he was in his profession others are better qualified than I to testify. A more valuable extra-professional counsellor it would be difficult to find. His friends could rely on him to face for them with loyal nerve emergencies and scenes too trying for themselves, or to help them with generous outlay of time and care through harassing crises and changes.

Mr. Parker was a man of sensitive conscientiousness in every trust, and of a high idea of honor. He was anxious to be true to others and to himself. He loved independence, and guarded his own independence with diligence. His judgments of men were sometimes less carefully reserved than they were positively formed; he was outspoken where others are apt to be cautious. But it has been said of him that his pithy phrases were wont, even when severe, to issue straight from the head without committing the heart.

Mr. Parker's command of expression, so signally shown by word of mouth and word of private pen, was less often exercised in public than might have been expected of one who possessed so many of the gifts of a speaker. Of his speeches I remember only two that have been in print. They are both characteristic. One of them contains in it a droll geological history of the Boston Back Bay lands; the other, delivered more than thirty years ago at a celebration in Portsmouth, in the name of a delegation from Massachusetts, is a model in its kind. With scarcely a touch or breath of his usual happy pleasantry, it is grave, gracious, and affectionate. One of his oldest friends writes: "It was an occasion when all the qualities which he ordinarily took so much pains to repress, rose to the surface, and he did not care to hide them; and the genuine feeling which he showed is all the more interesting from the rarity with which he suffered it to appear."

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE paid his tribute in these words:

It is now over forty years since I first saw Francis E. Parker. I remember it as one remembers in later years what most "pleased his boyish thought." I had just come to Harvard College from Exeter, and we met at a meeting of the students at Cambridge from that school. What was done, if anything, at the meeting I do not remember; but the cordial reception

of a callow, timid freshman by the brilliant and leading scholar of the senior class naturally left an impression which brings back the evening most clearly to my mind. I refer to this, unimportant in itself, as illustrating a characteristic trait. He had then, as always, an attraction for younger men, as they had for him, and a great facility in impressing and influencing them. Since that time, during the "swift sweet hours" and the "slow sad hours" of later years, I knew him intimately. I shared his struggles, if the uniform, deserved, and steady success of his career can be so denominated; I received his confidences and profited by his counsels, his criticisms, and his example.

It is not easy to describe his character or the course of life in which that manifested itself. There was nothing commonplace or familiar in either, nor was the plan of life which he seemed to lay down for himself easily intelligible to men who calculated upon the ordinary motives of human action. He belonged by nature and inheritance to that class which one of its conspicuous members has called the Brahmin caste of New England. He was fastidious, refined, acute, and governed by a conscience intellectual as well as moral, which made him see as well as approve and pursue the right way.

His father, the Rev. Dr. Nathan Parker, was one of the fathers and saints of the early Unitarians, a devout and persuasive preacher, and a pastor of wide, effective, and permanent influence, who died beloved, respected, admired, and mourned. His mother was a woman of peculiar cleverness, wit, and social power, capable of appreciating her husband and educating her son. The son inherited many of the most striking characteristics of his parents; and the language with which the friends of Dr. Parker describe the traits of his character is often singularly appropriate to the son:—

"His observations were generally laconic, pithy, and easy to be remembered. . . . Half sarcastic and half humorous, stingingly severe yet jocose in expression, he was able to say inoffensively what he pleased; his manner acted instead of a formal apology for plain dealing. . . . His influence over men was therefore that of character. He did not strive for influence; he did not aim at power: it came to him. It belonged to him, as it does to every man of single-mindedness and trustworthiness. . . . There was another trait of his character which gave him influence. His friends remarked in him an uncommon

knowledge of human nature, an intuitive perception of character, a singular and almost prophetic sagacity by which he penetrated men's bosoms and discerned foibles or dispositions of which they were themselves scarcely aware. He evidently made man and human character his study. . . . This talent of observation extended to men's affairs as well as characters. It used to be a matter of wonder to his friends how he should . . . be . . . so sagacious and familiar in secular concerns. It has been said that he knew the state of every man's business. . . . This knowledge of men's affairs—the result not of inquisitiveness, but of intuitive sagacity—was always employed with the utmost caution and reserve, and was the means of greatly extending his influence."

The death of Dr. Parker when his son was not yet twelve years of age, left his widow with narrow means to support and educate her only child.

Dr. Parker had been a Trustee of the Phillips Exeter Academy from the year of his son's birth until his own decease, and the son became soon a pupil of that school and a "Foundationer." He lived to add another to the list of brilliant men who have paid by the honor they reflect upon this Alma Mater the aid she afforded them, which he shared with such men as Bancroft, Sparks, and Packard. He, like others of them, was not content to return her kindness solely by thus honoring her name, and not only took pleasure in his lifetime in repaying the pecuniary value of the assistance he had received, but made himself by his will her greatest benefactor since the Founder.

His career at the school was successful, and in Harvard College eminently so. He graduated at the head of his class. After leaving college he was for a time a valued teacher in the Boston Latin School, but left it for a journey to Europe on account of delicate health. He was not a person of vigorous physical condition in early life, and the watchful care which this required led perhaps to that systematic management of himself which induced an old friend to say of him, "Mr. Parker manages himself like an Institution."

After his return from Europe he studied law, began the practice of his profession with J. Elliot Cabot, and then became a partner of the late R. H. Dana, Jr., with whom he remained until Mr. Dana became the Attorney for the United States in Massachusetts. Mr. Parker had then quite estab-

lished his position at the bar. He had, it seemed to me, every quality required for success in that profession, — acuteness, industry, precision of thought and expression, a retentive and accurate memory, remarkable knowledge of men, and great power of inspiring a just confidence. This confidence brought to him an honorable and lucrative business. He would have succeeded remarkably well as an advocate if he had given himself to that department of the profession. He occasionally indulged himself and others in some exercise of his capacity in this respect, and always left a deep impression of his power of persuasive argument, strengthened by apt illustration, and penetrative and illuminating wit.¹

He was always reluctant to enter what is called public life, although his great success in the single year's service which he gave to the State, in the Senate, made many his friends and admirers, and all of them desirous that he should continue to display his powers in a public and wider field. But one of his most striking peculiarities was a singular absence of public ambition. He was thoroughly conscious of his powers, and enjoyed their exercise; but he seemed to have taken a vow of abstinence, as it were, in spite of the appreciative urgency of his friends. He would have graced the office of President of Harvard College. He would have been a brilliant, effective, and influential member of Congress or Mayor of Boston, and might well have reached, if he would not have enjoyed, these and other honors.

I well remember the half-humorous and yet serious manner in which he once spoke of the expression with which a common friend, who had not spared exertion to reach his own merited success, regarded him: "I knew he was thinking, How much more you might have done and attained with your powers than you have been willing to strive for!"

But he did not omit to labor for the good of others. He was steadily occupied in useful and inconspicuous public service. For four years a member of the School Committee; nine years an Overseer of the Poor, where his "invaluable"

¹ Mr. Hale referred to a speech by Mr. Parker on the filling of the Back Bay in Boston as an interesting illustration of these qualities, and as a valuable historical document, worthy of preservation in the Collections of the Society; and read some extracts from this speech, as reported in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of May 4, 1867. — Eds.

services were characterized, as his associates said, by "sagacity, prudence, a wise forecast, and humane policy;" connected with the Boston Provident Association for thirty-five years, for twenty-six years Chairman of its Executive Committee, or Vice-President; for some sixteen years an Overseer of Harvard College,—it is not easy to overestimate the service he rendered to the community in which he lived in these positions, and in his devotion to the interests of others,—a service perhaps more valuable and effective than that he might have given in more conspicuous and prominent offices. It may be that this was the plan of life at which his friends sometimes wondered,—the plan of one who aims to—

"In himself possess his own desire:
 and to the same
 Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
 And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
 For wealth, or honors, or for worldly state;"

and

"Plays in the many games of life, that one
 Where what he most doth value must be won."

Dr. EVERETT said:—

I desire to place on record, that for years I have been accustomed to look to Mr. Parker as my model or standard of what was morally right. If I was assured of his approval, I looked no farther; if I had occasion to doubt that he would approve my action, it was practically equivalent to a condemnation.

Mr. QUINCY presented a piece of "Shakspeare's Mulberry Tree" to the Cabinet of the Society. This fragment of the wood had been cut from a block which belonged to David Garrick, and was sealed with his seal (a head of Shakspeare) as a witness of its authenticity. According to the statement of Mrs. Garrick, which comes through her executor Mr. Beltz, this block (a massive portion of the trunk with the crotch of a branch) was presented to her husband by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon at the famous Jubilee of 1769,—it being the largest portion of the tree that could then be obtained. But, however the distinguished actor may have acquired it, there

can be no doubt that he considered it a well-authenticated fragment of the tree under which he had been entertained, and which he had done so much to celebrate.

Mr. Quincy gave a short sketch of Robert Balmanno, a Shakspearean scholar and collector, who possessed the original block with Garrick's seal upon it. Mr. Balmanno's affidavit is attached to the piece given to the Society.

The Hon. R. C. WINTHROP rose and said:—

I present to the Society this afternoon a large framed photograph of Daniel Webster, and ask for it a place in our gallery. It is taken from an original crayon which has been hanging on my own walls for forty years, and of which I desire that the history should not be forgotten.

It happened that during the early years of my association with Mr. Webster in Congress, and after I had been called on to defend him from an unjust charge of some sort, I asked him to sit for a portrait for me. He readily assented to my request, and promised to be at the service of any artist I might employ. Many months, perhaps a year or two, had passed away, when, fortunately, a young artist from Maine brought me a letter of introduction, and expressed an eager wish to have an opportunity of taking a head of Webster. I told him at once that Webster had long ago promised to sit for me, and that I would endeavor to secure him the opportunity which he desired on condition that I should pay for the work, and that the product should be mine.

Just about the same time I learned that Healy, the well-known portrait-painter, had come over from France with a commission from Louis Philippe to take likenesses of General Jackson, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, General Cass, and Mr. Webster, for the Royal Gallery at Versailles, and that Webster was to sit to him, for the King, the very next day. I forthwith called on Mr. Webster, reminded him of his promise, and proposed that my young crayonist should come with Healy, avail himself of the second best light, and take a head for me while Healy was taking one for the Versailles gallery. "All right," said Webster, "let him come on. The more the better; there will be fewer sittings hereafter."

And so one day in the winter or spring of 1846, just forty years ago, Webster was seen in one of the old committee

rooms of Congress, down in the very crypts of the Capitol, with Healy intently engaged in painting him with oils, while my young friend hovered around him, pencil and tablet in hand, catching the best lights he could find, and working out, day by day, the large crayon of which this is the photograph. I went down into the committee room from my place in the House of Representatives, on several successive days, to see how the work was going along; and on at least one occasion I found Webster quietly dozing. "Well, Mr. Webster," I exclaimed, "art is long and life is short." He roused himself instantly with a hearty laugh, and made some reply better worth remembering than any remark of my own, but which is too indistinct in my memory for me to attempt to recall it. The double operation to which he had subjected himself lasted about a week; and then Webster shook himself free from us all. Healy's portrait is on the walls of the Versailles gallery, and the crayon on my own.

Before my young friend entered on his work, I asked him whether he had ever seen Mr. Webster in action. "Never but once," said he; "but that once I shall never forget. It was when Webster delivered his grand oration on the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1843; and when, standing at the foot of the monument, he rolled up those wondrous eyes of his and took in the whole shaft, from cornerstone to cap-stone, with the simple exclamation, 'The powerful speaker stands motionless before us.' That," said my young friend, "is the look I shall try to give him."

And that is the look he did give him, and give him most impressively. I remember well the emotions excited and expressed by the most intimate friends of Mr. Webster at Washington as they gazed at the crayon when it was finished. The late Edward Curtis, of New York, — devoted to him as no other man ever was, — our own John Davis and Mrs. John Davis, good Joseph Grinnell and his wife, of New Bedford, and Mr. and Mrs. John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, were among those whom I recall as most enthusiastic in their admiration of the head.

On my return home I yielded to the request of many friends, and allowed it to be lithographed. Of that lithograph some copies must remain; but I have only been able to trace one. The photograph, though somewhat reduced in size, is more

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effective than the lithograph ever was, and hardly less impressive than the original crayon.

It only remains for me to say that the young artist of 1846, by whom the head was taken, is now one of the most distinguished painters in our country, — Eastman Johnson, who has long had a studio in New York, and who has far more than “fulfilled the promise of his spring,” great as that promise was. He took several other crayons in Washington at the same time, — among others, a small one of myself, and a large and admirable one of Mrs. President Madison, which came into Mr. Webster's possession, as the gift of the artist, and which I have seen on the walls of his Marshfield residence.

I may add that my crayon has been photographed at the earnest instigation of my accomplished and valued friend Dr. Francis Wharton, now the counsellor of the Secretary of State on International Law, and that at his request I presented a copy for one of the rooms of the Department of State at Washington, which, by a casual coincidence, arrived and was hung there on Webster's birthday, the 18th of January last.

The PRESIDENT read a letter of sympathy prepared to be sent to Governor Hutchinson, on his departure for England, by some prominent citizens of Milton. An indignant protest from other citizens compelled the retraction before the letter was sent. The papers will appear in the History of Milton now in preparation.

Mr. DEANE offered a resolution from the Council, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the value and extent of the labors of Mr. B. F. Stevens in publishing from the archives of the States of Europe the diplomatic correspondence and other papers relating to the United States between 1772 and 1784, and to report whether or not it be desirable for this Society to take any action to encourage the work.

Mr. Winsor and Dr. Green were appointed members of this committee.

Dr. MOORE remarked:—

In the Proceedings of the Society on the 28th of January, 1830, as printed in Vol. I. p. 426, it appears to have been —

"*Voted*, That a Committee be appointed to address the city authorities on the subject of a centennial celebration of the settlement of Boston. The President (Mr. Davis), Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Savage, and Dr. Harris were appointed."

A footnote by the editors of the volume states that "there is no record of any action having been taken by this Committee on the subject referred to them." I have observed that this matter was noticed by the President of the Society (Mr. Winthrop), at the meeting in September, 1879, in anticipation of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary,¹ celebrated in the following year.

As the action of this Society was the first step towards what proved to be so interesting a celebration, it seems to me desirable that everything relating to it should be restored to its records, so far as possible; and I ask leave therefore to suggest that the letter written by that Committee be reproduced in the Proceedings at this time. It will be found in the Report of the doings of the City Council.

It bears date Feb. 4, 1830, is signed by all the members of the Committee, and is a very interesting document, as might be expected. It was printed in more than one of the newspapers of the day, among which I have noted the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of Feb. 11, 1830, from which it may be copied for the Proceedings, if my suggestion is received with favor.

A communication from the Massachusetts Historical Society, enclosing a vote of that Society appointing Messrs. Davis, Winthrop, Savage, and Dr. Harris a Committee to address the city authorities on the subject of a centennial celebration of the first settlement of Boston, together with the following address of that Committee, came down committed to the Mayor and Aldermen Russell and Lewis; and Messrs. Bigelow, Minns, James, Eveleth, and Gragg were joined.

Boston, Feb. 4, 1830.

SIR, — The arrival of the year in which two centuries are completed since the foundation of Boston was laid, deserving, in the opinion of the Massachusetts Historical Society, some appropriate observances, they, at the first meeting held this year, appointed the subscribers a Committee to address the city authorities on the subject.

The practice of all communities, especially of those who have the satisfaction of referring their national birth to honored ancestors, may well be

¹ Proceedings, vol. xvii. p. 122.

followed by us, on whom the eyes of all people, in distant quarters of the earth, are turned with admiration at the happy union which we enjoy of civil, political, and religious liberty, beyond any whom history records. However highly we appreciate our institutions of government, framed principally in our own day, we can never forget that their origin is legitimately derived from the unwavering constancy, dauntless courage, sound learning, sober judgment, enlightened equity, and pure principles of the true-hearted, self-exiled Fathers of New England, the exalted characters from whom a vast majority of our fellow-citizens are descended.

With these impressions, and in performance of the duty of our commission, we would respectfully request the city authorities to take into consideration the expediency of adopting such timely measures for a celebration of the second century of Boston as to their wisdom may seem proper.

In regard to the particular day to be selected, some differences of opinion may be expected to occur. There are three dates which seem to have claim to this distinction, — September 7 (in the current style, September 17), July 30 (August 9, N. S.), and June 12 (22, N. S.) On the 7th of September, 1630, at the *second* Court of Assistants held at Charlestown, it was ordered that *Trimountain* be called Boston. Before that time, however, many of those who had then recently arrived from England, and among them several of the leading characters, had decided on a settlement upon this peninsula. This consideration has induced a preference in the minds of some for the 30th of July, when the first covenant was entered into by Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Isaac Johnson, Esq., and the Rev. John Wilson, by which the foundation of the first Church of Christ in Boston was established. The still earlier date of June 12 is recommended by the interesting circumstance that it was the day of the arrival of the "Arbella, Admiral of the New England fleet," with the Charter, deservedly so dear to our ancestors, and with Governor Winthrop and several of the Assistants on board.

The selection of the day and the whole subject is cheerfully submitted to the decision of the city authorities, to whom these suggestions may be communicated.

Very respectfully, we are, Sir, your ob't servants,

JNO. DAVIS.

THOS. L. WINTHROP.

JAS. SAVAGE.

THADDS. MASON HARRIS.

HON. HARRISON G. OTIS, Mayor of Boston.

General CARRINGTON, being called upon, spoke substantially as follows: —

Mr. Winsor has very properly outlined the grounds upon which exaggerated estimates have been made as to the number of troops which served in the American Army during the War for National Independence. The best approximation to the number of those who rendered actual duty is derived from the

consideration of similar estimates as to the active force employed during our civil war. To this end it is well to notice that the acts of Congress which shaped enlistments, drafts, and bounties from 1861 to 1865 were almost literal reproductions of statutes which governed the creation and employment of the Continental Army from 1776 to 1783. "Minute men," "three months' men," "one hundred days' enlistments," "one year enlistments," and finally "enlistments for three years, or during the war," successively followed, as the scope of operations enlarged, or the duration of the struggle became uncertain. It was with full regard for this analogy that the author of "Battles of the American Revolution," in treating of the "strength of armies employed," quoted the figures 233,771 as the basis of contributions by the various States, treating the figures as years of enlistment for service, and not as representing that number of men. The purpose was to suggest the cause of the exaggeration, and not minutely to analyze the details.

The context speaks of "minute men coming at call, and dissolving as quickly." The phrase "years of enlistment" and the clause, "Hence a man who served from April 19, 1775, until the formal cessation of hostilities, April 19, 1783, *counted as eight*, in the aggregate," italicizing the words *counted as eight*, are not statements of literal fact, but a conditional statement, to show how the exaggeration was inevitable. Very few men served during the eight years, and every fractional service of less time than a year proportionably diminished the value of the aggregate as representative of a standing army.

No better illustration of the author's general purpose, in the very line of Mr. Winsor's paper, can be given than by reference to incidents that came under his personal notice during the civil war. At its very outset, and before the Western troops called for by Mr. Lincoln had been generally mustered into the service of the United States, he was called upon, as Adjutant General of Ohio, to place in Western Virginia, for three months, nine regiments of Ohio militia. The State subsequently gained credit for that service. The same regiments, from numbers thirteen to twenty-one inclusive, taking their numbers from regiments raised during the Mexican War, afterward enlisted in the United States Service for "three

months," then for "three years," and then "veteranized" for the war. And so in 1863 the same officer was assigned to duty at Cleveland, to organize "one hundred day troops," which, under a sudden emergency, were proposed as a supplement to the army in the field. In Indiana its militia, known as the Indiana Legion, was organized and armed for border defence to the number of eighteen thousand; and their service was taken in account on the settlement of the claims of that State against the United States, for service rendered and expense incurred.

The suggestions of Mr. Winsor are even more striking as applied to conditions existing at the time of the Revolution, when the Count de Rochambeau felt constrained to write to the Count de Vergennes in these terms, as to the American people: "Their means of resistance are only momentary, and called forth when they are attacked in their homes. . . . They then assemble for the moment of immediate danger and defend themselves. . . . Washington sometimes commands fifteen thousand, sometimes three thousand men."

It is of interest to note, in this connection, a corresponding error in estimate of the British forces, which can be more readily related to formal and reliable data. Many of the regiments which formed part of the garrison of Boston served during the war; and however recruited, from time to time, they preserved an identity not possible with the regiments of the fluctuating American service. Thus the Twenty-third served at Boston, Brandywine, Camden, and Guilford Court House. The Seventeenth was at Boston, Monmouth, and Springfield. The Fortieth was at Boston, Princeton, Brandywine, and New London. Fourteen of the regiments which formed part of the Boston garrison became important factors in nearly every important engagement.

The single fact that the French contingent, alone, made the American Army competent to lock Clinton within his New York lines and force the surrender of Cornwallis, is a clear index to the comparative feebleness of the Continental Army, as such.

I know of few incidents of the Revolutionary War which more strikingly illustrate the matter under notice than the fact that a letter from Colonel de Hart, dated at Morristown, New Jersey, Dec. 27, 1776, stating that "the three regiments

of Greaton, Bond, and Porter would extend their terms of service two weeks," was sufficient to inspire Washington with faith that he "would drive the enemy from the whole Province of New Jersey;" and yet, that two weeks of service would count as a re-enlistment, and, for the time being, add to the reputed strength of the Continental Army.

"An approximate estimate of the relative contributions of States to the military force that gained our independence," is Mr. Winsor's solution of General Knox's Report and of similar tables, based upon that report, by the States themselves. The author of the "Battles of the Revolution" supposed that he had exhausted inquiry, during thirty years of examination of the general subject-matter, and endeavored to call attention to excessive estimates of the force of the Continental Army in the general statement with which he closed his volume. The substitution of the word "period," or "term," for "years," would have more accurately expressed his recognition of the difficulty in fixing the number of men who actually did service in the Revolutionary War.

MARCH MEETING, 1886.

The appointed meeting of the Society was held, as usual, on the 11th instant, the Rev. Dr. ELLIS being in the chair.

The Secretary's account of the proceedings at the last meeting was read.

The Librarian's report of gifts to the Library during the past month was presented.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that Mr. Samuel F. McCleary had accepted his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT referred to the death of the Hon. Horatio Seymour, of New York, who was an Honorary Member; and of Mr. Henry Stevens, of London, who was a Corresponding Member. He then proceeded as follows:—

While we are gathered at this hour at our regular monthly meeting, there is another company of his friends and clerical brethren attending the funeral rites of our late esteemed associate, the Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D.D., for many years the Rector of Christ Church, Cambridge. The Society would express their respect for his character, and their appreciation of the historical taste and industry given to the themes which engaged his interest. Dr. F. E. Oliver is charged with the office of writing the memoir of Dr. Hoppin for the Proceedings.

In view of the approaching Annual Meeting, a Committee of Nomination was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Greenough, Hill, and Saltonstall; and a Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts, consisting of Messrs. Bangs and E. J. Lowell.

Mr. Horatio Hale, of Clinton, Ontario, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT, in behalf of the committee appointed to report upon the manuscripts given by Mr. Francis Parkman, then said:—

These manuscripts, the larger portion of which are substantially bound, as well as the few collections of papers which are

still unbound, constitute together one of the most valuable and interesting of the gifts ever made to the Society. The remarks with which Mr. Parkman accompanied his donation, and his brief summary of the collection as a whole, and more particular reference to some of the more private documents among them, appear in the published Proceedings of the Society for January, 1885. While his own modest statement there given may be considered as substantially describing the character of his donation, it might have been indefinitely extended by details which he is better qualified than any other to impart. The Society, after listening to his remarks and receiving his gift, agreed that something more and other than the usual vote of grateful reception should be offered and put on our records as our recognition of its value and character. The committee to whom the subject was referred, in now reporting upon it, are not prompted to offer an analysis of the contents of these manuscripts.

With the intimation of a purpose, at some future time, to add other papers of a similar character to those he has now given us, Mr. Parkman makes these over to the absolute possession of the Society, subject only to his own reserved right or privilege "of taking any part of the collection—to be called the Parkman Collection and kept together as such—from the Library, for consultation, the same to be returned when his purpose is answered."

Two suggestions—one in part of personal reference, with another of a more general character—relating to this precious acquisition for our Cabinet may fitly be offered by the committee.

The first of these suggestions appropriately and even necessarily refers to Mr. Parkman himself. In early manhood, more than forty years ago, he selected with vigorous intelligence and with enthusiastic ardor, as a subject for his study, research, and pen when qualified to use it wisely, the history of exploration, occupancy, possession, and political and military operations of the subjects of the King of France for dominion on this northern part of our continent. Without referring to travel and work in our own country in pursuing his subject with continuous labor through all these years, it is to be noted that the collection of papers now in our keeping represents, but only in part, some of the acquisitions of his inquiry and

research made in four successive visits of many months' continuance to Europe. By costly outlay in the employment of assistants and copyists he devoted himself to an examination and transcription of historical documents of an original and authentic character concerning the actors, the incidents and events entering into his vast theme. From the private cabinets of the descendants of many of the most conspicuous of those actors he was privileged with copies of papers which give a charm and piquancy, as well as an element of revealing exposure of secrets, to the pages of some of his published volumes. The great Government repositories—the Archives de la Marine et des Colonies, Archives de la Guerre, Archives Nationales, and Bibliothèque Nationale in France, and the Public Record Office and the British Museum in England—furnished the originals for most of the contents of the volumes and papers presented to us by the donor, of whose zeal, diligence, and concentrated toil they are in themselves a striking memorial. An equally patient and intelligent use of these papers has, with wide extended travel and investigation on this continent, wrought out the nine published volumes which have secured to Mr. Parkman the foremost place and honors among our historians. Though very few of these manuscripts have been printed by him in full, they have been thoroughly digested in the pages of the author. While it would seem to be useless for any future literary worker to rehearse Mr. Parkman's general subject, even with the free use of the precious materials which he has so laboriously gathered, these may be of good service in the investigation of some of the special themes engaging inquirers.

Another suggestion presents itself as not inappropriate for this brief report. By the not always just decision of policy and war, all the rights of dominancy and possession by France on this continent were extinguished. This was a grievous and bitter decision of a rivalry for territorial mastery over North America which had extended through a century and a half between France and England. The papers now in our keeping, regarded as a whole, stand as witnesses to the enterprise and heroism of the subjects of the French monarch here, which might rightfully have secured for France a measured success rather than an absolute discomfiture. Her pioneer explorers, her devoted priests, her soldiers, merchants, and sagacious civil

and military officers, her traders and adventurers filling the woods with their wild roamings, and the relations of her colonists with the native tribes — either of assimilation with them or in exterminating wars — might have claimed from fortune quite another allotment of destiny in the New World. Failing of that result, history can but keep faithfully the record of toil and achievement, though thwarted in the results. The Cabinet of this Historical Society has committed to it a great trust in the possession and care of such a mass of documents of prime authority and authenticity, the monuments of the zeal and vigor, the prowess and ambition, displayed by the subjects of France in opening the continent which policy and the fortunes of war assigned to the stock of England.

We have only to add that a committee of the Society, charged with making a detailed report upon the manuscripts in its keeping, will include in that report at some future day a synopsis of these manuscript collections.

Judge HOAR, of the committee to whom was referred the recent bequest of Mr. Sibley, made the following report: —

The Committee appointed to consider what action of the Society is appropriate, in view of the munificent bequest to the Society in the will of its late member, John Langdon Sibley, have attended to that duty, and report that they recommend the passage of the following resolutions: —

1. The Massachusetts Historical Society desires to place on record its grateful acknowledgment of the interest in its prosperity and resources expressed by its late member, John Langdon Sibley, in the munificent bequest in his will; which, though not available for a considerable period of time, is clearly intended to be ultimately of far greater value and benefit to the Society than the gift of any previous benefactor.

2. That a copy of the foregoing vote be transmitted by the Recording Secretary to the widow of Mr. Sibley, accompanied by an expression of the sympathy of this Society with her bereavement, and an assurance of the respect and regard in which his memory is held by his associates in its membership.

For the Committee,

MARCH 11, 1886.

E. R. HOAR, *Chairman.*

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Mr. DEANE laid before the meeting several original papers which had recently been received by a lady in Cambridge from a relative in New Brunswick, Mr. Francis Edward Winslow, a descendant of Edward Winslow, Esq., a loyalist and refugee, who died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1784, aged seventy.¹ These papers are of about the period of the Revolution, and consist partly of letters from different members of the Winslow family, sometimes dated at Newport, and sometimes at New York, where the British then had possession. Several are from Pelham Winslow, a son of General John, and addressed to his cousin, Edward Winslow, Jr., who on one letter is called "Colonel Edward Winslow, commander of the Associated Loyalists, &c., Newport." Pelham and his cousin Edward had both enlisted under the British flag. The former, who is called "Major," died in Brooklyn, Long Island, in 1783, leaving a wife living in Plymouth, who after his death wrote a piteous letter to a loyalist friend in Nova Scotia, asking for a grant of land and rations from the British Government, for herself and two children in a destitute condition. Her maiden name was Joanna White. Two commissions, one appointing Edward Winslow a Register of Wills, &c., for Plymouth County, and one for Suffolk County, are noticed. One of the most interesting papers is headed "A List of the Refugees from the County of Plymouth," and gives the names of about ninety persons, more than three fourths of whom are set down as from Marshfield. These papers were courteously placed in Mr. Deane's hands by Miss Mary W. W. Gannett, of Cambridge, a relative of their former owner, for any purpose which he might wish to make of them, but the originals were to be returned. They were communicated by Mr. Deane for the use of the Society, and here follow:—

Edward Winslow and Others to Captain Theophilus Cotton.

PLYMOUTH, February, 1760.

CAPTAIN THEOPHILUS COTTON,

Master of the Schooner "Four Friends."

SIR,—These are to desire and impower you to go on board said schooner as master come to sail, and make the best of your way for the

¹ This Edward was a brother of General John Winslow, who removed the Acadians in 1755, and who died in Hingham in 1774. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 439-444.

port of Cadiz. On your arrival there, value yourself on some gentle^m of honor, integrity, and good substance. The Company of Hall and Gould have been recommended to us as a very good house. If, upon inquiry, you find them so, and are likely to transact your business with as much despatch and fidelity as any other person, would have you value yourself upon them; and we desire you to see that the produce of your cargo (after purchasing a load of salt and what else we have wrote for and paying the necessary charges of your schooner), be remitted to Messrs. Champion and Hagley, merchants in London, by good bills of exchange before your departure from the port of Cadiz, if you can, in proportion to our several interests, namely:—

| | |
|--|---|
| To Edward Winslow ¹ | 3 |
| To Gideon White | 3 |
| To Silvanus Bartlett | 1 |
| To Thomas Davis | 8 |

We desire you to purchase for us fifty boxes lemons; forty jars of oil; eight casks sherry; eight quarter-casks Spanish brandy; sixteen casks raisins; eight flails figs; twenty-four lbs. capers; eight dozen Barcelona handkerchiefs at 18/ sterling; eight dozen ditto at 25/; four dozen best ditto—dark colors.

If you have opportunity to buy anything that you think will turn out to good advantage here, as duck or tea, &c. please to do it. If, on your arrival at Cadiz, you find that you can do better by going up the Straits, then proceed to what port you shall judge you can get the best market and be most for the benefit of your owners.

Col. Winslow to Benjamin Marston.

SIR,—This is to inquire of your health and family's, and also to acquaint you of the indisposition that dear little Bennee hath been under. He was taken the last Friday; was weak at night, with a strong fever, which continued upon him till Monday, when we sent for Dr. Otis, who is the most experienced physician in our parts, who,

¹ Edward Winslow, who signs this letter, was a brother of General John Winslow. He was a loyalist at the Revolution, and retired to Halifax, where he died in 1784, aged seventy. Some letters to his son Edward, also a loyalist, may be seen further on. Gideon White was a great-grandson of Peregrine White. He married Joanna Howland in 1743, and died March 3, 1769, aged sixty-two. A daughter, Joanna, married Pelham Winslow. A son, Gideon, born in Plymouth in 1752, a loyalist, removed to Nova Scotia, where he died in 1833. Silvanus Bartlett was a descendant of Robert, who came in the "Anne" in 1623. Thomas Davis was the ancestor of the distinguished family of that name in Plymouth. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 418, 419, 439-446; Russell's *Guide to Plymouth, etc.*, p. 248; 1 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xi. p. 64.

when he came, judged it to be the intermitting fever, and thought it would be best to bleed him in the arm, which he immediately did, which he bore like a hero, held out his little arm, let the doctor prick it, see the blood run from it, and did not so much as whimper in the least. The doctor came the next day and gave him a vomit, and stayed with him till it had done working, which was very gentle. It worked about five or six times. His fever is much abated, though he still remains heavy and hath little or no stomach to eat. I hope God in mercy will restore him to his health again in his due time. I hope your wife will not be over-concerned about him. May assure yourselves there shall be nothing wanting we can do for him. It is a sickly time in general with children amongst us. Our neighbor Fullertons are all sick but one. My love and respects to yourself and wife and to Mrs. Betty.

I am yours,

ISAAC WINSLOW.¹

MARSHFIELD, September the [day and year torn off].

[Addressed, "To Mr. BENJAMIN MARSTON in Salem."]

*Commission to Edward Winslow as Register of Wills, &c., for
Plymouth County.*

SEAL.

George the Third, by the Grace of God of
Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

Fra. Bernard.

To all unto whom these presents shall come Greeting: Know ye that we, in the loyalty, ability, and fidelity of Edward Winslow, Esq.,² confiding, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, unto the said Edward Winslow the office of Register of Wills, Administrations, Inventories, Accompts, Decrees, Orders, Determina-

¹ The writer of this letter was Colonel Isaac Winslow, father of General John and of Edward the refugee; born 1670, died 1738. Benjamin Marston, to whom the letter is addressed, married Elizabeth daughter of Colonel Isaac; and "little Bennee," whose illness is here reported, was their child, on a visit to his grandfather. The child, who became Colonel Benjamin Marston, was born Sept. 30, 1730. Taking sides with the loyalists in the Revolution, he retired to Halifax, but soon returned and was imprisoned, then proscribed and banished. He went to England, and becoming agent for the settlement of a colony on the coast of Africa, died there Aug. 10, 1792, without issue. The date of the letter is torn off. An endorsement, "from G. Father Winslow," is believed to be in the hand of Edward Winslow, Jr. See N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. vol. iv. p. 302; Mitchell's Bridgewater, p. 389; Sabine's Loyalists, vol. ii. pp. 48, 446.

² This was Edward Winslow who removed to Halifax.

tions, and other writings which shall be made or granted by the Judge of Probate of Wills, and for granting letters of administration in the County of Plymouth, within our Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and which shall be before the said judge proved, allowed, or exhibited: and him the said Edward Winslow do constitute Register of Wills, Administrations, and other writings and matters as aforesaid, in our said County of Plymouth; hereby authorizing and empowering the said Edward Winslow to take into his charge and custody all records, papers, and other writings to the said office belonging, requiring him to act and do in the said office as becometh his duty therein.

In testimony whereof, we have caused the public seal of our Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid to be hereunto affixed. Witness, Francis Bernard, Esq., our Captain-General, and Governor in Chief of our said Province, at Boston, the twenty-eighth day of January, 1762. In the second year of our reign.

By his Excellency's command, with the advice and consent of the Council.

A. OLIVER, *Secretary.*

PLYMOUTH SS. April 6, 1762.

Edward Winslow, Esq., took the oath, subscribed the test and declaration required by Act of Parliament, also the oath of office as Register of Probate, together with the oath required by law respecting the bills of the neighboring Provinces.

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| JOHN WINSLOW, | } Appointed to swear the civil officers in the County of Plymouth. |
| THOS. CLAPP, | |
| ELIJAH CUSHING, | |
| THOS. FOSTER, | |

William Sheaffe to Edward Winslow.

SIR, — The bearer of this, Mr. William Shippard, Tide Surveyor of his Majesty's Customs at this port, is going to Plymouth upon an information that some prohibited or uncustomed goods have been there landed in a clandestine manner, to whom you are to give all the assistance in your power; and if any goods are seized by him you are to use your utmost endeavors that they may be brought up to this town.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

WILL. SHEAFFE, *Deputy Collector.*¹

CUSTOM HOUSE, BOSTON, June 11, 1771.

EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq., *Deputy Collector at Plymouth.*

¹ See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. ii. p. 280.

*Commission to Edward Winslow, Register of Wills, &c., for
Suffolk County.*

1775.

George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great
Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender
of the Faith, &c.

SEAL

Thomas Gage.

To all unto whom these presents shall come Greeting: Know ye that we, in the loyalty, ability, and fidelity of Edward Winslow, Esq.,¹ confiding, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, unto the said Edward Winslow the office of Register of Wills, Administrations, Inventories, Accounts, Decrees, Orders, Determinations, and other writings which shall be made or granted by the Judge of Probate of Wills, and for granting letters of administration in the County of Suffolk, within our Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, and which shall be before the said judge proved, allowed, or exhibited: and him the said Edward Winslow do constitute Register of Wills, Administrations, and other writings and matters as aforesaid in our said County of Suffolk; hereby authorizing and empowering the said Edward Winslow to take into his charge and custody all records, papers, and other writings to the said office belonging, requiring him to act and do in the said office as becometh his duty therein.

In testimony whereof we have caused the public seal of our Province of Massachusetts Bay aforesaid to be hereunto affixed. Witness, Thomas Gage, Esq., Governor of our said Province at Boston, the twenty-fourth day of July, 1775. In the fifteenth year of our Reign.

By his Excellency's command,

THOMAS FLUCKER, *Secretary.*

PROVINCE OF THE }
MASSACHUSETTS BAY } Boston, Aug. 5, 1775.

Edward Winslow, Esq., within-named, took the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy repealed, and subscribed the test or declaration therein contained, together with the oath of abjuration, also took the oath of office.

Before me,

THOMAS GAGE.

¹ Mr. William T. Davis thinks that this commission was to Edward Winslow, jr.

*A List of the Refugees from the County of Plymouth.**Middleborough.*

Hon. Peter Oliver, Esq.
Dr. Peter Oliver, Jr., Esq.
Ebenezer Spooner.

Plimouth.

Edward Winslow, Jr., Esq.
Cornelius White.
John Thomas.
Gideon White, Jr.
Lemuel Goddard.
Elkanah Cushman.
Thomas Foster, 3d.

Halifax.

Josiah Sturtevant, Esq.
Daniel Dunbar.

Pembroke.

Thomas Josselyne.

Scituate.

Dr. Benj. Stockbridge, Esq.
Charles Curtis.
Luke Hall.

Marshfield.

Hon. N. R. Thomas, Esq.
Abijah White, Esq.
Deacon John Tilden.
Capt. Nath. Phillips.
Pelham Winslow, Esq.
Dr. Isaac Winslow, Esq.
Nathaniel Thomas.
Elisha Foord.
William Cowper.
Sylvanus White.
Stephen Tilden.
Joseph Tilden.
Capt. Cornelius White.
John Baker.
Warren White.

John Carver.
Cornelius White, Jr.
Joseph Young.
Ephraim Little.
Seth Bryant.
Daniel White, Jr.
Caleb Carver, Jr.
Joshua Young.
Joseph Hall.
Daniel Thomas.
Seth Vinal, Jr.
Edmund Fitzpatrick.
Israel Tilden.
Gideon White.
Gideon Walker.
Zaref [Zera?] Walker.
Benjamin Walker.
Nathaniel Gardiner.
John Stevens.
Levi Foord.
Joseph Phillips.
Adam Hall, 3d.
Zephaniah Devrow.
Thomas Devrow.
Sybeline White.
John Baker, Jr.
Abraham Walker.
Isaiah Walker.
Capt. Paul White.
Capt. Daniel White.
Simeon Keen.
Abijah White, Jr.
Thomas Little.
Thomas Little, Jr.
Samuel Foord.
Elijah Foord.
Adam Rogers.
John Little.
Lemuel White.
Seth Devrow.
Seth Vinal.
Jedediah Ewell.

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| Seth Ewell. | John Tilden, Jr. |
| John Highland. | Joshua Tilden. |
| Daniel Phillips. | Obediah Daman. |
| Kenelm Baker. | Robert Sherman. |
| Asa Thomas. | John Hatch. |
| Noah Hatch. | Wm. Henry Little. |
| Peabody Little. | Caleb Carver, 3d. |
| Onesimus Macomber. | Samuel White. |

Besides 58 [obliterated] from Marshfield.¹

[Paper labelled "List of Refugees from Plymouth County."]

Simon Pease to Edward Winslow, Jr.

NEWPORT, Sept. 29, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I shall be glad to be jointly concerned with you, to be shipped here, by the first vessel, and Freebody will take them on board (without you should have an opportunity of shipping them so as to save the freight), ten pipes of Madeira wine at 28.10, two pipes of the first quality at 42£, and ten pipes of good red port if to be had from 30 to 35£ sterling per pipe; also two or three chests of good Bohea tea, if to be had at 4 or 4/3 sterling per pound, by all which articles I think we may be benefited from twenty to thirty per cent at least. You will order the Madeira wine shipt in good order, and let it be of a good quality as the sort of wine will admit; the port should choose to have by all means good; if on this trial we should find it will turn to account, we may increase the quantity so as to supply the garrison. I shall be particularly obliged to you if, without putting yourself to any ill convenience, you can procure for me the memorandum of articles below. The cow is the most material article, but the others we shall be extremely glad of; the beef I would not have sent till the weather gets a little colder, so that it may come fresh. I wish your health and happiness, and am with respect,

Your most humble servant,

SIMON PEASE.²

¹ I do not know how authentic this list is. It appears to be in a contemporary hand, and resembles that of Pelham Winslow. Dr. Isaac Winslow, whose name is here, was not a refugee, though he probably sympathized with the rest of his immediate family. One is impressed with the large number reported as from Marshfield.

² Simon Pease, of Rhode Island, was captain in the Loyal Newport Association. He died during this year, and was succeeded by Pigot Jan. 1, 1778. See Sabine's Loyalists. He and Edward Winslow, Jr., appear to have had business transactions together, and in the following January Pelham Winslow visited Newport, on behalf of his cousin, to bring these matters to a settlement.

A good cow, two quarters of beef, six barrels of Newtown pippins, fifty or sixty pounds of good butter in a tub, a bushel or two of shag-barks, a quintal or two of good fish, a dozen of live turkeys, — if not too dear, say a dollar apiece.

You mentioned that Liverpool beer was sold at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per dozen sterling: should there any be at market for that, or even $8\frac{1}{2}$, I think ten or twelve casks of one hundred or twelve dozen each would answer here very well. I have sent you twenty-five light half Joannes, which you will oblige me in putting off for me; also a small bundle of gold for John Winslow.

Yours,

S. P.

A pair of strong leather breeches for a servant.

Mem. — 2 boxes of candles on board Freebody, directed for you.

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| 18 | |

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8. 13. sterling.

The foregoing is an exact and true copy from the original letter.
Attest,

PELHAM WINSLOW.

LONG ISLAND, JAN. 4, 1778

ANDREW CAZNEAU.

Pelham Winslow¹ to Edward Winslow, Jr.

NEW YORK, DEC. 2, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Yesterday a flag of truce arrived here from Boston. Miss Grissell Apthorp and the younger son of Colonel Coffin came passengers, who acquaint me that our friends at Plymouth, Milton, &c.,

¹ Pelham Winslow, the writer of this letter, was the second son of General John, who removed the Acadians in 1755. Sympathizing with the British, he took refuge in Boston, and on the evacuation went to Halifax, thence to New York, enlisting in the service of the Crown, and was a major. Pelham had married Joanna White, a daughter of Gideon White, and sister of Gideon White, Jr. He died on Long Island in 1783. See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. ii.

This letter is addressed to Edward Winslow, a cousin of the writer, son of Edward known as the refugee. He joined the royal army at Boston, entered the service, and became a colonel, and was, at the time this letter was written, probably at or near Philadelphia, as he is here congratulated on the reduction of Red Bank and Mud Island on the Delaware, which occurred Nov. 16 and 18, 1777.

are well in health, but greatly dispirited and discouraged in consequence of General Burgoyne's misfortune. Your father and sister Sally are very anxious to hear from you; he is willing to accept of your proposal. I shall write by return of the flag and let them know you are well. Our friend Gid,¹ after a short confinement on board the guard ship at Boston, is exchanged and arrived at Halifax. Captain Ben Smith arrived here this day from Madeira; he touched at Newport, where he saw your sister Pen;² she is well, and has wrote you by Mr. Sheaffe, who sailed from Rhode Island in company with Captain Smith, but is not yet arrived. Your friend Simon Pease is no more; he died with the small-pox at Mr. Banister's. Captain Smith further informs me that a few days before he sailed from Newport a flag of truce arrived from Providence, with forty or fifty sailors lately belonging to his Majesty's ship "Syren," who with a tender and a transport ship were some time past drove ashore from Point Judith in a heavy gale of wind. The vessels were lost, but the people got on shore and were made prisoners; these people bring accounts that General Gates was at Providence with six thousand men, and preparing to make a descent upon Rhode Island. For further views, politics, &c., I refer you to the bearer. I heartily congratulate you upon the reduction of Mud Island and Red Bank, an encouraging presage to future conquests. Mr. Marston and myself, during the absence of Chip,³ spent a few days at the valley; your friends at that place are well. I have not had any safe opportunity of forwarding the papers you left with me for Halifax; when I have, you may depend shall embrace it. I mentioned to you before your departure from this place that I was tired of an idle life; if my assistance in yours or any other department would be of any service, should prefer it to a state of indolence and inactivity. If you are not like to return soon, should be obliged you would forward my warrant by the first opportunity, and let me know the fate of Captain Cook's memorial.

Compliments to my worthy friend Major Balfour concludes me

Your sincere friend and kinsman,

PELHAM WINSLOW.

EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq.

Pelham Winslow to Edward Winslow, Jr.

NEWPORT, Jan. 28, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I embrace this first opportunity to acquaint you of my safe arrival at this place after a cold and disagreeable voyage of five

¹ Gideon White, the brother of Pelham Winslow's wife. See the interesting sketch of him and his descendants by Sabine, vol. ii. pp. 418, 419.

² Penelope.

³ "Chip" is probably Ward Chipman, a young refugee, who about this time had returned to his native country and joined the king's troops in New York.

days. My reception here was kind and friendly, and I have the pleasure again to reassure you that I am apprehensive of very little difficulty in the settlement of your affairs in this place. Inclosed you have an abstract of the state of your concerns with Mr. Pease, by which you will observe that the port wine and the rum are disposed of: eight pipes of the Madeira wine remain unsold; the three pipes sent by Captain Dixon in the "Greyhound" never were in the custody of Mr. Pease. Your friend Mr. Handfield of the Twenty-second Regiment tells me one was delivered to the Twenty-second Regiment, another to the Forty-third, and the third to the Fifty-fourth, and that I shall have no difficulty in collecting the money. He desires to be particularly remembered to you. The pipe of wine intended for Dr. Paine was delivered Mr. Ruggles, but the Doctor says he will pay me for it. I have received better than £400 sterling from Mr. Pease's executors, which I have remitted in bills of exchange to Mr. Loring agreeable to your desire, with a request to pay the balance due from you to Mr. Pagan and carry the overplus to the partnership account. Major Barry desires me to present his compliments to you, and inform you he never received your letter, mentioned in mine to have been wrote to him. He has behaved friendly; without his assistance should have been puzzled to procure bills of exchange for New York. Daniel Mason has been very attentive to your interest; he disposed of the rum for you, which he informs me would have turned out much more profitable, were it not for a leakage of fifty or sixty gallons. If you are disposed to speculate further in this way, I would recommend him and Mr. Brindley to your particular notice. Captain Webb of Sandwich has lately come from the Old Colony, and gives a particular account of the welfare of our Plymouth friends. He is bound for New York, with a view to get the command of some vessel either in the transport service or the West India trade. His loyalty and ability are unquestionable. Should he fall in your way, please to notice him. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that your father has obtained leave from their high-mightinesses the Council of Massachusetts Bay to receive the sundry articles sent to him from this place. The bearer hereof, Colonel Cole, has lately had his warrant withdrawn from him; not from any fault, but from his not being able to raise many men. This event has greatly distressed him, and entirely thrown him out of all business. He is confident, should there be an opening into New England, he can complete his [corps?] in the spring. His business to Philadelphia is to solicit a renewal of his warrant. Should it be in your power to serve him, it would greatly oblige him and your friend.¹ I have taken up my quarters at Mrs. Almy's; she is the good, clever woman you represent her. She desires ten thousand compliments, but tells me she is not in advance for

¹ Edward Winslow appears to be still at Philadelphia.

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the Miss Millers. Your sister Pen is well, and has wrote you by this opportunity. To her I refer you for the news, politics, tittle-tattle, &c. of this place; and now, my friend, give me leave to ask, How could you express a doubt of my readiness to serve you? The urgency of your request gave me pain. Be assured nothing could give me greater satisfaction than an opportunity to serve you. Compliments to all friends at Philadelphia concludes me

Your friend and kinsman,

PELHAM WINSLOW.

For EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq.

Pelham Winslow to Edward Winslow, Jr.

NEWPORT, June 16, '78.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you largely by Major Upham, which I presume you have received. Have nothing particular to write at present, only that your draft from Philadelphia of the 5th of March for thirty guineas in favor of Mr. Hutchinson has been lately presented to me and duly honored. Sister Pen¹ is well, and writes by this opportunity. We have heard no news very lately from our Plymouth friends, but are in daily expectation of it.

General Browne desires his particular compliments. Please to accept the same to you and yours from

Your friend and humble servant,

PELHAM WINSLOW.

EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq.

[Addressed, "EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq., New York,
favored by Captain Hatch."]

Francis Green to Edward Winslow, Jr.

NEW YORK, Sept. 25, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — Enclosed in a letter from my kinsman, Joshua Winslow, Esq., lately arrived from Boston at Halifax, I received with others a letter unsealed for you, which this serves to cover. I embrace the earliest opportunity of forwarding it.

By an extract from a Boston newspaper of 13th of this month, we find they were steadily watching the motions of your fleet, and determined, if opportunity presented, to effect the destruction of it. It is

¹ He means "your sister Pen."

a favorite object with them, but I flatter myself their expectations will be frustrated by the prudence of our conductors.

That you may succeed in everything is the warm wish of, dear Sir,

Yours, with much esteem,

F. GREEN.¹

[Addressed, "To Colonel EDWARD WINSLOW,
commanding the Associated Loyalists, &c.,
Newport."]

Joanna Winslow to Benjamin Marston.

PLYMOUTH, Oct. 15, 1783.

The humanity and friendship, my dear Sir, which you have ever discovered through life towards the unfortunate has induced me to lay claim to your friendship. As a cousin and near friend to Mr. Winslow, I am assured that you will exert your endeavors for me his afflicted widow and his destitute family. I am informed that you are appointed agent in Nova Scotia for the unfortunate ones. I have to request your presenting a memorial to some gentleman in power in mine and children's behalf. I am told by [a] gentleman, my interested friend, that there can be no difficulty in obtaining a grant of land and rations for myself and two little girls if applied for by [a] gentleman of influence. You are well sensible the sacrifices Mr. Winslow made to his loyalty. I was just on the point of going to Nova Scotia when news reached me that a violent fever had ended Mr. Winslow's life, which in a moment crushed every temporal prospect, and sunk me into despair. Should indulgent Heaven permit my brother's return,² my mother is determined with her family to pass the remainder of her days at Port Rossaway.³ I think, could I be indulged with rations and a grant of land, I might with industry support my children *there*. *Here* I have no prospect but beggary, — every article of furniture taken. My peculiarly distressed situation, I hope, will be an apology for the favor I now request. Should it not be in your power to obtain this indulgence, I have not a doubt you will drop a tear of regret at my sufferings.

I am, with every sentiment of esteem, your friend and well-wisher,

JOANNA WINSLOW.⁴

P. S. I have the pleasure of informing you that your beloved sisters,⁵ with their families, are well. I have wrote our worthy Uncle

¹ For a long and interesting notice of Francis Green, a loyalist, see Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 492 *et seq.*

² Her brother Gideon White.

³ Port Roseway, now Shelburne.

⁴ This lady, the widow of Pelham Winslow, died in Plymouth, in 1829.

⁵ Benjamin Marston had three sisters, each married to a Watson. Elizabeth married William Watson; Patience married Elkanah Watson, and Lucia married John Watson. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* vol. iv. p. 308).

Winslow¹ on the subject, as I have no male friends in my brother's absence who can feel for me and my children. I hope you will not think it too presuming.

[Addressed, BENJAMIN MARSTON, Esq., Nova Scotia.²]

Edward Winslow's Commission as Land Agent.

DECEMBER 20, 1783.

Know all men by these presents that I, Henry Edward Fox, Brigadier-General, and late commanding his Majesty's forces in the District of Nova Scotia, have made, ordained, and appointed, and by these presents do make, ordain and appoint Edward Winslow, Esq., Muster Master-General of his Majesty's Provincial Forces, and now residing at Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia aforesaid, my lawful and sufficient attorney and agent for me, and in my name and behalf to ask, apply for, and solicit of the governor or commander-in-chief of the Province aforesaid, or of any other person or persons authorized to grant the same, any grant or grants of land in this Province or license of location for the same, and also to take or pursue all and every the necessary measures for obtaining the proper and requisite title thereto, and in my name and behalf to locate and settle such lands as may be thus obtained or granted to me in the Province aforesaid; and to pay and advance for me the necessary fees and expenses in procuring or completing such grant or grants; and to deal and intermeddle for me and in my behalf in all matters and things touching the premises as fully to all intents and purposes as I myself might or could do if personally present. I, the said Henry Edward Fox, hereby giving to my said attorney and agent my full power, and ratifying, allowing, and confirming all and whatsoever my said attorney shall or may do by force hereof. In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand and seal at Halifax, in the Province aforesaid, the twentieth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

H. E. Fox.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of

JOHN BRITTAIN,
GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

Isaac Winslow to Edward Winslow.

Boston, Nov. 29, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I now forward a letter from our friend Mr. Spooner, which I suppose respects Mr. Marston's bill. The day before, I received a letter from old Mr. Knutton,³ wherein he mentions his son

¹ Edward Winslow, Esq., of Halifax, was her husband's uncle.

² See note 1, p. 231.

³ John Knutton, of Boston, was proscribed and banished in 1778.

having received twenty guineas from you, of which I informed Mr. Spooner, though Mr. Knutton had not remitted the money to me. I now write him to send up the money, as I cannot sell some essence spruce he sent me. I will thank you to mention the matter to young Mr. Knutton, as Spooner is a friendly man. I would have had him have sent the bill to you to remit it.

I had a letter from young Mr. Sewall that you had put Mr. Willard's bond into his hand. I wrote him (Mr. S.) that I had settled the dividend that the Colonel's estate would pay here, which is 77. 18. 8½ on the amount of the bond and interest, and this sum is not worth more than 4/ in the pound. However, I am willing, as I think equitable, it be deducted from the bond (that is, the gross sum of 77. 18. 8½). Will thank you for your assistance and advice herein. Here there is the freest scope given to the operation of debts from home. You will oblige me by letting me be favored with a line, and Mrs. Winslow joins me in love to your mother and sisters. If I can be of service to you here, it will give me pleasure.

I am, with esteem, your friend and kinsman,

ISAAC WINSLOW.¹

Our affectionate regards to Mrs. Winslow.

[Addressed, "Hon. EDWARD WINSLOW, Esq.,
Kingsclear, St. John's River, New Brunswick.]

Stephen Miller, Jr., to Colonel Edward Winslow.

BOSTON, Nov. 15, 1792.

[MY] DEAR SIR, — I have waited on the principal Overseer of the Poor in this place for the purpose of knowing the conditions on which I could procure a lad or two for you, but find them as follow, viz.: that they must not go out of the State, must either be taught some mechanical profession, or have twenty pounds when free, and the person who takes them must have a *recommendation from the selectmen of the town*. These circumstances preclude the possibility of procuring any from the almshouse. But you may depend on my best endeavors, sir, to procure some from another quarter, in which, if I succeed, shall inform you. With my best respects to Aunt Winslow, and love to your little family, I am, with much respect,

Your affectionate nephew,

Colonel EDWARD WINSLOW.²

STEPHEN MILLER, Jr.

¹ Was this a son of Dr. Isaac, of Marshfield?

² Colonel Edward Winslow, whom we have designated hitherto as "Jr.," to distinguish him from his father, who died in 1784, settled in New Brunswick after the war, and became a man of influence, holding many important offices in that colony. He died at Fredericton in 1815, aged seventy years. He was one of the founders of the Old Colony Club at Plymouth in 1789, and delivered the first anniversary address of that association, Dec. 22, 1770. Sabine, as above.

Mr. WARREN stated that the letters from Pelham and Joanna Winslow were those of his great-grandfather and great-grandmother, and that Mary, a daughter, married the son of General James Warren, of Plymouth; that the Edward Winslow referred to was a noted and active Tory in Plymouth, frequently referred to in the correspondence of James Warren; and that Marshfield was the home of the Winslows, and a strong Tory town. He said, also, that he had the original commission as Major-General, of John Winslow, signed by Francis Bernard, Governor, in 1762.

Mr. DEANE also laid before the Society a letter from Dr. B. F. De Costa, of New York, in which he says:—

"I enclose with this a copy of a letter obtained last summer while in the southwest of England. The original is preserved in the archives of the old city of Plymouth, the headquarters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the point of departure of the Popham Colony, which in 1607 sailed to the Kennebec in two ships, the 'Gift of God' and the 'Mary and John,' under the command of Captain Popham. In the Journal of the Popham Expedition, as given in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1880, and printed separately, we read that 'soon after their first arrival' Captain Robert Davies was despatched in the 'Mary and John' to 'advertise both of their safe arrival and forwardness of their plantation . . . with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, importuning a supply for the most necessary wants in the subsisting of a colony to be sent them betimes the next year.' In annotating that Journal, the writer called attention (p. 35 n.) to the change of style in the composition, and suggested that this part was not the work of the author of the main body of the narrative. It is not stated when the second ship, the 'Gift of God,' returned to England; but it is said that when Captain Davies returned the year following, 'they all embarked in this new arrived ship and in the new pinnace, the "Virginia," and set sail for England.' This is all drawn from that part of the Journal which cannot be attributed to any particular writer. The 'Mary and John,' instead of returning soon after their arrival, was detained until after Dec. 13, 1607, taking home a letter of that date to the King from Captain Popham. Also, while the Journal (p. 35) says that when Captain Davies arrived the next year, he came 'with a ship laden full of victuals, arms, instruments, and tools,' &c., the London letter speaks of the 'want of good supplies and seconds here' as forming one cause why 'it hath not so well succeeded as soe worthy intentions and labors did merit.'

"This letter, so far as I can see, takes away nothing of the obscurity

which invests the subject of the termination of the Colony, even though the London letter speaks of the 'Colonie' as 'forced to returne.' Evidently there was more or less of misapprehension in regard to the outcome of the Popham Colony, disagreeing as I do with those who think that it utterly came to an end. The letter addressed to the Plymouth people does not speak of it as a complete failure, but as not having succeeded so well as 'soe worthy intentions and labors did meritt.' I believe that when we get the full facts, it will appear that it had an influence that is not now appreciated."

The letter enclosed is from the Council of the Virginia Company to the Corporation of Old Plymouth, dated Feb. 17, 1608 (that is, 1609 N. S.), in which the writers, after referring to the attempts of "divers merchants and gentlemen of the western parts" to establish a plantation in Virginia (that is, in the northern part of Virginia), but which for want of supplies and by reason of the coldness of the climate, etc., had not succeeded, and the colony had been "enforced to return," now propose to those who had shared in the "ill success" of that adventure to join hands and purses with them in the fostering of the southern plantation, which from its fruitful country, the fitness of the place for habitation, the abundance of rich and staple commodities, gives assurance of success. They suggest a conference with Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, to whom they had also written for advice in furtherance of their scheme, offering to admit new-comers on the same terms as original subscribers. Dr. De Costa courteously communicates this letter for the use of the Society, and it is here submitted.

After o^r hartie Comendacons. Having vnderstood of yo^r gen^lall good disposition towards yo^r advancing of an intended plantacōn in Virginia begun by divers gentlemen and Marchaunts of the Westerne parts, w^h since for want of good supplies and seconds here, and that the place w^h was possessed there by you: answered not those Comodities w^h meight keepe lief in yo^r good begynings, it hath not so well succeeded as soe worthy intentions and labours did meritt. But by the Coldenes of the Clymate and other Connaturall necessities yo^r Colonie was enforced to retorne: We haue thought fitt nothing doubting that this one ill success hath quenched yo^r affections from soe hopefull and

godlye an action to acquaynt yo^a briefly w^h the Progresse of ou^r Colonie the fitnes of the place for habitation and the Comodities that through gods blessing our industries haue discovered vnto vs. W^h though perhappes you haue heard at large yet vppon lesse assuredness and Creaditt then this our informacon: We having sente 3 yeres past and found a safe and navigable Riuer begun to builde and plante 50 myles from the [here some words are illegible, but may be "sea coast"] hereof, haue since yerelie supplied and sent 100 men from whome we haue assurance of a most frutefull countrey for the mayntēfince of mans lief and abundant in rich commodities safe from any daunger of the Salvages, or other ruyn that maye threaten vs, yf we ioyne freelie togeather and w^h one Coñion and patient purse mayneteyne and perfecte ou^r foundations: The staple and certeyne Comodities we haue are Sope, Ashes, Pytch, Tarre, dyes of soundry sorts and rich values, Tymber for all vses, ffyshing for Sturgeon and diuers other sorts, w^h is in that Baye more abundant then in any parte of the world knowen to vs, making of Glasse and Iron, and noe vnprobl vnprobable [*sic*] hope of Richer mynes, the assurednes of these besides many other good and publike ends haue made vs resolute to send, in the moneth of March a lardge supplye of 800 men vnder the goverment of the Lord Dela Warr accompanied w^h dyvers knights and gentlemen of extraordinarye rancke and sufficiency [for six lines here a portion of the letter has been torn away, but in no case more than a quarter of a line: the omissions are marked by dots in the proportion of their length] because the greate Chardge in furnishing such a number hardly drawn from o^r single adventures we haue the yo^r Corporaçon of Plymouth to ioyne yo^r indeavors w^h w^h if you please to do, we will vppon yo^r Lres incert you for our Patent, and admytt and receive so many of you as shall adventure 25^{li} in Corporaçon Of w^h to all priuiledgs and liberties he shalbe as free, as if he hadd begun w^h vs at the first difficultie. And whereas we haue intreated the Right ho^{ble} the Earle of Pembroke to addresse his lres to his officers in the Staneries, for providing vs 100 mynerall and laboring men we do desire that such adventures as shalbe consented to amonge you maye be disbursed by some officer, chosen among yo^rselues for the providing a Shipp marryners and victualls for 6 monethes for such a number, and tobe readie by the last of march. About w^h tyme we purpose w^h our fleete to put in at yo^r haven, or where els yo^a shall appoynt vs, to take them in our Companye. It wilbe too lardge to discourse more peticularities of this business by lre or to promove w^h many reasons so good and forward inclinations as we hope and receive you^a to be. And therefore desiring onelie your speedie aunswere of this, and that you will please to conferr w^h S^r fferdinando Gorge and m^r Doctor Sutcliffe Dean of Exon to whome we haue written to

assist yo^{rs} and vs herein we bid you hartelie farewell. London the 17th
of february 1608

Your verie loving freinds

Wm. Bland

Tho Smythe

J. Ingham Sandys

Tho Roe

Wm. Romeny

To the Right wor^{sh} our
verie loving freinds the
Mayo^r and Aldermen
of the Towne of Plymouth.

Indorsement on back in another hand:—

"A lre from y^e Councell of Virginia to the Corporation of Plymouth
y^e xvijth of februarie 1608 And the Aunsware to y^e same from y^e
Corporation."

There is no answer among the Corporation records; but the Corpo-
ration did not join in the undertaking.

The foregoing is an exact copy of the original letter from the Coun-
cil of Virginia in the Muniments of the Plymouth Corporation.

R. N. WORTH.

Mr. DEANE proceeded:—

The intention is expressed in this letter of sending to the
colony the next month a large supply of men under the gov-
ernment of Lord Delaware, to be accompanied by divers gen-
tlemen of rank. But Lord Delaware himself did not sail till
the following year. The Virginia Company had applied for a
new charter, with larger powers and more ample privileges
than the former; and probably at the time this letter was
written, their plans had been substantially perfected by agree-
ment and their officers appointed, although the new charter
bears date three months later, — May 23, 1609. In this char-

ter Lord Delaware is constituted an adventurer and planter; and Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport were now commissioned by the council leading officers for the colony. Gates, Somers, and Newport, with nine ships and five hundred men, sailed the first of June for Virginia; but they encountered a fearful hurricane on nearing the coast, the description of which from the pen of Secretary Strachey, as published in Purchas, has become classic as an historic monograph.

By the charter of April 10, 1606, two independent colonies were contemplated. The first, or southern colony, was designed for adventurers in the city of London, and such as would join with them and choose a place of settlement within the determined bounds. The second, or northern colony, was appropriated for the cities of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and the western parts of England, and they also were to colonize within prescribed limits. By a royal ordinance a superior governing council was to be resident in London, consisting of forty members selected from among the friends of both colonies.¹

After the failure of the Popham enterprise by the return of the colonists to England, and the branding of the country as unfit to live in, the adventurers became discouraged, the colonization scheme was abandoned, and no doubt the organization of the London Council, by the withdrawal of the friends representing the northern interest from it, was seriously impaired. Gorges himself, after saying that the colonists "all resolved to quit the place, and with one consent to [come] away, by which means all our former hopes were frozen to death," adds that the work was "wholly given over by the body of the adventurers, as well for that they had lost the principal support of the design,"—by the deaths of the brothers Popham and Sir John Gilbert,— "as also that the country itself was branded by the return of the plantation as being over cold, and in respect of that not habitable by our na-

¹ Stith, page 37, says that, by the royal ordinance of March 9, 1607, revising the orders of Nov. 20, 1606, "there was a distinction and separation made of the two councils." The orders of 1606 created but one council, twelve in number, resident in London. The ordinance issued four months later enlarged the original council to forty members, and provided that both the northern and southern interests should be represented in it; that a quorum for business should consist of twelve, and not less than six of each party. (Hening, vol. i. pp. 67, 76.)

tion.”¹ “The arrival of these people here in England,” says the *Briefe Relation of the Discovery, &c., of New England*, “was a wonderful discouragement to all the first undertakers, in so much as there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after.” Captain John Smith, who was on the coast in 1614, six years after the Popham Colony broke up, says: “When I went first to the North part of Virginia where the Western Colony had been planted, it had dissolved itself within a year, and there was not one Christian in all the land,” — he means there was no settlement or colony of Christians there, — “the country being then reputed by your Westerlings a most rocky, barren, desolate desert.”²

But Gorges, in a review of this undertaking many years afterward, says that he himself did not despair in bringing to pass what he had really set his heart upon. But his attempts at colonizing what was afterward known as New England were, for a number of years after this period, a failure.

This letter is signed by Sir William Waad, who was Lieutenant of the Tower; Sir Thomas Smith, for many years Treasurer of the Virginia Company; Edwin Sandys, Knt., the successor of Smith as Treasurer of the Virginia Company; Sir Thomas Roe, Knt.; and Sir William Romney. They represented the southern colony in the London Council, their names being inserted in the King's orders referred to above;³ and from the indorsement on the letter, it appears to have been regarded as an official communication. They also say that they have written to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, both of whom were members of the Council as representing the northern colony.

The application is made to the Corporation of Plymouth, as though that body had been adventurers in the northern scheme with Gorges and Popham; and they are now solicited to lend their aid to the more promising southern enterprise. Plymouth was the headquarters of the northern interest; Gorges was governor of its fort; and it is quite probable that the

¹ *Briefe Narration*, pp. 10, 11.

² *True Travells*, p. 46.

³ In the new organization of the southern colony by the charter of May 25, 1609, a new council was created exclusively for that colony, and these five persons were appointed, or retained, as members in that organization. (See *Hening*, vol. i. pp. 67, 76.)

prominent men there — its mayors and its aldermen — had personally invested largely in the late adventure, and joined in fitting out the expedition which sailed from that port on the last day of May, 1607, with over one hundred men, to constitute the Popham Colony, of the ill success of which they are now reminded in this letter. The indorsement on the letter says that "the Corporation did not join in the undertaking."

Mr. BANGS presented to the Society a second "fourth edition" of John Guillim's "Display of Heraldry," and explained its publication as follows:—

The author of this celebrated book was born in Herefordshire about 1565; was of Brasenose College at Oxford, and of the College of Arms in London. He died in 1621.

Only one edition of his book, that of 1610, was published in his lifetime.* There was a second in 1632, and a third in 1638. In 1660, just after the Restoration, a fourth edition was published; and afterwards another fourth edition, so called, bearing the date of 1660 on the titlepage, but evidently not published so early, as it contains a reference to a grant of arms as late as Dec. 9, 1662. There was a fifth edition in 1679, and a sixth in 1724,—a copy of which is in the Boston Public Library. The Boston Athenæum has a copy of the third edition.

In the titlepage of the second "fourth edition" it is stated that "since the imprinting of this last edition many offensive Coats (to the Loyal party) are exploded;" and after the two dedications, to Charles II. and the Duke of Somerset, comes the following:—

To
The Most Concern'd
the
Nobility
and
Gentry

My Lords and Gentlemen

This inestimable piece of Heraldry, that hath past four Impressions with much approbation, had the unhappy fate in the last, to have a blot in its Escoccheon, viz. The insertion of Oliver's Creatures; which as no merit could enter them in such a Regiment but Usurpation, so we

have in this fifth Impression exploded them and incerted the Persons, Titles and Dignities of such as his Majesty (since his blessed Restauration) conferred Honour upon; that so the Corn may be intire, of one Sheaf, and the Grapes of one Vine.

R. B.

[Richard Blome.]

Upon comparing the two impressions it appears that the "exploded" are but eighteen in number, and are as follows:—

p. 141. *Roger Hill.* He beareth, Gules, a Cheuron, engrailed, Ermine, between three Garbes, Or, by the name of Hill of Somersetshire, a very ancient Family there, of which is Roger Hill, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

According to Noble,¹ he was named to be one of the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice to try King Charles I., but would not sit as such.

p. 146. *Row.* He beareth, Argent, on a Cheuron, Azure, between three Trefoiles parted per Pale Gules, and Vert, as many Bezants, being the coat of Sir Henry Row of Shakelwell, of Colonel Owen Row & C.

Colonel Owen Row (Roe), a younger brother, descended from Sir Thomas Rowe, Knt., Lord Mayor of London in 1568, was one of the Company of Massachusetts Bay in 1629; was one of the Regicides, and signed Charles's death-warrant; was Cromwell's Scoutmaster-General,—though Carlyle calls that officer William.

To the notice of him in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," it may be added that at his trial he confessed and implored mercy, making a sufficiently pusillanimous speech; was convicted, but never sentenced; and sent back to the Tower, where he died Dec. 25, 1661.²

p. 148. *Hon. John Thurloe.* He beareth, Sable, a Cheuron, Ermine, between three Cinquefoyles Or, being the Coat of the honourable John Thurloe, Secretary of State.

"One of the expertest Secretaries," according to Carlyle; had Milton for under-secretary, author of a well-known Col-

¹ Noble's *Life of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 433.

² Noble's *Lives of the Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 150; Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1426; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 297; Young's *Chronicles of Mass.* p. 94 and note.

lection of State Papers,—altogether too well known to need much said about him.¹

p. 182. *Tobias Combe*. He beareth, Ermine, three Lyons Passant in Pale, Gules, and is the Coat of *Tobias Combe* of *Helmsted-Bury* in the County of *Hartford* Esquire, whose son and heir *Richard* was Knighted by *Oliver* late Protector.

Said by Noble² to be of "Felmeaton-Bury" Herts. *Richard* was knighted August, 1656.

p. 189. *Sir Michael Livesey*. He beareth, Argent, a Lyon Rampant, Gules, between three Trefoyles, Vert, and is the Coat of *Sir Michael Livesey* of *East Church* in the Isle of *Shipey* in the County of *Kent*, Baronet.

Created July 11, 1627; known during the Protectorate as the "Plunder Master General of Kent;" was on the court to try King Charles, and signed his death-warrant, but escaped, and was never heard of more.³

p. 189. *Sherman*. He beareth, Argent, a Lyon Rampant, Sable, between three Holly leaves, Proper, by the name of *Sherman*, of this Family are *Samuel*, *John* and *Edward* (old M^s correction says *Edmond*) sons of *Samuel Sherman* of *Dedham* in *Essex*, originally extracted from *Yaxley* in *Suffolk*; Which *Edward Sherman* being of *London*, Merchant, hath marryed *Jane* Daughter of *John Wall* of *Bromley* by *Jane* daughter and Heire of *Sayer*.

The Hon. Roger Sherman, grandfather of our associate the Hon. E. R. Hoar, was of this family.⁴

p. 190. *Kinardsley*. He beareth, Azure, Crusily, a Lyon Rampant, Argent, Armed and Langued, Gules, by the name of *Kinardsley* of *Loxley* in the County of *Salop* which Family was of good note before and at the time of the Conquest a singular Ornament of which is at this time *Clement Kinardsley* of the Wardrobe.

p. 192. *Fines*. He beareth, Sapphire, three Lyons Rampant, Topaz, Armed and Langued, Ruby. This is the Coat of the Right Honourable *William Viscount Say and Seele*, and of his truly noble sons the

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 73; Noble's *Life of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 364.

² Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 443.

³ Noble's *Lives of the Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 5; *Rushworth*, vol. vii. p. 1426.

⁴ See N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. vol. xxiv. pp. 66-156.

Lord *John Fines* and the Lord *Nathaniel Fines*, one of his Highnesse Honourable Counsell, and Commissioner of the Great Seal 1658.

William Fiennes, created by James I. Lord Viscount Say and Seele, thought of coming to America, but was deterred by observing the strength and temper of the Long Parliament. Cromwell appointed him one of his Upper House, but he retired to the Isle of Lundy, and lived there during the Protectorate.

Charles II. made him a Privy Councillor and Lord Privy Seal. He died April 14, 1662, aged eighty. His brother Charles Fines signed the letter aboard the "*Arbella*" April 7, 1630, but never came to this country. Sir Richard Saltonstall¹ was his kinsman.

His son Nathaniel Fiennes was one of Oliver's lords, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, inclined to the Independents. Being governor for Parliament of Bristol in 1642, he surrendered it to the royalists after only a day's siege, for which he was tried by court-martial and sentenced to death, but was pardoned. He was Lord Keeper to both Oliver and Richard. Died at Newton-Toney, near Salisbury, Dec. 16, 1669, much neglected and in great obscurity.²

"Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines, alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol: second son of 'Old Subtlety' Say & Seele; and now" again (11 April 1657) "a busy man and Lord Keeper, opens his broad jaw and short snub-face full of hard sagacity."

His third son, John Fiennes, was also one of Oliver's lords.³

p. 192. *Mildmay*. He beareth, Argent, three Lyons Rampant, Azure, which is the coat of *Mildmay* of *Essex*, a flourishing and very worthy family.

William Mildmay, who graduated at Harvard in 1647, was a son of Sir Henry Mildmay of Graces, in Essex, who was own cousin to our Governor John Winthrop, being the second son

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Mass.* p. 298; Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 377; Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*, vol. ii. p. 26.

² Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 371; *Harleian Mis.* vol. vi. p. 489; Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*, vol. ii. p. 29 (with portrait); Carlyle's *Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 287.

³ Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 402; *Harleian Mis.* vol. vi. p. 503.

of Sir Thomas Mildmay, Knt., of Springfield Barnes, and of Agnes (according to Burke) or Alice (according to Whitmore) Winthrop, daughter of Adam (2d) Winthrop. The father of Sir Thomas was William, of Springfield Barnes, who married Agnes (Sharpe) Winthrop, widow of Adam 2d.

Sir Henry Mildmay the Regicide was second cousin to Sir Henry of Graces, being the son (according to Burke) of Humphrey of Danbury, and grandson of Walter of Apethorpe,¹ brother of William of Springfield Barnes aforesaid. (Noble says he was son of Sir Thomas by Frances, daughter of Henry Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex.) Though he sat in the High Court seven days, he was not executed, but condemned to stand under the gallows with a rope about his neck. Pepys saw the sled waiting to take him there one Monday morning. Savage says that William (H. C., 1647) "ranked lowest in his class, yet had his A.M. in regular course," as if he supposed that rank was then according to scholarship, not social position, as Sibley says.² If Sibley is right, it gives an exalted idea of the social position of the members of the class of 1647 to find the son of an English country gentleman of ancient family and knightly rank lowest on the list.³

p. 192. *Hon. John Lisle*. He beareth, Topaz, on a Chief Sapphire, three Lyons Rampant of the first. This is the coat of the right honourable *John Lisle*, Commissioner of the great Seale of *England* 1658.

Of the family of John de Insula Vecta (of the Isle of Wight); summoned by that name to the House of Lords in the reign of King Edward II.; son of Sir William Lisle, of the Isle of Wight, Knt., bred to the law; sat for Winchester 15th and 16th Charles I.; became a colonel in the army, and sat in the High Court of Justice at the trial of the king. Noble says he signed the death-warrant, but I do not find his name in Rushworth's list. He was president of Cromwell's High Court of Justice and one of his lords; retired to the

¹ Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and of the Exchequer, founder in 1584 of Emmanuel College; died May 31, 1589 (Burke says wrongly 1576). Wilson's *Memorabilia Cantabrigiæ*, p. 286; Tercentenary Festival of Emmanuel, p. 67.

² *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* vol. viii. p. 32.

³ Savage's *Gen. Dict.* "Mildmay;" Noble's *Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 69; Burke's *Peerage and Baronage* (ed. 1881), "Mildmay;" Drake's *Boston*, p. 72; N. E. *Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* vol. xviii. p. 182; Pepys, vol. ii. p. 187.

Continent, was proscribed, and his estates confiscated. Three Irish ruffians shot him dead as he was going to church at Lausanne.

His widow, the Lady Alicia Lisle, was tried by Jeffries in 1685 for concealing persons concerned in Monmouth's Rebellion, and sentenced to be hung, but "in respect of her gentility" was only beheaded.

His daughter Bridget married the Rev. Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College.¹

p. 193. *Sprignall*. He beareth, Gules, two Bars Gemelles, in Chief a Lyon Passant, Or, which was the Coat of Sir *Richard Sprignall* of *Highgate* in the County of *Middlesex*, Baronet, late deceased, Father of Sir Robert Sprignall, Baronet, living 1659.

This coat was "exploded" probably because Sir Richard Sprignall married Ann, daughter of Sir Michael Livesey the Regicide, as stated in Noble's "Lives of the Regicides," vol. ii. p. 5, where Sir Richard Sprignall is said to be of Coppenthorpe in Yorkshire, and to have been created baronet by Charles I. in 1641.

This coat reappears in the sixth edition of Guillim, p. 171, and is said there to have been granted in 1639.

p. 193. *Steele*. He beareth, Or, a Bend, Compony, Ermine & Sable, between two Lyons heads erased, Sable, on a Chief of the last three Billets, Argent, and is the bearing of the Right Honorable *William Steele* late Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and now Lord Chancellor of the Kingdome of Ireland.

One of Oliver's lords.²

p. 199. *Disborow*. He beareth, Argent, a Fesse between three Bears heads couped, Sable, muffed, Or, which is the Coat of the Honorable Lord *John Disborow*, one of his Highnesse Privy Counsell, and Generall at Sea, and Major Generall of the West.

Cromwell's well-known brother-in-law and one of his lords.³

¹ Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 378; *Harleian Mis.* vol. vi. p. 494; Noble's *Lives of the Regicides*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. viii. 4th series, p. 571, note; vol. v. 5th series, p. 104; vol. vi. 5th series, p. 8*.

² Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 396.

³ Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 274; *Harleian Mis.* vol. vi. p. 490.

p. 224. *Whitlock*. He beareth, Azure, a *Cheuron engrailed*, between three *Falcons* or *Sparhawks*, Or. This is the Coat Armour of the Right Honorable *Bulstrode Whitlock*, one of the Commissioners of the *Great Seal*, And now of the *Treasureship* of his Highness, 1658.

This is Carlyle's "learned" *Bulstrode*, "dull" *Bulstrode*, "whose qualities are always fat and good." One of Oliver's lords; author of "Memorials of English Affairs," "Journal of the Swedish Embassy," etc.¹

p. 225. *Sleigh*. He beareth, Gules, a *Cheuron embattiled*, between three Owles, Argent, by the name of *Sleigh* of London, and was the Coat of *Edmund Sleigh*, Sheriff of London, 1654, whose Widow is now wife of the Honourable John Ireton Lord Mayor.

This connection accounts for the "explosion" of the coat.

p. 228. *Christmas*. He beareth, Gules, on a Fesse counter battilee, Or, three Choughs, Proper, by the name of *Christmas*, and is the Coat-armour of *William* and *Robert Christmas* of London Merchant Adventurers.

Possibly one of these was Pepys's old schoolfellow:—

"Here dined with us two or three more country gentlemen; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old schoolfellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the King was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be—'The memory of the wicked shall rot'); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time."²

p. 256. *Wheeler*. He beareth, Or, a *Cheuron* between three Leopards heads, Sable, by the name of *Wheeler*, and is the coat of Sir *William Wheeler*, knighted by Oliver, late Lord Protector 25 Aug. 1657.

Member in the Long Parliament for Westbury; created a baronet Aug. 11, 1660, being then member for Queenborough. He occurs several times in Pepys,—Lord Sandwich trying

¹ Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 385; *Harleian Mis.* vol. vi. p. 494.

² Pepys (*Bright's ed.*), vol. i. p. 287.

to borrow money of him, dining with him, etc. This coat reappears in the sixth edition of Guillim, p. 260.¹

p. 293. *Clepole*. He beareth, Topaz, a Cheuron, Saphire, between three Heurts.² This is the Coat of Sir *John Clepole*, Knight and Baronet, Clerk of the Haniper, Father of *John Clepole*, Esquire, Master of the Horse, who married *Elizabeth*, Second Daughter of *Oliver*, late Lord Protector.

Husband of *Oliver*'s favorite daughter; an inoffensive man; was not disturbed after the Restoration, and lived until 1688.

This coat was granted in 1588 to James Claypole, then a yeoman; reappears in the sixth edition of Guillim, p. 257, and is borne now by the Clepoles of Norborough.³

None of the exploded coats are in the third edition of Guillim; three reappear in the sixth edition; and *all*, except *Thurloe*, are in Burke's "General Armory" (edition of 1843) as borne by families of their respective names, — Sherman, Steele, and Christmas, — with slight differences.

To the eighteen should, I think, be added the following, although in the Society's copy it appears; but on a *second* page 115, uncolored, and evidently inserted by accident, the name being also omitted from the Index.

p. 115. *Haynes*. He beareth, Argent, three Crescents parted paly wavy Gules, Azure, by the name of *Haynes* which Family is not a little splendid by the actions of two persons of it, Father and Son, whose conduct and management of their commands at *Jamaica* where the noble Colonel unfortunately though honorably fell, and lately at *Dunkirke*, by the Son, may not sleep in oblivion.

Major-General Haynes was second in command at *Jamaica*. He was killed in action April 26, 1655. "During the action he was at one time engaged with no less than eight of the enemy, one of whom he slew, and desperately wounded the rest. A little before his death he cried out that if only six brave fellows would stand by him, he would soon force the enemy to retreat. But not a man came to his assistance, and, having

¹ Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 444; Pepys (Bright's ed.), vol. iii. pp. 107, 118, 121, 130, 131, 226.

² "Heurt" is "Whortleberry." (Guillim.)

³ Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 370; Pepys (Bright's ed.), vol. i. p. 224.

received a mortal thrust from a lance, he fell like an old Roman, covered with wounds and glory." The enemy numbered three hundred, mostly negroes and mulattoes. "Captain Haynes, son to the Major-General, at the head of twenty horse totally dispersed them, without loss of a man, and rescued his father's dead body."

This coat is the same as that granted in 1578 to Nicholas Haynes, grandfather of John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts and Connecticut (born 1594; died March 1, 1653-4, at Hartford, Connecticut).

The Major-General who fell at Jamaica was therefore of the Governor's kin, and *may* have been his younger brother Emanuell.¹

Mr. APPLETON presented to the Society an original letter relating to the Flag of Fort McHenry, from which letter Admiral Preble obtained facts for the second edition of his work on "Our Flag;" and a copy of "Land League Songs" by Miss Fanny Parnell, which was presented to him by the authoress.

It was announced that the next meeting of the Society would be held on the third Thursday of April, the 15th, at noon, the Governor having designated the second Thursday of that month as Fast Day.

¹ Long's History of Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 230, 231; N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. vol. xxiv. pp. 120, 423.

APRIL MEETING, 1886.

The Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 15th instant, at noon, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Recording Secretary.

The donations to the Library for the past month were reported by the Librarian, and among them were the "American Cyclopædia," from D. Appleton & Co., publishers; Lord Macaulay's Works, in eight volumes, from Dr. Everett; and a copy of the "Ordinance of Secession" adopted by the people of Virginia in 1861, which was taken, by permission of General Devens, from the house of Jefferson Davis in Richmond, on the 7th of April, 1865, by Mr. R. B. Forbes, of this city.

It was mentioned by the Corresponding Secretary that Mr. Horatio Hale, of Clinton, Ontario, Canada, had signified his acceptance of his election as a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT announced the decease of the Hon. John J. Babson, the historian of Gloucester, and paid a tribute to his worth, and stated that Mr. C. C. Smith had been appointed to prepare a memoir of him for the Proceedings.

Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, of this city, presented a marble bust of Alexander Hamilton, a copy of the original one by Houdon.

The PRESIDENT read a communication from Mrs. Henry P. Sturgis, of Boston, who enclosed the following letter, written by the purser of the United States steamer "Susquehanna" to one of the firm of Messrs. Russell & Sturgis, of Manila, giving an account of the first attempt to open communication with the Emperor of Japan on behalf of the Government of this country:—

U. S. STEAM FRIGATE "SUSQUEHANNA,"
JAPAN, 14 July, 1853.

MY DEAR MR. —: Let me give you a rapid sketch of our doings since we left Hong-Kong for Shanghai, where we carried Mr. Marshall the Commissioner.¹ We called at Macao for him and for Dr.

¹ This was the late Hon. Humphrey Marshall, then minister of the United States to China.—Eds.

Parker,¹ who went with us, being Secretary of Legation. After our arrival at Shanghai, we attempted to take Colonel Marshall and suite to Nankin; but our steamer is too large, and we grounded fifteen miles up the Yangtse-Kiang River, and returned. Early in May Commodore Perry arrived, and transferred his flag to our ship from the "Mississippi;" and on the 23d we started for the Loo-Choo Islands, arriving at Napa-Kiang on the 26th. About ten days afterwards we marched to Sheudi, the capital of the island, to make our respects to the Regent, who did not seem to appreciate our politeness, but was extremely anxious to prevent the visit and to induce us to go away. But we insisted on being friendly and polite, although he came on board to beg us not to go, and made use of all the diplomacy of helplessness, but in vain. They have a holy horror of missionaries, and are extremely reluctant to have strangers come amongst them. On the 9th of June we sailed for the Bonin Islands, where the depot must be if they establish a line of steamers between Shanghai and California. We arrived at Port Lloyd on the 14th, and sailing on the 18th returned to Napa on the 23d. On the 2d of July we sailed on the grand Japan expedition, and on the 8th ran up the magnificent Bay of Jeddo, the capital of the Empire. Our arrival was signalized by rockets from the forts; and very soon a great number of boats came off and surrounded us, but we would not let any one come on board until we were informed that the Governor of Uruga was alongside. We immediately invited him and his suite on board, and gave them a polite reception. They were very gentlemanly in their deportment, and, pretending not to know our object, inquired why we had come into that forbidden portion of the Empire. We told them very distinctly that we were the bearers of a letter from the President of the United States to his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, which we had come here to deliver. They contended that no communication could be received here, — that it must be delivered at Nagasaki and presented through the Dutch. We told them that our President's letter could not be presented through any foreign people, but must be received directly from ourselves by the high authorities of Japan. We told them also that as we pledged our word that no American should land or molest them, we could not suffer our ships, armed as they were with heavy guns, to be surrounded, as was usual, by their boats, and that if they did not leave the vicinity of the ships in fifteen minutes, we would fire into them and send the armed men whom they saw before them to destroy or disperse them. The Governor and some of his suite looked eagerly at the big guns, tried to lift the sixty-four-pound shot, viewed the stern array of the marines, put their heads into the muzzles of the

¹ Dr. Peter Parker was both physician and missionary, not only among the foreigners, but among the upper-class Chinese. He was also interpreter to the American Embassy, and subsequently full minister. — Eds.

eight-inch guns to be satisfied of their size, seemed to be convinced there was no mistake, then waved his *fan* and gave orders to the boats, which immediately dispersed and never assembled near us again. This ship towed the "Saratoga" and the "Mississippi" and the "Plymouth" all the way. After many attempts to change our determination, which we always met with courteous firmness on our part, they told us, yesterday afternoon, that the Prince of Idzu, a high councillor of State, had been appointed by the Emperor a full ambassador to receive the President's letter; that he had already arrived and proposed that the Commodore should land with his staff and guards to present the letter at Gori-Hama, about two or three miles below Uruga,—a place much better suited to the purpose, and where they were now erecting buildings for the ceremony. We agreed without hesitation, never caring for Golownin's fate or troubling our heads about treachery, etc. Accordingly, this morning we landed about fifty officers, about two hundred blue jackets, and about one hundred and twenty marines, and two bands of music. Buchanan¹ was the first to land, Major Zeilin the second, and your friend the purser the third. As the men landed we rapidly formed them on the beach; and when the Commodore arrived, placing him and the officers in the centre, we marched right up to about five thousand Japanese troops drawn up in different lines to receive us; and passing through them, the officers entered the building where the Prince was awaiting our arrival. The Governor of Uruga and his interpreter then received the letter of the President to the Emperor, and the letter of credence of Commodore Perry,² having the seal of our country enclosed in golden boxes, and *on their knees* put them into a Japan box, which they secured with silk cords, by command of the Prince to be carried out in that manner to the Emperor. We then bowed ourselves out of the temporary building, after receiving the credentials of the Prince and a receipt for the letter. The effect as we approached the shore was beautiful and exciting: a mere handful, less than four hundred Americans, were landing in the face of five thousand troops, whose various Eastern dresses and silken banners were imposing, whose character for cunning and duplicity was well known, and who were supported by countless multitudes covering the neighboring hills. But the moment we came near enough to compare ourselves with them, all ideas of treachery vanished; for there was not a Yankee who did not feel that with one broadside, one war-

¹ He was commander of the "Susquehanna," and afterwards, during the Civil War, belonged to the Confederate army, and was at one time confined in Fort Warren. — EDS.

² In the "Narrative of the Expedition of Commodore Perry to the China Seas and Japan," compiled by Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D. (chap. xiii.), this letter is given, together with many interesting details of the landing, and an engraving representing the scene when President Fillmore's letter to the Emperor was delivered. — EDS.

whoop, and a rush upon them with the cold steel we could scatter as many as could stand before us. Their unsoldierlike dresses, their antiquated arms, spears, and cross-bows, matchlocks, and about sixty old Tower muskets, and four or five two-pound brass field-pieces. Their officers, dressed in silk and seated on camp-stools, in front of the soldiers under umbrellas, made us feel confident that we could drive any number of them like pigeons before our eagles. Your navy has accomplished in six days what it required the Emperor of all the Russias six months to succeed in; yes, and more, — for his letter was delivered at Nagasaki, under many restrictions, and ours was received near Jeddo, freely and directly, by a prince of the Empire specially appointed for the purpose. We have landed at their own instance at this heretofore sealed portion of the Empire; we have unfurled the stars and stripes to their breezes, and awakened the echoes of their hills for the first time since the creation to the music of "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia." We have surveyed their harbor, promised to return with a large force next spring for our answer, and left them on the most friendly terms, without a single accident or disturbance. We sailed on the 17th, arrived again at Napa on the 25th, sailed August 1, and arrived at Hong-Kong August 7.

The Japanese gentlemen wear two swords and one *fan*!

Mr. CHASE presented to the Society an original portrait of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, by Thomas Sully, which formerly belonged to the late Governor Swann of Maryland.

Judge HOAR presented Whall's picture of the Apostle Eliot preaching to the Indians; Salter's portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which was taken from personal sittings of the Duke; and Chester Harding's of Daniel Webster, which had been bequeathed by the late John H. Eastburn to this Society.

The Hon. R. C. WINTHROP presented an original miniature likeness of Oliver Cromwell, by Samuel Cooper, which had been left to him by the late Mr. Joseph Coolidge, of this city, with the wish that it might ultimately be deposited with this Society.

The PRESIDENT presented a sermon delivered by Mather Byles, March 6, 1760, being a day appointed by order of his Majesty as a public thanksgiving for the signal successes granted to the British arms.

Mr. JENKS presented an outline map showing a portion of the town of Canton in 1725.

Mr. T. C. AMORY presented a catalogue of sixty or more portraits of Daniel Webster and of more than ten statues, statuettes, and busts. Many on the list are repetitions, but a

large number are originals. The names of nearly twenty different artists are given, and of the proprietors when known. This pious tribute to a great memory is the work of General James Dana; and Mr. Amory said that at his request this copy had been sent to him by the compiler to be presented to the Society.

Catalogue of Portraits, etc., of Daniel Webster. Compiled by James Dana, 1883.

| Owner. | Location. | Artist. |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| Museum Fine Arts | Boston. | Ames. |
| Mrs. Peter Harvey | " | " |
| Charles H. Joy | " | " 1852. |
| Harvey D. Parker | " | " Purchased of Mrs. Ames. |
| Harvard Law School . . . | Cambridge. | " |
| Joseph Burnett | Southboro', Mass. | " Formerly in Astor House, N. Y. |
| Mrs. Fletcher Webster . . | Marshfield. | " Unfinished. |
| Dartmouth College . . . | Hanover. | " Gift of Dr. J. Baxter Upham. |
| Phillips Academy | Exeter. | " Gift of Marshfield Club. |
| United States | Capitol. | Healy. |
| France | Palace-Versailles. | " |
| City of Boston | Faneuil Hall. | " Answering Haines. |
| Franklin Haven | Boston. | " 1850. |
| Family of Lord Ashburton . | London. | " Presented to Lord Ashburton by Mr. Webster at the time of the Treaty. |
| Mr. Justice Blatchford . . | New York City. | " 1843. |
| Abram Binninger | " " " | " Painted for Lorenzo Draper, while U. S. Consul at Paris. |
| Union League Club . . . | Philadelphia. | " |
| Boston Athenæum | | Harding. Full length. 1849. |
| Mrs. John P. Healy . . . | Boston. | " |
| Misses Fletcher | Cambridge. | " |
| Mrs. Fletcher Webster . . | Marshfield. | " Copy of Mrs. J. P. Healy's. |
| Alexander S. Webb | 15 Lexington Avenue, New York City. | " Painted for "Hone Club." |
| Rice W. Payne | Warrenton, Va. | " 1842. |
| " " | " " | " Copy. |
| Family of Commodore Stockton | Trenton, N. J. | " ¾ life size. |
| C. J. H. Woodbury | 31 Milk Street, Boston. | " |

| Owner. | Location. | Artist. | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------|---|
| Mechanics' Institute . . . | Lowell. | Lawson. | His "Original." Full length. 1844. ¹ |
| Thomas W. Pierce . . . | Topsfield, Mass. | " | 1882-83. Recent painting. |
| Henry Williams . . . | Boston. | " | Full length. |
| Dartmouth College . . . | Hanover. | " | Presented by John Aiken <i>et al.</i> of Lowell. |
| Misses Fletcher . . . | Cambridge. | Hoit. | |
| John M. Batchelder . . . | " | " | |
| State of New Hampshire . | Capitol. | " | Full length. |
| Mrs. Paran Stevens . . . | 244 Fifth Avenue, New York City. | " | His last work; formerly in Revere House parlor. |
| Mrs. Fletcher Webster . . | Marshfield. | Stuart. | Painted for Edmund Dwight. |
| Essex Institute . . . | Salem. | Jane Stuart. | Copy of preceding, presented by Mrs. J. Morton Warren. |
| City of Boston . . . | Charlestown City Hall. | Pope. | 1853. Presented to the city of Charlestown by citizens thereof. |
| United States . . . | State Department. | " | In Diplomatic Reception Room. |
| G. Washington Warren . . | Boston. | " | Copy. |
| Dartmouth College . . . | " | Alexander. | |
| Mrs. David McIlvray . . . | " | Unknown. | |
| Misses Fletcher . . . | Cambridge. | " | |
| James French & Son . . . | 226 Washington Street, Boston. | " | |
| Benjamin French . . . | 319 Washington Street, Boston. | " | Supposed to be Howe. |
| Mrs. Henry B. Pearson . . | 42 Worcester Square, Boston. | " | Full length. |
| Franklin Haven . . . | Boston. | " | |
| Pilgrim Society . . . | Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. | " | |
| Mrs. Dr. Lindsley . . . | Washington, D. C. | " | |
| Family of the late William H. Seward . . . | New York. | " | |
| Gordon W. Burnham . . . | New York City. | " | |

¹ Mr. Lawson has painted some fifteen copies of his "Original." Believed to be chiefly owned in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Miniatures, etc.

| Owner. | Location. | Artist. | |
|---|--|------------------------|---|
| Mrs. R. M. Staigg | Chapel Station, Brookline, Mass. | <i>Staigg.</i> | 1844. |
| Massachusetts Historical Society | Boston. | " | |
| Massachusetts Historical Society | " | <i>Miss Goodridge.</i> | |
| Family of Miss Goodridge . | " | " | " |
| Henry Cabot Lodge . . . | Nahant. | " | " |
| Mrs. Daniel Webster . . . | New York. | <i>Saunders.</i> | |
| Edward A. Kelly | 9 Marlborough Street, Bos- ton. | <i>Unknown.</i> | Presented by Mr. Webster to Grace Fletcher at the time of their engage- ment. Believed to be the first portraiture. Daguerreotype. "1852. Daguerreo- type. Pre- sented by Mr. Webster. Enlarged photo- graph. <i>Eastman Johnson.</i> At Washington, 1843 or 1844. At Mr. Win- throp's request. |
| Thomas B. Lawson . . . | Lowell. | | |
| Edward S. Tobey | Boston. | | |
| Stephen M. Allen | " | | |
| United States | Capitol. | | |
| Robert C. Winthrop . . . | Boston. | | |

Statues, Busts, etc.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---|
| City of New York | Central Park. | <i>Ball.</i> | Life size. Gift of Gordon W. Burnham. |
| Commonwealth of Mass. . | State House grounds. | <i>Powers.</i> | Life size. Order of General Court. |
| Dartmouth College . . . | Hanover. | | |
| D. P. Ives & Co. | Boston. | <i>Ball.</i> | Statuette. |
| George W. Nesmith . . . | Franklin, N. H. | | Stamped in bronze. |
| Marshall P. Wilder . . . | Dorchester. | " | Statuette copy. |
| " " | " | | Stamped in bronze. |
| John M. Batchelder . . . | Cambridge. | | Stamped in rub- ber. |

| Owner. | Location. | Artist. | Bust. |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------|--|
| Unknown | | Clevenger. | |
| Frederick Jones | New Ipswich, N. H. | | Statuette. For many years owned by Dr. Stilman Gibson of that town, and stood on a pedestal in front of his mansion. |

On motion of the Treasurer, it was —

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund to Sept. 1, 1885, be added to the appropriation for printing the Trumbull Papers, and that the words "Printed at the Charge of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund" be placed on the titlepage of the second volume, now in press.

Mr. WINSOR presented a copy of an unprinted journal kept on the Kennebec expedition to Quebec, under Arnold, in 1775-76. Its author was Ebenezer Wild, who was one of those captured in Arnold's party during the attempted storming of Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775. He remained a prisoner till the arrangement was made with Carleton for the release of the New Englanders in June. The manuscript was given to Harvard College Library in 1850 by W. S. Stoddard. The other diaries of this expedition which have been preserved or noted are here enumerated.

1. Arnold's, Sept. 27 to Oct. 30, 1775. The original manuscript was left behind by Arnold when he fled from West Point. Extracts from it are printed in S. L. Knapp's "Life of Aaron Burr," 1835. It is now owned by Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, of New York. A copy made of it, when owned by Judge Edwards, of New York, is in the "Sparks Manuscripts" (LII. vol. ii.).

2. "Journal of the March of a Party of Provincials from Carlyle to Boston, and from thence to Quebec, begun the thirteenth of July and ended the thirty-first of December, 1775. To which is added an Account of the Attack and Engagement of Quebec, the 31st December, 1775." Glasgow, 1775, pp. 36. Sabin ("Dictionary of Books relating to America," vol. ix. No. 86, 728) says it is the journal of a company of riflemen, under Captains William Hendricks and John Chambers, and that it was sent from Quebec to Glasgow by a gentleman who appended the "Account."

3. A manuscript journal kept by Henry Dearborn, Sept. 10, 1775, to July 16, 1776, is in the Boston Public Library.

4. "Caleb Haskell's diary, May 5, 1775, to May 30, 1776, — a revolutionary soldier's Record before Boston and with Arnold's expedition." Newburyport, 1881, pp. 23. It is edited by L. Withington. The diarist was of Ward's company.

5. John Joseph Henry's "Accurate and Interesting Account of the Hardships and Sufferings of that Band of Heroes who traversed the Wilderness in the Campaign against Quebec." Lancaster, Pa., 1812. There were later editions, with changed titles, published at Watertown, N. Y., 1844, and at Albany, 1877, the last having a memoir of Judge Henry, the author, by his grandson Aubrey H. Smith, from which we learn that the narrative was dictated by Henry to his daughter in his last years, with the aid of notes and memoranda made at the time, and that it was printed without the author's revision.

6. A journal of Lieutenant William Heth, of Morgan's Riflemen, is referred to in Marshall's "Washington," pp. 53, 57.

7. A journal of Sergeant McCoy is referred to in Henry's "Account."

8. Major Return J. Meigs' "Journal of the Expedition against Quebec under Colonel Benedict Arnold in the Year 1775." It forms Vol. I. of Charles I. Bushnell's "Crumbs for Antiquarians," New York, 1859; and it is also printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections (vol. xii.).

9. J. Melvin's "Journal of the Expedition to Quebec in the Year 1775." New York (100 copies), 1857. Introduction by William J. Davis. It was also printed by the Franklin Club, Philadelphia, 1864. Melvin was of Dearborn's Company.

10. E. M. Stone (see No. 14) refers to John Peirce's journal of daily occurrences, Sept. 8, 1775, to Jan. 16, 1776. Peirce was an engineer with the pioneers. His record is defective at the beginning and end, and has not been printed.

11. "Journal of Isaac Senter, Physician and Surgeon to the Troops on a Secret Expedition against Quebec in September, 1775." Philadelphia, 1846, taken from Vol. I. of the Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It begins at Cambridge, Sept. 13, 1775, and ends at Quebec, Jan. 6, 1776.

12. The diary of Ephraim Squier, Sept. 7 to Nov. 25, 1775, is preserved in the Pension Office, Washington, and is printed in the "Magazine of American History" (vol. ii. p. 685).

13. Stone (No. 14) reports, as at that time in the hands of David King, of Newport, a journal of Captain John Topham, for September, October, and November, 1775, which had not been printed, and was illegible before the date of October 6.

14. "Invasion of Canada in 1775, including the Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer, describing the Perils and Sufferings of the Army

under Colonel Benedict Arnold, with Notes and Appendix by E. M. Stone." Providence, 1867, being Vol. VI. of the R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections.

15. "Journal of an Expedition against Quebec in 1775, by Joseph Ware, of Needham, Mass. Published by Joseph Ware, grandson of the journalist." Boston, 1852. It begins Sept. 13, 1775, and ends on board a cartel-vessel at sea, Sept. 6, 1776. The notes are by Justin Winsor. It was first printed in the "N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register," April, 1852. Whitmore ("Amer. Genealogist," p. 84) questions Ware's authorship.

A Journal of a March from Cambridge, on an Expedition against Quebec in Colonel Benedict Arnold's Detachment, Sept. 13, 1775. [By Ebenezer Wild.]

September 13th. — Marched from Cambridge until evening, and encamped at Malden that night.

14th. — This morning marched very early, and encamped in the evening at Beverly. This day marched twenty-five miles; the weather very sultry.

15th. — This morning marched briskly along, and got into Newburyport at eight o'clock at night, where we were to make a stay for several days.

16th. — In Newburyport, waiting for the vessels getting ready to carry us to Kennebec.

17th. — This day had a general review, and our men appeared very well and in good spirits, and made a grand appearance; and we had the praise of hundreds of spectators, who were very sorry to see so many brave fellows going to be sacrificed for their country.

18th. — Had orders to embark in the evening. Our fleet consisted of eleven sail of vessels, sloops, and schooners. Our number of troops consisted of 1,300; eleven companies of musketmen, and three of riflemen. We were embarked this evening, and lay in the river all night.

19th. — Early this morning weighed anchor with a pleasant gale, our colors flying, drums beating, fifes playing, and the hills all round covered with pretty girls, weeping for their departing swains. This night had like to have proved fatal to us, for we were close on board of rocks before we knew anything about it. We were immediately all called upon deck, expecting every moment to be dashed to pieces against the rocks; but the wind freshing we got clear after several tacks, to the great joy of us.

20th. — Arrived in Kennebec River; rowed and sailed up against wind and tide.

21st. — Arrived at Fort Weston [Western], where we halted for some days, and here we were furnished with bateaux and provisions for carrying us up the river. Continued here the 22d, 23d, and 24th.

25th. — Embarked on board our bateaux, and arrived at Fort Halifax in the evening of the 26th.

27th. — Carried over Ticonneck Falls our bateaux and provisions, forty rods carriage, and pushed up three miles.

28th. — Pushed up eight miles; the water so bad that the bateaux men were obliged to drag the boats up over shoals; in many places were up to their chins in water.

29th. — Pushed up to the second carrying-place, called Cohiggin Falls.

30th. — Carried over sixty rods, and pushed up five miles.

October 1st. — Pushed up over rocks and shoals, where we were many times over head in water pulling the bateaux over; we arrived at the third carrying-place in the evening.

2d. — This day carried over Norridgewalk Falls one mile and a quarter, and then encamped. We felt very uncomfortable this night after dragging our boats over roots and rocks and mud.

3d. — Pushed up eleven miles on our way. Captain Hendricks' company of riflemen shot a young moose, which weighed about two hundred pounds. But we had none of it, they being before us. This day we left all inhabitants, and entered an uncultivated country and barren wilderness. The timber for the most part is birch, pine, and hemlock. Some places on the river there are places where large sugar trees grow.

4th. — Pushed up eight miles to Tintucket, or Hellgate Falls, and carried our boats over forty rods.

5th, 6th, and 7th. — Pushed up to the head of the Kennebec, where we carried out into a pond. These three last days we came about twenty miles.

8th. — This day we pushed on very briskly, it being Sunday. The foremost companies lying still on account of heavy rains; we marched all day, it being very wet and cold, and suffered a good deal from the inclemency of the weather, and came up with some of them at night.

9th, 10th, and 11th. — Carried to the first pond, three and one-half miles land-carriage; crossed the pond two miles.

12th and 13th. — Carried to a second pond three quarters of a mile; crossed the pond one mile over, then carried two miles to a third pond, and crossed the pond two miles over.

14th and 15th. — Carried to the Dead River three miles, and went up one mile; then encamped at night. This river runs so still that it can

scarce be perceived which way it runs; it is black water, about four rods wide, and runs southeast.

16th. — The water now being deep and dead, we betook ourselves to our oars, and rowed up six miles.

17th. — After carrying over a small carrying-place, about ten rods, rowed up fifteen miles.

18th. — Rowed up twenty miles, and carried over a small carrying-place.

19th. — Carried over four carrying-places, and rowed up about five miles.

20th, 21st, and 22d. — Were detained in our tents by heavy rains.

23d. — The water being shallow, we were obliged to lay by our oars and take our setting poles. We pushed up ten miles.

24th. — Our provisions growing scanty, and some of our men being sick, we held a council, and agreed to send the sick back, and send a captain and fifty men forward to the inhabitants as soon as possible, that they might send us some provisions. Accordingly, the sick were sent back, and Captain Hanchitt, with fifty men, sent forward. Before this, Colonel Enos, with three captains and their companies, turned back, and took with them large stores of provisions and ammunition, being discouraged (as we supposed) by the difficulties they met with. This day got forward nine miles. The water being very rapid, many of our boats were upset, and much of our baggage lost, with provisions and guns.

25th. — Snowed all night; very cold this morning. Pushed over two carrying-places. Got forward eight miles to-day.

26th. — Pushed up four ponds, and carried over two carrying-places, one of them a mile over; the ground covered with snow.

27th. — Crossed a pond half of a mile over, and carried fifteen rods to another pond, two miles over, to the great carrying-place, four miles and fifty rods over. Here it was agreed to leave most of our bateaux, being greatly fatigued by carrying over such hills, rocks, and swamps as were never passed by man before.

28th. — After carrying over the great carrying-place, we encamped by a small stream, running into Chadore pond. Dealt out to each man four pints of flour and what little meat we had left, which was about four ounces per man.

29th. — Early this morning set out for the head of Chadore River. This day we suffered greatly by our bateaux passing by us, for we had to wade waist-high through swamps and rivers, breaking ice before us. Here we wandered round all day, and came at night to the same place which we left in the morning, where we found a small dry spot, where we made a fire, and we were obliged to stand up all night in order to dry ourselves and keep from freezing.

We continued so till next day, when a bateau came up and took us across the river.

30th. — At noon were relieved from our miserable situation, and made the best of our way through the woods for Chadier [*sic*].

31st. — Pushed on for Chadore with all speed, in hopes of overtaking our bateaux in order to get some flour, for ours was all expended; but to our great grief and sorrow our bateaux were stove, and our flour was lost, and the men barely escaped with their lives. Now we were in a miserable situation, not a mouthful of provision; and by account seventy miles from inhabitants, and we had a wilderness, barren and destitute of any sustenance, to go through, where we expected to suffer hunger and cold and fatigue. Here the captain with the ablest men pushed on in order to get provisions to send back for the sick.

November 1st. — This morning started very early, hungry and little satisfied with our night's rest. Travelled all day very briskly, and at night encamped in a miserable situation. Here we killed a dog, and we made a very great feast without bread or salt, we having been four days without any provisions; and we went to sleep that night a little better satisfied. Our distress was so great that dollars were offered for bits of bread as big as the palm of one's hand.

2d. — This morning when we arose, many of us were so weak that we could hardly stand; we staggered about like drunken men. However, we made shift to get our packs on our backs, and marched off, hoping to see some inhabitants. This night a small stick across the road was sufficient to bring the stoutest to the ground. In the evening we came in sight of the cattle coming up the river-side, which were sent by Colonel Arnold, who had got in two days before. It was the joy-fullest night that ever I beheld, and some could not refrain from crying for joy. We were told by the men who came with the cattle that we were yet twenty miles from the nearest inhabitants. Here we killed a "creetur," and we had some coarse flour served out, with straws in it an inch long. Here we had a noble feast, and some of the men were so hungry that before the "creetur" was dead the hide and flesh were on the fire broiling.

3d. — Marched this day twenty miles, wading through several small rivers, some of them up to our middle, and very cold. In the evening we came in sight of a house, the first we had seen for forty-one days.

4th. — Last night had plenty of beef and potatoes; but little or no bread was to be had. Snowed most of the night. In the morning marched down the river to inhabitants thick settled.

5th. — Continued our march down the river; the people very hospitable; provisions plenty, but very dear; milk one shilling sterling per quart, and bread a shilling per loaf, weighing no more than three pounds. Came this day twelve miles.

6th. — Came up with Colonel Arnold and the advanced party. Marched off together at two o'clock, and marched till twelve o'clock at night. Roads excessive bad, most of the way mid-leg deep with mud and water. Marched seventeen miles.

7th. — Marched three [miles]; then halted till night, when a lieutenant was sent forward with thirty men to see if our way was clear. Accordingly they marched till near two o'clock in the morning, when we halted. We were in sight of Quebec, the river St. Lawrence between us and the town.

8th. — Took up our quarters along the river-side until our troops behind could come up. Here we stayed until the 13th. By this time all the men alive had come, several having perished with hunger in the woods. During our stay here, we took a midshipman belonging to a frigate in the harbor, who came on shore with several others in a boat, to carry away flour from a mill on our side of the river, which is about a mile or some better wide. At the city one twenty-eight-gun frigate and a sloop-of-war, with some merchantmen, were in the harbor.

13th. — Crossed the river at night in long boats and canoes. Some of the canoes overset in the river; but none of the men were lost, only some few guns and clothes. Got all over before morning at a place called Wolf's Cove.

14th. — This morning were fired upon by the frigate, but received no damage. Took up our quarters in some good houses near the town, which were forsaken by the owners. Here we remained until the 20th, during which time we were informed that there were not more than one hundred regulars in the city, with a number of sailors and other new recruits, in all not exceeding four hundred under arms. The first day we came over the river, we passed close by the walls of the town, and gave three cheers without being molested by the enemy, who fired a few shots from their cannon, but did us no harm.

21st. — Marched up the river twenty miles to Point aux Trembles, our ammunitions being almost expended and too scant to attack the town with. Here we were joined by General Montgomery with the York forces from Montreal, who had taken St. John's, Fort Shamble, and Montreal. In these places they took a great quantity of provisions, clothing, ammunition, and cannon, with nine hundred and fifty prisoners. Remained here until the 5th of December.

December 5th. — Marched back to Quebec and laid siege to the town; continued the siege until the 29th, during which time we took several prisoners. Cannonaded and bombarded each other both day and night. During these transactions the two men who had been left with Lieutenant McSolan came to us and informed us that they had buried him at the first inhabitant's, after he had been brought down the river by two Indians, hired by Captain Smith for the purpose.

See Memoirs
 29th. — This night prepared to storm the city in two different places. General Montgomery with the York forces on one quarter, and Colonel Arnold on the other hand. Accordingly, about five o'clock in the morning, began the attack; but they could not get to the wall, but retreated back to their quarters, their general and two leading officers being killed by the fire from the enemy. Colonel Arnold with his party carried on the attack on his quarter, and got possession of their two gun battery, and took seventy prisoners. Our colonel being wounded in the beginning of the attack, was carried back. The captains themselves then took the lead, and drove the enemy until, overpowered by numbers and surrounded, we were obliged to surrender ourselves prisoners of war.

Jan. 1, 1776. — In the French convent they gave us some rum to drink and some hard bread to eat. Our allowance of provisions was one pound of bread, one half pound of pork, one gill of rice for a day, and six ounces of butter a week.

2d. — In prison, this day we had a cask of porter [given] by some gentleman of the town.

3d and 4th. — The general sent for a list of our names, of the old countrymen in particular by themselves that were with us, and they chiefly enlisted in the King's service.

5th to 8th. — The prisoners petitioned to have their packs sent in to them, whereupon they sent out a flag and received them for us.

8th to 15th. — The general sent for a list of the occupations of the prisoners. The small-pox is very plenty with us. Captain Hubbard died with the wound he received in coming in.

19th to 22d. — Five of those that enlisted out of prison and five others deserted in the night. There were two men put in irons for attempting to break out of prison.

22d to 25th. — There were three vessels and a house burned by our people. The enemy went into St. Rochs after plunder. There were two of our people taken going to set fire to the shipping.

25th to 29th. — There were three men deserted the garrisons. The people get out into St. Rochs every day and fetch in the remains of the buildings that were burnt.

29th to 31st. — Two men of Captain Ward's company died of the small-pox. The men are getting well, some of them.

February 1st to 5th. — There were two men deserted. Seven of our men died with the small-pox, and one of our men died with the pleurisy; he was sick but one day.

5th to 9th. — Three men deserted, and forty men lay sick in prison.

9th to 12th. — Very wet and snowy; the storm very heavy. Three men were stifled to death on duty.

12th to 15th. — This morning sixty men went to the hospital with the small-pox. The men have it very horribly.

16th to 20th. — Six of the old countrymen that enlisted in the King's service deserted, and the remainder were put in prison again because those deserted.

20th to 24th. — Five men died with the small-pox. The enemy made an attempt to go out after our people's cannon, and were driven back. There was a continual firing after them.

24th to 31st. — Nothing remarkable.

March 1st to 6th. — Three men deserted.

6th to 10th. — One of the prisoners was put in irons for talking with one of the sentries. We hear that Boston is taken by our people.

10th to 13th. — There was an alarm in the city about ten o'clock at night. A large picket-guard was set around the prison and a field-piece before the door.

13th to 18th. — The emigrants are moved to the artillery barracks and the rest of us into a stone jail, and are locked up at seven o'clock at night.

18th to 25th. — Nothing remarkable.

25th to 30th. — In the night one of the prisoners got out of prison, and run to our people. We are in a miserable condition. Having no wood, we are almost frozen.

30th and 31st. — Most of the prisoners consulted together to break out of prison, and to try their best to take the town; but as one of the prisoners was cutting away some ice at the cellar door, in order to have it handy to open in a moment to go out at, the sentry standing near and hearing the cutting acquainted the officers of the guard, who acquainted some other officers. They, coming in, inquired who was cutting at the door, and what they were upon. One of the prisoners informed them of all the transaction that was going forward. The officers searched all the rooms in the prison and every man's pack to see if they could find any arms or ammunition, for they supposed some of the people in the town had supplied us with arms and ammunition, but they could not find any such things with us. At this, we were all put into strong irons.

April 1st to 14th. — Our people having a battery across the river at Point Lewis, they threw shot into the town, very merry. The officers of the guard are very particular with us; they call a roll, and count us morning and evening.

14th to 27th. — It is very sickly with us. The scurvy and lameness rage very much, occasioned by living on salt provisions.

27th to 31st. — The town was alarmed in the night.

May 1st to 6th. — Nothing strange, but in great distress and despair.

6th. — This morning three ships came in with reinforcements of about one thousand men. All the bells in the town rang for joy most of the day; then all the forces marched over to Abram's plains to have

a battle with our people, but they retreated as fast as possible, and left a number sick in the hospital, likewise some of their cannon and ammunition, with a number of small arms and packs.

7th and 8th. — The general ordered the irons to be taken off the prisoners. He also gave the emigrants their liberty again. This morning two ships came in. The ships have gone up the river and a number of troops by land to Montreal.

9th to 14th. — Three ships and three brigs came in. There were six prisoners put in with us, taken stealing about. One company set out for Montreal.

14th to 19th. — Two ships went out, one of them a packet for England.

19th to 23d. — One ship and a number of small crafts came in. Thirteen prisoners enlisted into the King's service. One ship sailed out.

23d. — Our allowance is one pound of soft bread and one pound of beef per day.

24th to 26th. — The militia have laid down their arms. One of those men that went out of prison was put on board a fifty-gun ship; but as he did not incline to enter on board, they put him in irons, and threatened to hang him, but he was taken out of irons and put into [them] again in the evening. Robert Burd was taken out of prison, and has got his liberty; he is going to his home in Ireland.

26th to 30th. — One ship went out and twenty came in. There were eight or nine prisoners taken out to work; they stayed out one or two days, and were required to swear allegiance to the King that they would not take up arms against them, and to make known all experiments against him.

30th and 31st. — Four ships came in; one brig and two ships went out.

June 1st to 5th. — Twenty-eight ships came in with General Burgoyne. There are six thousand Hessians and Hanoverians come to assist the King's troops. Five hundred marched up the river for Montreal.

5th. — This day General Carleton and some other officers came to see us. He inquired of us whether we had fared as well as he promised us we should when we were taken. We told him we fared very well. He said he did not take us as enemies, and likewise said if he could rely upon our honors he would send us to N. England if we would promise to be quiet and peaceable, and not take up arms any more.

June 6, 1776. *A Copy of an Answer sent to General Carleton.*

May it please your Excellency: We, the prisoners in his Majesty's jail, return your Excellency our most hearty and unfeigned thanks for your clemency and kindness to us, while in prison, being sensible of your humanity. We return your Excellency thanks for your offer

made us yesterday, and having a desire to return to our friends and families, we will promise not to take up arms against his Majesty, but remain peaceable and quiet in our respective places of abode; and we further assure your Excellency that you may depend on our fidelity, and we remain your Excellency's humble servants. Signed in behalf of the prisoners.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN described a journal of Captain Henry Dearborn, covering the same period, which relates the sufferings of the men who marched from Boston through the wilderness to Quebec, and narrates the capture of the city which followed.

A Journal kept by Cap^t Henry Dearborne,¹ of the Proceedings, and Particular occurrences, which happened within my knowledge, to the Troops, under the Command of Colonel Bennedict Arnold, in the year 1775 Which Troops were detached from the American Army Lying before the Town of Boston, for the purpose of marching to, and taking possession of Quebec:—

Said detachment consisted of Eleven hundred Men, Two Battalians of Musket-men, and three Companies of Rifle-men as Lighte-Infantry.

Officers of the 1st Battalion.

Lieu^t [Co]lo : [Roger Enos]
 Maj^r Return [J.] Me[i]gs
 Cap^t Thomas Williams
 Cap^t Henry Dearborne
 Cap^t Scott
 Cap^t Oliver Hanchett
 Cap^t William Goodrich

Officers of the 2^d Battalion.

Lieu^t Colo : Christopher Green
 Maj : Timothy Biggelloe
 Cap^t Sam^l Ward
 Cap^t Simeon Thayre
 Cap^t John Topham
 Cap^t M^cCobb
 Cap^t Jonas Hubbard

¹ Henry Dearborn, of New Hampshire, who was in the military service during the Revolution, from the breaking out of hostilities in 1775 to the close of the war, kept journals of many of the transactions in which he participated. Some, if not all, of these are extant. Several are in the Boston Public Library, having been purchased at the sale of the manuscripts of the late John W. Thornton, who was executor of the will of Henry A. S. Dearborn, the son of the journalist. Two of Dearborn's journals are in private hands,—one covering the period of Sullivan's expedition against the Indians in the interior of New York, in 1779; and the other, that of Arnold's treason. So far as I have seen them, these journals, with one exception, are in Dearborn's handwriting. The exception is the journal which follows. But that it passed under his eye is evident from several additions and corrections from his own hand, as are indicated in the footnotes to the text. Dearborn was a man of some education and of great intelligence. He usually expressed his thoughts in good English, and could commit them to paper

The Captains of the Rifle Men.

Morgan
Smith
Hendrick

SEPTEMBER 10th 1775

I march'd my Company from Winter-Hill to Cambridge 11th 12th and the chief of the 13th We Lay at Cambridge preparing for to March, at 5 O Clock P. M: March'd from Cambridge to Medford, and Encamped,

14th at 12, O Clock march'd from Medford to Salem & Encamp't^d

15 Marched to Ipswich and encamped.

16 Marched to Newbury Port and Encamped.

17 Being Sunday, we attended Divine Service there.

18th at 4 Clock, the whole detachment Embarked on Board 10 Vessels.

19 at 10 Clock A: M.. we made Sail, But as Soon as we got outside of the Bar, we hove too,— In order to receive the Several Signals which we were to observe while at Sea, Said Signals were to be given by the Vessel, which Colo: Arnold was on Board of Called the Commodore.

THE SIGNALS WERE AS FOLLOWETH VIZ?

1st Signal, for Speaking with the whole Fleet an Ensign was to be Hoisted at the Main-Top: masthead.

2 Signal, for Chasing a Sail, Ensign at fore, top, mast, head.

3 Signal, for heaving too, a Lanthorn at Main, Topmast, head, and two guns if head on Shore, and three Guns, if off shore.

4 Signal, for making sail, in the Night, a Lanthorn at Mast head, and four Guns, — In the day, a Jack at the fore Top: Mast-head.

5 Signal, for dispersing and every Vessel for making the Nearest, Harbour Ensign at the Main-Top Peak.

6 Signal, for Boarding any vessel, a Jack at Main Topmasthead — at 12 O Clock we put to Sea, and had a fair wind — at 10 O Clock .. P: M: we hove too, head, off Shore with a Brisk wind, the Chief of our people were Sea-Sick.

20 In the Morning, we made the mouth of Kennebeck River which we enter'd at 10 'Clock an Came to an Anchor, at 3 .. O: Cl P: M: we Weighed, Anchor and put up the River a Bout 3 Leagues, and came to an Anchor, I went on Shore at Rousask where there are a Number of Inhabitants and a Meeting house.

with accuracy and in a good handwriting. These facts beget a doubt whether I should have followed the vagaries of the copyist in orthography, punctuation, and the use of capital letters. But I have done so with exact fidelity, and even to the omission of obvious words, so far as a twofold comparison of the copy with the text would secure it. — M. C.

21st Put up the River as far as Swan Island, at the upper End of Merry-meeting-Bay-where we Run on Shore and Came to an Anchor, I went, on Shore with some of my officers, and Stay'd all Night.

SEPTEMBER 22^d

Proceeded, up the River, We pass'd Fort Richmond at 11: O Clock where there are but few Settlements at Present, this afternoon we pass'd Pownalborough, Where there is a Court-House and Goal — and some very good Settlements, This day at 4. O Clock we arrived at the place where our Batteaus were Built.

We were order'd to Leave one Sergeant, one Corporal and Thirteen men here to take a Long the Batteau's, they embark'd on Board the Batteaus, and we all proceeded up the River to Cabisacounty, or Gardeners Town, Where Doctor Gardner of Boston owns a Large Tract of Land and Some Mills, & a Number of very good dwelling Houses, where we Stayed Last night, on Shore.

23^d We put up the River, and before Night, we arrived at Fort Western which is 50 Miles from the Mouth of the River, this evening a very unhappy accident happen'd, a Number of Soldiers being in a Private-house, some warm words Produced a quarrel and one Mc.Cormick being Turned out of the House, Soon after discharged his Gun into the House, and Shot a Man thro, the Body of which wound he Soon Expired.

Mc.Cormick was Try'd by a Court Martial and Condemn'd to be hanged, He abstinately denied the fact until he was Brought under the Gallows where Confess'd the Crime — but for Some reasons was re-prieved, until the pleasure of Gen^l Washington could be known.

24th 25th 26th We lay at Fort Western preparing for our March — Fort Western Stands on the East side of the River and Consists of two Block Houses, and a Large House 100 feet Long which are Inclos'd only with Picquets, this House is now the property of one Howard Esq^r where we were well entertained.

25 Captains Morgan, Smith, and Hendrick, with their Companies of Rifle, Men embarked on Board their Batteaus, with orders to proceed up the River as far as the great Carrying place, there to Clear a Road a Cross the Carrying place, while the other divisions were getting up.

26 . . . Colo: Green embark'd on Board the Batteaus with three Company's of Musketmen to proceed for CANADA.

27 . . . at 3 . . O : Clock P . . M : Major Meigs embarked on Board the Batteaus with four Companies of men, my Company being One of them) With 45 days Provisions proceeded up the River four miles, and encamp, the not very rapid.

28 Procee'd up the River four miles, the Water exceeding Rapid, some bad falls and encamp.

29 Proceeded up the River four miles to Fort Hallifax against a very rapid Stream, where we arrived at 11—O Clock A..M—this Fort stands on a point of Land, Between the Rivers Kenebeck and Sabastacook—It Consists of Two Large Block-Houses and a Large Barrack which is Inclosed by Picquet Fort—after Staying half an hour at the Fort I Cross'd the River to a Carrying place, which is 97 Rods, We Carry'd a Cross our Batteaus and Baggage and Encampt.

30 Proceeded up the River this Morning, found it exceeding rapid and rocky for five miles, so that any man would think, at its first appearance, that it was impossible to get Boats up it, I fill'd my Battoe to day, and wet all my Baggage, but with the greatest difficulty, we got over what is call'd the 5 mile ripples, and then encampt, and dried my Cloathing as well as I could.

Octo: 1 Proceeded up the River 3 miles, the Stream was very rapid, here Major Meigs had Bought an Ox, and had him dress'd for us when we came up, we eat what we could and took the remainder into our Batteaus, and proceeded up the River four miles further and encampt, the Water not so rapid as before, the Land here on the Shores very good in General.

2 Procee'd up the River Nine miles, the Water not very rapid intil towards Night, We encampt, it Rained very fast the most part of the night.

3 Proceeded up the River over very bad falls and Shoals such as seem'd almost Impossible to Cross, But after much fatigue, and a Bundance of difficulty we arrived at Schouhega²-falls, where there is a Carrying place of 60 rods, here we hall'd up our Batteaus and Caulk'd them, as well as we could they being very leaky, by being knocked a Bout a Mong the Rocks, and not being well Built at first, we Carryed a Cross and loaded our Batteaus, and put a Cross the River, and encampt, this days March was not a Bove 3 Miles, from here I sent Back two Sick men.

4 Our Course in general from the mouth of the river to this place, has been from North, to North East, from here we Steer N: W.: to Norrigwalk, which is Twelve miles to where we arrived to night, the River here is not very rapid. Except Two bad falls, the Land on the North side of the river is very good, where there are 2 or 3 families settled, at Norrigwalk, is to be seen the ruins of an Indian Town, also a fort, a Chapel, and a Large Tract of Clear Land but not very good, there is but one family here at present Half a Mile above this old fort, is a Great fall, where there is a Carrying place of one Mile and a Quarter.

5 We haled up our Batteaus, and Clear'd them for overhauling, and repacked all our pork, and Bread, several Barrels of Bread was Spoiled, here we found Colo- Greens Division.

6 - - After our Batteaus were repair'd, we Carry'd them a Cross the Carrying place, and Loaded them again, we put up the River two Miles and Encampt.

7 We proceeded up the river nine miles and encampt. the Land we pass'd to day, was exceeding good, the Stream not very rapid, it rained very heavy all night.

8 It rain'd some part of this morning, But we proceeded up the river Seven miles to Carritunkus-falls, where we arriv'd at 1 O Clock, P: M: the Weather proved very rainy, here is a Carrying place of 95 Rods, we Carry'd a Cross and put up the river 3 miles, the water was very rapid, and encampt.

9 We proceeded up the River, 9 miles the Water was very Rapid, the river is divided here into a Number of Channels, occasion'd by small Islands, which Channels are Shoal and rapid, it rain'd the Biggest part of this day, We encamp'd at dusk, and I Caught Some fish before Supper.

10 We proceeded up the River, I march'd by Land, the Weather Severely Cold, in Crossing a Small River on a Logg I slipt off and fell flat on my Back in the river, the Water not being more than four feet deep I waded out, But was obliged to Stop and Strike up a fire, to dry me, at 2 . . O . . Clock we arrived at the great Carrying place, Where we found the three Rifle Companies, and Colo: Green's Division we Carryed one Turn a Cross the Carrying place which is four miles, to a Pond.

11 Lieut! Hutchins and Ten of my men were order'd to assist Cap: McCob in Building a Block-House, here today, Our last Division has now arrived, Commanded by Colo . . Enos—We Carryed the Chief of our Baggage and Boats To-day.

12 This morning we took the remainder of our Baggage and march'd a Cross the Car'ying place to the Pond. which is one mile wide But we Cannot Cross it today by reason of the winds blowing very hard, here we Catch'd plenty of . . . trout.¹

13 We Cross'd the pond and Came to another Carrying Place half a mile a Cross, where our first division had Built a Block-house and left some Sick men under the Care of Doctor Erving. We Carryed over the Carrying place to a pond, We Cross'd the pond, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles and Came to a Carrying place, one mile and three Quarters, We Carry'd half a mile and encampt.

14 . . . We Carry'd a Cross the Carrying Place, to a Pond three miles over, we Cross'd the pond and Came to a Carrying place, four miles over a Very-high-Hill, and the last mile a Spruce Swamp Knee deep in mire all the way, We Carry'd one mile over this Carrying place and then Encampt, from here I sent three sick-men Back.

¹ The word "fishes" is erased, and "trout," in Captain Dearborn's hand, inserted.

15 We Carry'd a Cross the Carrying place to a Small Stream within half a mile of the dead River, we went down this Stream into the River, and proceeded one Mile up said River and then encamp't, the water here very deep and Still, the Land where we Encamp't was very good.

16 At 12 . . Clock we proceeded up the River ten miles to a Small Carrying place 7 Rods a Cross and then encamp't.

17 We proceeded up the River 10 miles and Came to an Indian Wig-Wam, Said to belong to an old Indian Called Nattannas it Stands on a Point of Land Beautifully situated, there is a Number of acres¹ of Clear'd Land a Bout it, . . . the river is very Still, and good Land on each side of it a Considerable part of the way, To day we proceeded up the River 5 miles farther, and found Colo: Arnold, and Colo: Green with their Divisions, making up Cartri^dges, here we Encamp't.

18 . . The weather is very rainy To day. My men had their Powder-Horns filled with Powder . . . Joseph Thomas is appointed my Ensign, By Colo: Arnold this day, I had a $\frac{1}{2}$ Quarter of Beef Served to my Company today.

19 . . The weather Rainy, at 2 . . O . . Clock A : M : We Set off: from this place proceeded up the River five miles, pass'd several Small falls and then Encamp't.

20 Proceeded up the River, pass'd by Several small falls. one Carrying place, thirteen rods, the Weather rainy all day we Suppose this days March to be 13 Miles.

21 We proceeded up the River 3 Miles to a Carrying place 35 Rods Carry'd a Cross and Continued our Rout up the River two miles to a Porlag 30 Rods a Cross and Encamp't. — it Rained very fast all Night, the River rose fast.

22 . . The River has Risen eight or Nine feet, Which renders it very bad getting up, We pass'd three Carrying places To-day 74 Rods Each, our whole March To-day is not more than four miles, the River Rising so much, fills the Low ground so full of Water, that our Men on Shore have found it very difficult and Tedious Marching.

23 We Continued our March, tho. very slow by reason of the Rapidity of the Stream, a very unlucky accident happen'd to us today, the most of our men by land² miss'd their way and marched up a Small river, Which Comes into the Dead River, a few Miles a Bove where we encamp't last night, We fancied they took a Wrong Course, I Sent my Batteau up that four miles (where they that went in it) found the foot people had Cross'd the River on a Tree, and had Struck a Cross for the dead River, my Batteau Came Back, and we proceeded up the River to a

¹ The word " farms " is erased, and " acres," in the hand of Captain Dearborn, inserted.

² The words " by land " are interlined in a different hand, — probably Captain Dearborn's.

Carrying place, where we found our foot-men at the foot of these Falls, Several Batteaus overset, which were entirely lost, a Considerable quantity of Cloathing, Guns, and Provisions, our march to-day we Judge, to be, about 8 miles — here we held a Counsel, in Consequence of which we Sent Cap^t Hanchet and 50 Men forward to Shadear as an advanced party, and Sent Back 26 . . Sick-men under the Command, or Care of an officer and Doctor.

24 At 10 . . O, Clock, we proceeded up the River, tho with a great deal of difficulty, the River being very rapid, This days march don't exceed four miles.

25 Continued our Rout up the River, the Stream very rapid, We pass'd three Carrying places, Two of them four Rods and the other 90, our march to-day 6 miles and then Encampt, . . . This Night I was Seized with a Violent Head-Ach and fever, Charles gather'd me some herbs in the woods, and made me Tea of them, I drank very Hearty of it and next morning felt much Better.

26 Continued our Rout and Came to a Pond 2 miles a Cross and then Came to a narrow gut ¹ 2 Rod wide, and four rod Long, and then to another Pond one mile over, then to a narrow Streight, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles Long, Then a third Pond 3 Miles over, Then pass'd another Streight half a mile Long, and then enter'd a fourth Pond a Bout a quarter of a Mile Wide, then entered a Narrow gut 4 Miles in Length, and then Came to a Carrying place 15 Rods a Cross, Here we Encampt.

27 . . . Cross'd the Carrying Place to a pond half a mile over, Came to a Carrying Place, one Mile, also to a Pond $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile Wide, then to a Carrying place 44 Rod, to a Pond 2 Miles Wide and Cross'd it. — and Came to the ² Carrying place into Chaudear pond ³ $4\frac{1}{2}$ Miles a Cross, we received orders here to Leave our Batteaus, and all march by Land, We here Divided our Provisions and gave every man his part, we march'd a Bout half a mile, and then encampt. Here I found a fine Birch Canoe Carefully Laid up, I Suppose by the Indian's.

HERE a Very unhappy Circumstance happen'd to us, in our March, Which proved very fatal and Mortifying to us all, Viz^t—

When we were at the great Carrying place (just mention'd) from the Dead River to Shodeer Pond we had the unhappy News of Colo, Enos, and the three Company's in his Division, being so Imprudent as to return back Two or three days before which disheartned and discouraged our men very much, as they Carri'd Back more than their part, or quota of Provision, and Ammunition, and our Detachment, before being but Small, and now loosing these three Companies, We were Small, indeed, to think of entering such a place as QUEBEC, But being now almost out

¹ This word is in a different hand from that of the copyist.

² "A" is erased and "the" inserted by Captain Dearborn.

³ "Into Chaudear pond" is interlined, apparently by Captain Dearborn.

of Provisions we were Sure to die if we attempted to Return Back. — and We Could be in no Worse Situation if we proceeded on our rout — Our men made a General Prayer, that Colo: Enos and all his men, might die by the way, or meet with some disaster, Equal to the Cowardly dastardly and unfriendly Spirit they discover'd in returning Back without orders, in such a manner as they had done, And then we proceeded forward.

28 Very early in the morning my Company marched one Mr Ayres, the Cap^t of our Pioneers a Gree'd to go with me in the Canoe, We took it on our Backs, and Car'y'd it a Cross the Carrying place, to a Small Stream, which led into Shodeer Pond, we put our Canoe in, Went down the Stream, my men marched down by Land — When we Came to the Pond, I found Cap^t Goodrich's Company, who Could not proceed by reason of finding a River which leads into the Pond, which they Could find no way to Cross, my Company Came up and had thoughts of Building a raft — I told them I would go with my Canoe, and See if I could not find some place to Cross the River, going into the Pond and round an Island, where Cap^t Goodrich was with Some of his Men who had Waded on, He informed me that he had made a thorough Search, and that there was no way to pass the River without Boats, the Land round here was all a Sunken Swamp for a Great distance, Cap^t Goodrich, informed me also, that one of his Sergeants and another man, who were not well, had gone forward with a Batteau, and he did not doubt but I could find it not far off it now Began to be Dark, We discover'd a Light on Shore which Seem'd to be 3 Miles from us, Cap^t Goodrich was almost perished with the Cold, having Waded Several Miles Backwards, and forwards, Sometimes to his Arm-pits in Water & Ice, endeavouring to find some place to Cross this River, I took him into my Canoe, and Carryed him over, and When we arrived where we Discover'd the Light, we found a good Bark-House with one man in it who was Left by our advanced Party for want of Provision to join his Company, We warmed ourselves but not finding Cap^t Goodrich's Batteau here, we Sent my Canoe farther on to find it, if Possible, after being gone an Hour and a half, they return'd but had not found the Batteau, Cap^t Goodrich and I were very uneasy all Night a Bout our men.

29 As Soon as it was Light we went to our Men and Began to Carry them over in my Canoe, But Lucky for us Cap^t Smith's Batteau arrived which we hired to Carry our Men over, But after we had got them over this river, we had not marched above 50 Rod before we Came to Another River, Geting a Cross these Two rivers took up the Chief of the day, Before Sun Set we all arrived at the Bark-House Safe, where I slept last Night, But the men were very much fatigued here we encamp't.

30 We Marched very early in the Morning, our Provisions [torn] to be very Scant, Some Companies had but one pint of Flour for Each

Man and no Meat at all, M^r Ayres and I went down the Pond, in our Canoe, this Pond is 13 Miles Long, at the Lower end of the Pond, I met my Company where we found the Mouth of Shodeer River, Which Looked very wild, Here I Choose to walk by Land, and accordingly did a Bout Eight Miles, I was at this time very unwell, we encamp'd near a fall, where all the Boats that had attempted to Come down had overset except Colo, Arnolds, and mine, The Number of Boats that was overset here was Ten, one man was Drown'd, and a great Quantity of Baggage and Guns were lost.

31 We Started very early this morning, I am Still more unwell, than I was yesterday, We Carry'd our Canoe over a Carrying place of a Bout Half a mile, and put it into the River, the Same is very Rapid, Shole and Rocky, We pass'd another Carrying place to-day, we went down about 28 miles, then went on shore and Enca'p'd, I saw Some of the men on foot to-night who I find are almost famished for want of Provisions.

Nov. . . 1 This morning we new Pitched our Canoe she being Somewhat Leaky, we have run several times on the Rocks going down falls, where I expected to have Stove her to pieces, we put her in and proceeded down the river, which Remains very rapid, and a Bounding in falls, we got down a Bout 30 Miles, by which time our Canoe got to be worn out, we went on shore and Encamp'd, Here I saw Some of the foot-men who were almost Starved, This day Cap^t Goodrich's Company Kill'd my Dog, and another dog, and Eat them, I remain very unwell.

2 M^r Ayres my Shipmate, Said he would Try to go down a Little further, in the Canoe and Carry our Baggage, I conclud^d to march by Land, I set out and marched about four miles and met some Frenchmen with 5 oxen & Two Horses going to meet our People, although, I wanted no Provision myself, yet knowing, how the Poor men were suffering for want &¹ seeing we were like, to Come to some Inhabitants, it Caus^d the Tears to Start from my Eyes, before I was apprized, I proceeded about four miles farther, and Came to a Large fall, where we found a good Canoe, Here was a Carrying place one Mile long, We Carryed a Cross the Carrying place, and put in. below the falls, where we found Two Indians with Some Provisions for our men, they left their Provision with some of our men, and went down with us, I got into their Canoe, and one of them into our's, the river being very rapid, & Shoal, we found it very difficult to pass. — we run down about eight miles, and to our Great Joy Espy'd a House, where we arrived at 4 . . O . . Clock P . . M : at 5 . . . O . . . Clock Lieu^t Hutchins, Ensign. Thomas and 50 of my men arriv'd, with Cap^t Smith's Company which were the

¹ " & " is inserted by Captain Dearborn.

first Company that arrived, Here, Colo— 3¹ Arnold had Provided provisions for us against we arriv^d. We Stay'd here one night, this morning our men proceed'd down the River, tho, in poor Circumstances, for Travelling, a Great Number of them being Barefoot, and the Weather Cold and Snowy, many of our men died within the last three days,² from here to QUEBEC, is Seventy miles, I hir'd an Indian to Carry me down the River 6 miles to where Colo: Arnold was, where I found 22 Indians who Engaged with Colo: Arnold for 40 / A month, here I Stay'd all night, By Colo: Arnolds advice being Snowy, I took a Puke this night which did not operate much.

4 The Weather Snowy I Stay'd here to-day, Major Biggellow, Doctor Senter, and some others stay'd here Likewise all night.

5 The Weather is very Clear and pleasant for this season of the year, Major Biggaloe, and I hir'd each of us a Horse to go down the River 6 miles, and Came to a Tavern, where we had Provisions Served out for the Men, the Country here is Tolerable good Land, and Considerably Settled on Both sides of the River, the People are very Ignorant, but³ seem to be very kind to us, at evening Charles Hilton, and Charles Burget, a French Lad, Inlisted, at Fort Western, who was a native of Canady, Came back for me with Two Horses, we Stay'd here all night.

6 I hir'd an Indian to Carry me down the River, 9 Miles, to one Sonsosees, a French-mans, one of Charles Burgets relations, where I hir'd Lodgings and took my Bed Immediately, I was this time in a High fever. I kept the Two Charles⁴ to take Care of me — I will now with my Pen follow our Main Body, they have now proceeded as far as St Mary's the middle Parish of what is Commonly Call'd Sattagan, here is a very good Church, and a pleasant Country — our people are Supply'd with provisions at Several places By the way, but being in Great Hurry, and having but Little time to provide, necessaries, our men were but Very poorly supply'd in General, the Inhabitants appears to be very kind, but ask a very Great price for their Victuals.

7 Our Troops⁴ Proceeded as fast as possible, they⁵ followed the river Shodear down from the first Inhabitants about 36 miles, and then Turn'd to the Eastward, and left the river, had to pass thro, a wood 15 Miles where there is no Inhabitants, and at this time of the year it is Terrible Travelling, by reason of its being Low Swampy land, our people Carry'd Twenty Birch Canoes a Cross these woods, in order to Cross the River St Laurence in. — as we Suppos'd the Boats near

¹ The date "3" stands in the margin before the word "Arnold."

² The last ten words are interlined by Captain Dearborn.

³ "But" is interlined by Captain Dearborn.

⁴ "Troops" is interlined by Captain Dearborn.

⁵ "We" is erased and "they" inserted by Captain Dearborn.

Quebec, would be in the Hands of our Enemies after we had got thro, these Woods, we arrived at St Henry's, a Considerable Parish with a Church, we pass'd several other Small parishes, before we arrived at Point, Levi, where the main Body of our Detachment, arrived the 9th Day of November, But so fatigued, that they were very unfit for action, a Considerable number of our men are left on the road Sick or worn out with fatigue & hunger.¹

On our arrival we found Two Men of war Lying in the river Between Point-Levi, and Quebec, and Guard Boats passing all night, up and Down the River.

{ 10 } Our men lay at Point Levi, nothing extraordinary happen'd
 { 11 } except that a Deserter from Quebec Came to us who Inform'd
 { 12 } us that Colo: M^r Lane had arrived from Sorrell, with his Regi-
 { 13 } ment, and our men made A prisoner of a young Man, by
 the Name of M^r Kensey, Midshipman of the Hunter Sloop War —
 On the evening of the 13th Our men Embarked on Board 35 Canoes,
 and by four of the Clock, in the morning we had Landed all our men
 that were fit for duty which was about 500 . . at Woolfs Cove, entirely
 undiscover'd, altho, we pass'd Between Two Men of War, who had
 Guard Boats Cruising all Night, after Parading our men, and sending
 a Reconitring party towards the City, and placing Some Small Guards,
 we marched a Cross the plains of Abraham, and took possession of a
 Large-House formerly own'd by General Murray, Now by Mg^r Codl-
 well, and some Houses adjacent which made fine quarters.²

14 After reconitring, proper Guards being placed to Cut off all
 Communication from Between the Town and Country, at 12 . . . O . .
 Clock the Enemy surprized one of our Centinels, and made him Pris-
 oner, soon after our Main Body, Turn'd out and march'd within Half
 a mile of the Walls on the Height of Abraham, Immediately after
 being full in the'r view, we gave them Three Huzza's, but they
 did not Chuse to Come out to meet us, this afternoon, the Enemy set
 fire to Several Houses in the Suburbs, at Sun set Colo: Arnold sent
 a Flag to Town Demanding the Possession of the Garrison in the
 Name, and in behalf of the united American Colonies, But the Flag
 being fired upon was obliged to Return, We lay Constantly upon our
 Arms to prevent a Surprize, We are by a Gentleman from Quebec in-
 form'd, that we may expect an attack very soon from the Garrison.

15 Colo: Arnold sent a flag to Demand the Town again this morn-
 ing, thinking the Flag's being fir'd upon Yesterday was done thro.
 mistake, but was Treated in the Same manner, as yesterday, This
 morning an express was sent off to General Montgomery, at 12 . . .
 O Clock we were alarmed by a report that the Troops in the — Gar-

¹ The last eight words are added by Captain Dearborn.

² The words "for our men" are erased by a different pen.

rison Were Coming out to attack us, we Turn'd out to meet them, but it Proved to be a false report.

16 This Morning it is reported that Montreal surrendered to Genl Montgomery last Sabbath, and that he had taken a Number of the enemys Ships, One of our Rifle Serg^t was kill'd to day by a Cannon shot from the Town, we sent a Company of men To,day to take possession of the General Hospital, which is a very large Pile of Building a Bout three Quarters of a mile from the Walls of Quebec, in this Building is a Nunnery of the first order in Canada, where at present there are a Bout Thirty fine nuns — The Canadians are Constantly Coming to us, and are expressing the Greatest satisfaction at our Coming into the Country.

17 A Soldier Came to us from Quebec, But brings no Extraordinary Intelligence, a Party of our men are gone over the River, to Bring over some of our men, who were not Come over before, also to bring some provisions, — The Weather is very pleasant for this Country, and the Season.

18 Nothing Extraordinary To,day, the evening orders that are given is to Parade To-morrow Morning at 3 — of the Clock.

19.. Very early this morning we Decamp'd. and March'd up to Point Aux-Tremble, a Bout Seven Leagues from Quebec, the Country thro, which we marched is thick settled and pleasant, there are a Number of Handsome Chapels by the way, we find the people very kind to us.

20... An Express arrived this morning from Genl Montgomery, The Contents of which is that he's in full possession of Montreal, also of the shipping that are there, and that he intends to join us very Soon... We have sent an Express to Montreal To-day.

21 The Curate of the Parish Dines at Head-quarters To-day.

22 An Express arrived this day from Montreal, which informs that Genl Montgomery's Army had taken 13 Vessels with a Large Quantity of Cloathing and provisions and that the General was a Bout Marching for Quebec.

23... This Morning an express arrived from Montreal which Inform, that Genl Montgomery is on his March for this place, And that he has sent Cloathing forw^d for our Men.

24 This Morning the Hunter Sloop of War, and three other Arm'd vessels appear'd in sight; — An express is sent from us to meet the Troops from Montreal.

25 The Hunter Sloop, a Large Snow, and an Arm'd Schooner Came to an Anchor Opposite our Quarters this Morning. Some of our men were sent up the River in a boat to meet the Troops which were Coming down from Montreal.

26 A Number of Gentlemen Came in this morning from Quebec.

27 We are inform'd that the House belonging formerly to Maj^r Coldwell, in which our Troops were Quarter'd before Quebec, is Burnt' down.

28 Colo: Arnold is gone up to Jackerty, about 12 Miles above Point Aux-Tremble, to hasten down the Ammunition.

29 . . Cap^t Morgan who had been sent down Near Quebec, sent up Two Prisoners which he took in the Suburbs.

30 Cap^t Duggan, has arrived from Montreal with Provisions and Ammunition.

Dec^r 1 Gen^l Montgomery, arriv'd this day at 10..O Clock with Three Arm'd Schooners, with men, Artillery, Ammunition, Provision & Cloathing, to the Great Joy of our Men, Towards evening our Detachment turn'd out & march'd to the Gen^ls Quarters, where we were Rec^d by the General, who Complimented us on the Goodness of our appearance.

2 This morning our field Artillery was sent down by Land and our Large Cannon by Water Near Quebec. — the Boats when they had Landed the Cannon were to go to Point Levi for the Ladders.

3 Our men are drawing Cloathing this day, the General has made a present of a Suit of Cloaths to all our Detachment which they were in great need of.

4 At 12-O Clock we marched for St^t Foy's before Quebec, We March'd as far as Augustine, where we Tarry'd all Night.

5 In the Morning we proceeded on our March and about noon arrived at St^t Foy's — my Company were order'd into the General Hospital for quarters.

6 Nothing extraordinary or remarkable to-day, the weather is attended with Snow Squalls.

7 We are inform'd that a Company of our took a sloop with Provisions and Some quantity of Cash, not far from the Island of Orlean's.

8 We receiv'd Some shot from the enemy to-day but no person Injur'd thereby.

9 Now I will give Some account of Matters respecting myself I Still remain sick at Sattagan at the House which I heretofore mention'd taking up Lodging at, from the 6th Day of November to the 28th before I went out of the House, the first Ten days I had a Violent Fever, and was Delirious the Chief of the time, I had nothing to assist¹ Nature with, but a Tea of Piggen plumb Roots, and Spruce, as there are no Doctors in these parts nor any Garden Herbs, my fever abated in some Degree, but did not leave me, I had a violent Cough, and lost my flesh to that Degree, that I was almost Reduced to a perfect Skeleton, and so very Weak that when I first began to set up for Several days, I could not go from the bed to the fire with a Staff without being

¹ "Assist," in the hand of Captain Dearborn, takes the place of a word erased.

held up, I heard that our people had got Possession of Quebec, and as I could not perceive that I gain'd any Strength, and my fever remain'd upon me very high, at this time I concluded to send Charles Burget, my french Lad to Quebec, to see if he could procure me something from an Apothecary to help my Cough and to assist¹ nature, in Carrying off my fever, he went and in four days return'd, but to my great mortification Brought nothing for me but bad News, which was, that our people had not got Possession of Quebec, but had March'd from Quebec up the River, towards Montreal, hearing this, Struck a damp upon my Spirits which reduced them something Low, But through the kind hand of Providence, I amend'd tho, very Slowly, the first day of December I rode out in a Carry'al with my Landlard, and found myself much The better for it, tho, I was so weak now that I Could not walk from the Carriall into the House without help, I now began to be very uneasy and wanted to be with the Army and the Seventh day I set out in a Carriall to Quebec, and the 9th day I Cross'd the River S^t Lawrence, I join'd my Company who Seem'd very Glad to see me, they told me that they had been inform'd by one of our men that Came not many days since from Sattagan that I was Dead, and that he saw Charles Hilton, and Charles Burget making a Coffin for me.

I will now return to Matters respecting our Army, We had a body of men that began to build a battery Last night on the height of Abraham about half a mile from S^t Johns Gate, and we had five small mortars order'd into S^t Roach's near the Walls of Quebec, to Heave Shells into the City To-Night the Artillery are to be Cover'd with 100 Men, they Threw about 30 Shells this Night.

10 The enemy began a heavy Cannonade upon our Camp this morning and Continued it all day, our people hove shells this Night from S^t Rock's, & a party was to work on the Battery — The enemy return'd a few Shells to us last Night & Some Cannon Balls, but no person received any hurt except an old Canadian Woman who was shot thro: the Body with a 24th Shot.

11 This morning one of our men lost his way in the Storm and had got under the Walls and was fir'd upon by the Centinel before he knew where he was, and had received a Shott through the thigh, but got away and is in a fair way to recover. The enemy has kept up a faint Cannonading all this day, this night our Train of Artillery Threw 45 Shells into the Town, and had a party to work on the Battery, the Enemy hove a few shot and Some shells at our people who were to work on the Battery, but did no damage, the Weather now is Exceeding Cold.

12 The Platforms are almost ready for the Guns at the Battery, the Weather Still remains very Cold.

¹ "Assist," in the hand of Captain Dearborn, takes the place of a word erased.

13 ... 14 We have open our Battery, have several men kill'd & wound'd. This morning before sun rise, our Battery, Began to Play upon the Town, we had 5 .. 12 Pounders and a Howeteer Mounted, all very well attended, there was a very heavy fire from the Town upon our Battery.—after our Battery had play'd one hour they Ceas'd and General Montgomery sent a flag to the Town but it was refus'd admittance, But after some discourse with some officers upon the Rampart return'd, at 2 .. O Clock P: M: our Battery began to play, again and our Mortars at the same time were at work in St Rock's, we hove 50. Shells into the Town to-day, there was a very heavy Cannonading kept up from the Town, we had Two men kill'd To-day at our Battery, and one of our Guns damaged and our Howeteers dismounted, it is now in agitation to Storm the Town, which if resolved upon I hope will be undertaken, with a proper sense of the nature and Importance of such an attack and vigorously Executed.

16 In the evening began to Cannonade, Colo: Arnold's quarters were Struck by Several Cannon shot, upon which he thought it best to remove to other quarters, one of our men was Shot through the body with a grape shot—to-day his life is despair'd of, a Counsel was held this evening by all the Commission'd officers belonging to Colo: Arnolds detachment.—A majority of which was for Storming the Garrison of Quebec as soon as the men are well equip'd with good arms, Spears, hatchets, Hand, grenades &c.

17 Nothing extraordinary or remarkable, to-day the weather is very Cold and Snowy.

18 Nothing extraordinary to-day the weather Still remains very Cold, my Company are order'd out of the Hospital, the room is wanted for a Hospital for the use of the sick, we took our quarters on the opposite side of the River St Charles, at one Mr Henry's, a presbyterian minister which place is about one mile from the Hospital.

19 I began to recover my Strength again & have a fine appetite.

20 The weather Continues Still Cold, preparation is making for the intended Storm, several of our men have the small Pox.

21 We are order'd every man of us to wear a hemblock sprig in his Hat, to distinguish us from the enemy in the attack upon Quebec.

22 Matters seem ripening fast for a storm, may the blessing of Heaven attend the enterprize.

23 This evening all the officers of our detachment met at and are visited by the Genl at Colo: Arnolds Quarters.

24 This evening the Revl Mr Spring preach'd a sermon in the Chapel in the Genl Hospital, which is exceeding elegant inside, is Richly decorated with Carved and guilt work.

25 Colo: Arnolds detachment is Paraded at 4 Clock P: M: Genl Montgomery attended and address'd us on the Subject of making the

attack upon the Walls of Quebec, in a very sensible Spirit'd manner which greatly animated¹ our men.

26 Nothing Material happen'd to day the weather is Still cold.

27 This morning the Troops assembled by order of the General, with a design to attack the Town of Quebec, and were about to march, when there Came an order from the Gen^l to return to our quarters by reason of the weather's clearing up which render'd it improper for the attack.

28 The following Came out in Gen^l orders this day — Viz^t

The Gen^l had the most Sensible pleasure in seeing the good disposition with which the Troops last night moved to the attack, it was with the greatest reluctance he found himself Call'd upon by his duty to repress their ardor, but should hold himself answerable for the loss of those brave men whose lives might be Saved by waiting for a favourable opportunity.

29 . . . Nothing remarkable or extraordinary to-day.

30 I have the Main-guard in S^t Rock's, I came on last evening our Artillery hove 30 Shells last night into Quebeck, which were answer'd by a few shells and Some Grape shott, early this morning the Garrison began a very heavy Cannonade upon all parts of our Camp within their Reach, Particularly on those quarter'd in S^t Rock's, and upon the Guard-House which is within musquet² Shott of the Walls, but partly under the Cover of a hill — about sun'set this afternoon, the the Garrison brought a gun to bear upon the Guard-house much more exact, and better level'd, than any that they shott heretofore, and within the Space of 15 minutes they knocked down the three Chimneys of the Guard-house over our heads, but could not get a shot into the lower Rooms where the Guard kept, at 10 . . O Clock this evening I went home to my quarters.

31 This morning at 4 . . O Clock I was inform'd by one of my men that there was orders from the Gen^l for making the attack upon Quebec this morning, I was surprized that I had not been inform'd or notified Sooner, But afterwards found it was owing to the neglect of the Serg^t Major, who excus'd himself by saying he could not get across the River, by reason of the Tides being so exceeding High, however I gave orders to my men to prepare themselves immediately to march, but my Company being quarter'd in three different Houses, and the farthest a mile from my Quarters, and the weather very Stormy and the Snow deep, it was near an hour before I could get them all Paraded & Ready to March, at which time I found the attack was began by the Gen^l party, near Cape Diamond, I had now two miles to march, before we Came to the place where the attack was made, The moment I march'd

¹ Two words are erased.

² "Musquet" is interlined in a different hand.

I met the Serg^t Major who inform'd me that Colo: Arnold, had march'd, and that he cou'd not Convey intelligence to me Sooner, as there was no possibility of Crossing the River, we now march'd or rather ran as fast as we could, when I arrived at S^t Rock's I met Colo: Arnold Wounded Borne, and brought away by Two men, he Spoke to me and desir'd me to push on forward, and said our people had possession of a 4 Gun Battery. — and that we should Carry the Town, our Artillery were Incessantly heaving Shells, with 5 Mortars from S^t Rock's, and the Garrison were heaving shells and Balls of all Sorts from every part of the Town, my men Seem'd to be in high Spirits, we push'd forward as fast as possible, we met the wounded men very thick.

We Soon found ourselves under a very brisk¹ fire from the walls & Picketts, but it being very dark & Stormy, and the way we had to pass very Intricate & I an utter Stranger, to the way. we got bewilder'd, an altho, I met Several men, and Some officers who said they knew where our people were, yet none of them would pilot us untill I met one of Colo: Arnolds Waiters who was endeavouring to forward some ladders who said he would shew me the way, and altho, he was well acquainted with the way, he having lived some years in Quebec, he miss'd it and Carry'd us quite wrong, but when he found his mistake he declared he did not know, where we were, and he immediately left us, we were all this time harrass'd with a brisk fire from the Picketts, which we were Sometimes within a stones throw of, I now thought it best to retreat a little and then make a new attempt to find the way, I accordingly order'd Lieu^t Hutchins who was in the Rear to retreat, to a Certain place a few rods back, he Accordingly retreated, and in retreating he had to pass very near the Picket, under a very brisk fire, it now began to grow a little light, the Garrison had discover'd us and Sent out Two hundred men, who took possession of Some houses which we had to pass before we could discover them, and as Lieu^t Hutchins retreated they Sallied down in a lane from the Wall, I divided my Company about the middle, I² now again attempt'd to find the way to the main body, It being now so light that I thought I could find the way, I order'd that part of my men that were with me, to follow me, we pushed on as fast as possible, but the enemy took some of my rear, and kept a brisk fire upon us from the Houses, which we had pass'd, when I Came to a place where I could Cover my men a little, while I could discover where our main body was, I heard a shout in Town, which made me think that our people had got possession of the Same, the men were so thick within the Picketts, I was at a Stand to know whether They were our men, or the enemy, as they were dress'd like us, I was Just about to Hail them, when one of them hail'd me, he asked who I was (I was

¹ "Brisk" is interlined in a different hand.

² "And" is erased, and "I" inserted.

now within Six rods of the Picketts) I answer'd a friend, he asked me who I was a friend to, I answer'd to liberty, he then reply'd God-damn you, and then rais'd himself partly above the Pickets, I Clapt up my Piece which was Charged with a ball and Ten Buck shott Certainly to give him his due, But to my great mortification my Gun did not go off, I new prim'd her, and flushed and Try'd her again, but neither I, nor one in Ten of my men could get off our Guns they being so exceeding wet, They fired very briskly upon us from the Picketts, here we found a great number of wounded men, and some dead, which did belong to our main body ; I order'd my men to go into a lower room of an house, and new Prime their Guns, and prick dry Powder into the Touch-holes, we Now found ourselves Surrounded by Six to one, I now finding no possibility of getting away, my Company were divided, and our arms being in such bad order, I thought it best to Surrender after being promis'd good quarters and Tender usage, I told my men, to make their escape, as many as possibly could, and in the Confusion a considerable Number did effect the Same, Some of them after they had given up their arms, we were now marched to Palace Gate, on my way there to my Surprize, I found Lieu^t Hutchins, Ensign Thomas, & about 15 or 20 of my¹ men under Guard, who were march'd to Palace-gate with me, we were Carried to a Large Convent and put under the Care of a strong Guard, on my way to this House I was inform'd that our people had² got possession of the Lower Town.

It appears at this time, according to the following Arrangement, that my Comp'y which may be seen hereafter, in the³ attack upon the Town was intended to be the second to the front.³

THE GEN^l gave orders last evening for the Troops to assemble at Two O: Clock this morning in order to Make the attack, at 5 . . O . . Clock in the following manner viz^t

The Gen^l with the first . . 2 . . & 3 . . Battalians of New-york Troops was to attack the Southerly part of the Lower Town, at a place Call'd the Pot-ash.

Colo : Arnold with his detachment and part of Cap^t Lambs Company of Artillery, with one Field-piece, was to march through St^t Rock's down between the river Saint Charles, and the Picket of the Garrison to the North part of the Lower Town Call'd the South-ax-Matillo, and there attack a 4 Gun Barrier in the following order, a Subaltern with 24 Men was to be an advanced party, Cap^t Lambs Artillery next with a six pounder mounted on a Sled, then the main-body, Cap^t Morgan first, my Company next, Then Cap^t Smith's, then Captain Hanchet's, then Cap^t Hubbard's, Then Cap^t⁴ Topham's, then Cap^t Thayer, then Cap^t

¹ "Of my" is interlined.

² "Had" is interlined.

³ "In the" and "to be the second to the front" are interlined. Several lines are erased.

⁴ The name "Thompson" is erased.

Ward's, then Cap^t Goodrich's, & then Cap^t Hendrick's, Colo: Arnold in the Front Colo: Green and Maj^r Biggellow in the Centre, and Maj^r Meigs in the Rear.

Colo: Livingston, & Maj^r Brown with some of Maj^r Browns men & some Canadians were to make a feint upon the upper Town & at the Same time, were to Set fire to St John's Gate with a Certain quantity of Combustibles prepar'd for that — purpose — The Gen^l with his Party began the attack, the Gen^l with his Aid-de-camp, and Cap^t Shearman & the Carpenters, who served as Pioneers advanced in the front, The Carpenters Cut the Picketts, the Gen^l with his own hands pull'd them down & enter'd. — after the Gen^l had enter'd, he Call'd to his men to Come on, they did not advance as quick as he thought they might, he Spoke to them again in the following moving Terms, saying come on my good soldiers, your Gen^l Calls upon you to Come on, The Gen^l was now very near a Battery of Several Cannon Loaded with grape shott, some of which were unfortunately discharged, and which Cut down our Brave Gen^l, his Aid-decamp, Cap^t McFerson, Cap^t Shearman, & three or four Privates.

The Guards immediately after firing the first Cannon quited their post and Ran, which gave our Troops a fair opportunity to enter, But instead of entering Colonel Campbell, who now took Command, order'd a retreat, which was a very unlucky retreat for us, — A few minutes after the Gen^l made the attack on his part, Col: Arnold made an attack with his party, but instead of making the attack in the manner proposed, which was, when the advanced party had got within musket shot of the Barrier, they were to Halt and then open to the right and left, and the Artillery to fire three shott, upon the Barrier and then the advanced party were to fire into the Port Holes, Cap^t Morgan's Company to pass round a wharf on which the Barrier was Built, and Come in upon the back of the Guard, while we Scall'd the Barrier with Ladders, but the Snow being so deep and the way so difficult to pass — The Artillery were obliged to leave the Field piece behind, & Colo: Arnold, with the advanced party rushed up to the Barrier and kept such a hot fire in at the Port-holes, that the enemy Could fire but one of their Cannon, before Cap^t Morgan and some of his Company, and some others Scaled the Barrier, and took the Guards Prisoners Consisting of a Cap^t & 30 men, Colo: Arnold was wounded in the Legg in the first of the attack and was Carried Back, our men enter'd the Barrier as fast as possible. — But the Main body had not come up yet by reason of missing their way, and were obliged to Counter-march twice before they could get right, there was now a second Barrier to force, where there two Cannon placed, Charged with Grape'shott, our men who had enter'd the first Barrier, were now waiting for the main-body to come up, but before the main-body had got into the first Barrier, the enemy found that

the Gen^l Party had retreated, and the whole Garrison had Turn'd their attention upon our party, and had taken possession of the Houses almost all round us, and had mann'd the Barrier so strong that when our people made an attempt to force it, we were repulsed, and obliged to shelter ourselves in the Houses, as well as we could, I say, we altho, I was not at this place, but in order to distinguish our Troops from the Enemy, our people being Surround'd By Treble their Number, and was under a very hot fire, it was now Motion'd by some, whether or no, it would not be most advisable to retreat, others immediately repli'd who knows but ¹ our Gen^l with his party, is in some part of the Town, and if we go, and leave him behind, he and his party will most certainly be Cut off, It was then concluded upon to send somebody off in order to learn what was become of our Gen^l and his party, and agreed to make a stand while night, Immediately after entering the Barrier, Cap^t Hendrick, Lieu^t Humphrey's, and Lieu^t Cooper, together with a number of Privates was kill'd Just as this resolution took place, the same party that took me followed after our main-body, and Came upon their Rear, but our people finding the impracticability of a retreat, and hearing nothing from our Gen^l's party, & having lost about one hundred men out of less than five hundred, it was ² thought it most prudent to surrender, upon the encouragement of being promis'd good quarters and Tender usage, It was by this time 10 : O Clock A : M : . . . The officers were Carried to the main Guard house and the Soldiers to the House where I was Carried first, I with my other officers, were Carry'd to the main, guard-House to the other offic'ers, where we had a good Dinner, and a plenty of several sorts of wine, in the afternoon we were Carry'd to a Large Seminary, and put into a large room in the fourth Story from the ground.

A List of the officers that were killed.

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Brigad ^l Gen ^l Montgomery | |
| M ^r John M ^r pherson Aid-decamp to the Gen ^l | |
| Cap ^t Cheasman | of New-york |
| Cap ^t W ^m Hendrick | of Pensilvania |
| Lieu ^t Humphry | of Virginia |
| Lieu ^t Sam ^l Cooper | of Connecticut |

A list of the wounded officers that was in the engag^t

Colo, Benedict Arnold shot thro one of his Leggs
 Cap^t John Lamb of New york shot in the Cheek bone by which }
 the sight of one of his Eyes }
 Cap^t Jonas Hubbard of Worcester shot thro, the ancle of which he died
 Lieu^t Archibald Steel of Pensilvania two of his fingers shot off

¹ "But" is interlined. "Better than" and "who" are erased.

² "It was" is interlined in place of "we," erased.

Lieu^t Jam^s Tindal of the Massachusetts Bay shot thro. his right, shoulder

The Sergeants, Corporals, and privates, kill'd & wounded according to the best accounts I could obtain, Amounted to a bout one Hundred men, the number kill'd on the Spot, about 40

A list of the officers taken, but not wounded

| Names. | Provinces. | Towns. |
|---|-------------------|---|
| Cap ^t Daniel Morgan | Virginia | Frederick County |
| Lieu ^t William Heath | | |
| Lieu ^t Peter Brewin | | |
| M ^r John M ^c Guyer Volunteer | | |
| M ^r Char ^s Porterfield . . do . . | Pensylvania | Lancaster Carlisle Philadelphia Lancaster |
| Lieu ^t Archibold Steel . . . | | |
| Lieu ^t Francis Nichols | | |
| M ^r Mathew Duncan Volunteer | | |
| M ^r John Henry Volunteer | New-york | Middletown Suffield Hamford Middletown New-Haven Weathersfield |
| Lieu ^t Andrew Moody | | |
| Maj ^r Return Jona. Meigs | | |
| Cap ^t Oliver Hanchet.— | | |
| Cap ^t Sam ^l Lockwood | Connecticut | Greenwich Newport Westerly Providence |
| Lieu ^t Abijah Savage | | |
| Cap ^t Aliezer Aswald Vol : | | |
| Quar : Mas ^r Ben : Catlin | | |
| L ^t Colo. Christopher Green | Rhode-Island | Newport Providence Tivertown New-port |
| Cap ^t John Topham | | |
| Cap ^t Sam ^l Ward | | |
| Cap ^t Simeon Thayer | | |
| Lieu ^t James Webb | Rhode Island | Worcester Stockbridge Acton Sacho Hadley |
| Lieu ^t William Humphrys | | |
| Lieu ^t Edw ^d Slocam | | |
| Lieu ^t Silvanus Shaw | | |
| Maj ^r Timothy Bigellow | Massachusetts Bay | Nottingham Dunbarton Hilsborough Deerfield |
| Cap ^t W ^m Goodrich | | |
| Lieu ^t Sam : Brown | | |
| Lieu ^t John Cumston | | |
| Lieu ^t John Clark | Hampshire | |
| Cap ^t Henry Dearborn | | |
| Lieu ^t Nathan ^l Hutchins | | |
| Lieu ^t Ammi Andrews | | |
| Lieu ^t Joseph Thomas | | |

Adjut^t Christian Febeger } The Number of Serg^{ts} Corpor^{ls} & Privates
a Deanish officer } Taken, but not wounded, are about 300

1776 January 1 I begun this year in very disagreeable Circumstances, it being the first day I ever Spent in Confinement except by

sickness, but I hope I shall be enabled to bare it with a becoming fortitude. Considering it to be the fortune of War.

2 Gen^l Montgomery's body was taken up to day, and brought into Town.

3 Gen^l Carlton gave Major Meigs Leave to go out after our Baggage to-day.

As the Small pox is prevalent in this Town, it is thought best for as many of us, as had not had the Small Pox to be Innoculated immediately . . . Accordingly sixteen of us Concluded to apply to some Physician to inoculate us, Doct^r Bullen was recommended to us as being skilful in Innoculation, whom we apply'd to, to day, & he engag^d to Innoculate us, and gave us some preparatory Medicines to day.

4 . . . We were this day Innoculated, . . . Gen^l Montgomery's body Was Interr^d to-day, in a very decent manner by order of Gen^l Carlton.

5 We that have been inoculated, are removed to-day into another Room, & have the liberty of walking into another room adjoining to that we Lodge in.

6 . . . Maj. Meigs return'd to-day, with some part of our Baggage but a Considerable part of it is not Brought in . . . four of our men are tolerated to wait upon us.

7 . . . We purchas'd some poor mutton to make Soop of at one Pistereen P pound.

8 We had a very good Collection of Books sent us by several friends in Town, in the perusal of which, we pass many of of our dull hours.

9 To-day I wrote a letter to send to my wife, but find no opportunity of sending it.

10 This day M^r Levius, who was formerly a Judge of our Court, came to see me, and offer'd to supply me with any thing I stood in need of, that was in his power, he furnish'd me with some Cash, and Two shirts, and said he would have me let him know, if I should hereafter be in want of any thing, as he would be ready to oblige me therewith if within the Sphere of his Influence.

11 . . . 12 . . . 13 Nothing extraordinary. — The Field officer of each day, Generally visits us, the Guard that is set over us, is a subaltern and Twelve men — Our mens Baggage is sent for to-day.

also I begin to feel the symptoms of the small Pox.

Lieu^t Savage, who was one that was Innoculated with me, for the Small pox, has it the natural way, he having taken it before he Came into Quebec, & is very bad.

14 I begin to break out with the Small Pox.

15 . . . 16 . . . 17 . . . 18 : 19 Nothing extraordinary the Small Pox is Turning, the greatest of my suffering is hunger since I was Innoculated, one of our Waiters who was Innoculated after he Came to wait upon us has

had it the Natural way, he having had it before and broke out with it in two days, after he was Innoculated. — and is dead, Lieu^t Savage is getting better, Nothing very extraordinary happens from this time to the 10th of February — when Major Meigs is Carried to the Hottel-dieu — which is a nunnery &c Hospital, he having a swelling under his arm, and the remainder of us who have had the small pox are removed into the room which we were first put into with the other officers, we spend our time in reading in the forenoon, and at Cards in the afternoon, and endeavour to make ourselves as happy as possible under our present disagreeable Circumstances, We hear a great deal of bad News, but none that's good — We are told that General Washington, with his army made an attempt to Storm Boston, but had lost 4000 men, some kill'd and the rest were drown'd, we have been inform'd of Montreal's being retaken by the Canadians four or five times — We are told that Gen^l Lee, in marching to New York with 3000 men lost them all to 300, by dissention for want of Cloathing.

We are inform'd that Gen^l Amherst is arrived at New-York with 12000 Troops, we are likewise told that the paper Currency has lost its value, and that the Congress is impeached with dishonesty by the people, but we give no Credit to any such Rumours.

March 10 We had a square of Glass put into the door that opens into our room, and two Centinels stands looking in all the time, and a lamp is kept burning all night — in our room, and Two Centinels stands under our window who are order'd to fire upon any of us who attempted to to open either of the windows in the night, no person is allowed to come into our room but the Field offic^r of the day, and the officer of the Guard — not even our washer-woman.

16 Being indispos'd I got liberty to go to the Hottel-dieu to day.

I remain'd at the Hottel-dieu, until the 31st day of March nothing very extraordinary happen'd during this time, I recover'd my health in a few days after I got here, I saw one of my men here who inform'd me that all my Company has had the Small Pox, and not one of them died with it, which I think is something remarkable, we are all, now order'd to the Seminary, we are told for want of wood in the Garrison.

April 1 We are inform'd that our men who are prisoners in this Town, were last night detected in the execution of a plan in order to make their Escape, for which reason, they are all put in Irons — We have two Small Bed-rooms allow'd us to sleep in being too: much Crouded in one room.

4 This day our people open'd a four Gun-Battery, at Point Levi and play'd upon the Town. — there was now a very heavy Cannonading from the Town, upon our Battery every day, there was six or seven Balls shot from our Battery into the Garden under our window, & three or 4 of them struck against the Seminary.

25 In the Course of this month there has been two or three alarms in Town, the Garrison thought that our people were about making an attack.

Cap^t Thayer was detected by the officier of the guard to-day in attempting to open a door that led from the Passage to the necessary, into an upper loft, and was Carried on board a vessel and put in Irons there is Bolts & Locks put upon our doors and we are order'd not to go out of our respective Lodging Rooms after dark until sometime after sun-rise.

28 This day Colo: M^cLane, M^r Lanodear the Gen^l Aid-decamp and several other officers, Came into our room & took Cap^t Lockwood, & Cap^t Hanchet and Carried them off, witho't saying any thing to them, but we heard since it was reported that they had Tamper'd with a Cintinel, they were likewise put in Irons on Board the Vessel where Cap^t Thayer was —

29 Our people open'd a Two Gun Battery to-day upon the opposite side of the Town from Point Levi a Cross the river S^t Charles and play'd upon the Town, we are likewise inform'd that they are about opening another Battery on the height of Abraham, there is a Constant Cannonading on both sides every day.

May 4 As I was laying down my book this evening about Ten of the Clock, preparing for bed, I heard a Centinel hale a ship, which very much surprized me, as I expected some relief had arrived, But I soon was undeceived by a brisk fire of Cannon, and Small arms, & the ringing of the alarm Bell, as also hearing a great confusion in all parts of the Town, we now Concluded, that our people made an attack upon the Town, we soon discover'd a fire ship in the River, near the Lower Town, which was sent as we since heard, in order to set fire to the shi'ping in the Lower Town, & which must Consequently set fire to the Lower Town, & at the same time we heard Gen^l Worster with his Troops had drawn up near the Town, with their Ladders ready to Scale the walls, when ever the Lower Town was on fire, but as the fireship fail'd the attack was not made.

6 This day forenoon, three ships arrived from England to the Great Joy of the Garrison, but much to our mortification as we now gave over all hopes of being retaken, and Consequently of seeing our families again until we had first taken a Voyage to England and there Tried for rebels, as we have often been told by the officers of the Garrison, that, that, would be the case.

The ships that have arrived Brought the 29th Regiment with them, who landed, and at 12 . . O Clock, this Regim^t with 5 . . or 6 Hundred of the Garrison marched out of Town, and two of the Frigates which arrived to-day put up the River, and an arm'd Schooner. Towards Night, the Troops return'd back to Town, and said they drove all the Yankees off. — and took a large quantity of Cannon, ammunition, and Baggage

from the Americans, which indeed proved too True, But from the accounts we have had since from Lieuten^t McDougle, who was taken in a schooner at Point Aux Tremble by the Two Frigates & an armed Schooner, that went up the River the day they arrived, we find that Gen^l Woosters Troops began to decamp, the day before the Troops arrived, by hearing there was a Large Fleet in the river, but what Baggage they left was not very Considerable, there are more or less ships coming in daily, we are inform'd that there are 15000 Men destin'd for Canada, the 47 Regiment has arrived here from Boston, who bring Acc^t that Gen^l How, with his Troops has evacuated Boston & Came to Hallifax, pursuant to orders received from home.

10 A party marched out to day towards Montreal, we have Liberty to walk the Seminary Garden for our recreation today, which which is a very excellent Garden for Canada.

Maj^r Meigs has obtain'd Liberty of the Gen^l to go home to New-Eng^d on his Parole.

13 M^r Levius Came to see me to-day, & inform'd me, that if I would endeavour to assist him, in getting his family to him from Portsmouth, he would use his influence wth the Gen^l to get leave for me to go home with Maj^r Meigs On Parole, but he told me I must not depend much upon going as he thought it very uncertain whether he should succeed or not, notwithstanding I depended much upon going, as I thought his influence with the Gen^l would be great, he being one of the Counsel, Judge of the Admiralty, & Judge of the Superior Court at Montreal.

14 Major Meigs was sent for to wait upon the Gen^l who inform'd him the Vessel would sail in a day or Two, in which he was to go to Hallifax, when the Major Came back, & I hearing nothing of M^r Levius's obtaining leave for me to go home, I then began to despair, and accordingly wrote a letter to my wife to send by the Major.

16 At one O Clock P: M: M^r Levius Came to see me, & to my great Joy, inform'd me that the Gen^l had given his Consent for me to go home, on Parole, & that we should sail this afternoon, — at 5: of the Clock the Town Major Came for Major Meigs & myself, to go to the Lieu^t Governor. to give our Parole, the verbal agreement we made was, that if ever there was an exchange of Prisoners, we were to have the benefit of it, and until then we were not, to take up arms against the King. after giving our Paroles from under our hands, we were Carried before the Gen^l who appear'd to be a very humane tender-hearted man. after wishing us a good Voyage, & Saying he hoped to give the remainder of our officers the Same Liberty, he desir'd the Town Major to Conduct us on Board, we desir'd leave to visit our men in prison but could not obtain it.

after getting our baggage & taking leave of our fellow prisoners we went on board a schooner, which we are to go to Hallifax in, but as she

did not sail today, we were invited on Board the Admirals ship, where we were very genteely used, and Tarried all night.

17 We Sail'd this morning, 10.. O.. Clock, we fell down to the lower end of the Island, of Orleans, the wind being a head we were obliged to Cast Anchor, at Two of the Clock P: M: we went on shore upon Orleans, bought some Fowl & eggs, Orleans is a very pleasant Island, but the Inhabitants are extremely Ignorant.

18 We weighed Anchor at 4 this morning, & had a fine breeze at 2 Clock we Struck on the Rocks off against the Isle of Caudre, which is eighteen Leagues from Quebec. we ware in great danger of staving to pieces. — But Lucky for us we got off, here we Saw a great many white Porpuses which were very large — We came to an Anchor this Night by Hare-Island, which is 36 Leagues from Quebec.

19 We hove up at 4 this morning, we have but very little wind the River here is 5 Leagues in Weadth, we fell down to the Isle of Beak, which is 50 Leagues from Quebec, where we found his Majesty's Ship Niger, which is a 32 Gun Frigate, and an arm'd schooner lying at Anchor, we Cast our Anchor here at sunset.

20 We weighed Anchor here this morning at 4.. we had a small Breeze & some rain, and a very large sea. at six a Clock we had both our Masts sprung, which were barely saved from going overboard, we made a signal of distress to the above mention'd Vessels, which we were in sight of. who gave us immediate relief, we put back to the ship as fast & well as we could, and after the Schooner was examin'd by the Carpenters, it was order'd back to Quebec. and we were put on Board the Niger, which was now going to sail, bound for Hallifax. — at 10.. O Clock this evening we met with Two Men of war and several Transports.

21 This morning we met 32 Transports with Troops on Board under Command of Gen^l Burgoyne, said to be 6000 Troops in the whole on Board this Fleet.

22 We enter'd the Gulph of St^t Laurence this afternoon, at 5 in the afternoon we pass'd Bonaventura.

23 at Twelve of the Clock we pass'd the Magdolen Islands.

24 This morning we made the Isle of St^t Johns, this afternoon we made the Isle of Cape Briton.

25 at 2-Clock P: M: we enter'd the gut of Canso, pass'd half way through it, having no wind we Cast Anchor.

26 Having no wind we Caught plenty of fish.

27 We hove up this morning at 9 O Clock, & had a fresh breeze, at 12.. O.. Clock we enter'd the Atlantick.

28 This day we have a fair wind, but a very thick fogg.

29 We made Land within 15 Leagues of Hallifax, the wind is Contrary.

30 This morning we enter'd the mouth of Hallifax, Harbour, as we pass'd up the Town has a very handsome appearance, at 12.. O..

Clock we Came to Anchor, near the Town & at Two. We went on shore, the Land on which this Town is Built rises Gradually until it forms a beautiful eminence, Call'd the Citadel-Hill, the Town is handsomely laid out, the Building are but small, in general, at the upper end of the Town there is a very good Dock, yard, handsomely built with Stone and Lime, in which there are some handsome buildings, Major Meigs & I waited on his Excellency Gen^l How this afternoon, with some dispatches from Gen^l Carlton.

June . . 1 Gen^l Howe after some Conversation desir'd us to wait on him again, on Monday Next, & he promis'd us he would inform us when and how we should have a passage to New England, I visited some officers, and others who were prisoners in Hallifax. Viz^t Cap^t Mortingdell, of Rhode, Island who was taken in a privateer, Lieu^t Scott who was taken at Bunker Hill, the 17th of June last and a number of others amounting in the whole to 20 . . persons — this day we took Lodgings at one Riders Tavern.

2 . . 3 . . 4 . . 5 We remained on shore, untill 3 . . O . . Clock this afternoon, then we embark'd on Board his Majesties Ship Scarborough.

6 Lord Piercy din'd on board the Scarborough, at his Coming on Board he was saluted by 13 Guns from this ship, & the same number from several ships that lay near us, I went ashore to-day and found an opportunity of writing to my fellow prisoners in Quebec, which I gladly embraced.

7 . . 8 . . 9 We Still remain here expecting every day to sail.

10 at 10 . . O . . Clock this morning we sail'd, we had a fair brisk Breeze.

11 Little wind to day.

12 The wind is not fair, we are beating of Cape Sables.

13 The wind is Contrary we are beating off . . d^o

14 This morning we enter'd the Bay Fundy, at 3 . . O . . Clock P : M : we pass'd Falmouth, a small Village I am inform'd 15 . . or 18 . . sail of Vessels own'd at six o . . Clock we were abreast of Long Island, the wind is fair & fresh, we pass'd a number of small Islands, & Rocks to day, particularly Gannets Rock, which was Cover'd with white Fowl in such Numbers, that at a distance it looks like a small Hill, Cover'd with Snow, These Fowl are Call'd Gannets or Solen Geese, they are almost as large as our Common Geese.

15 The wind N : E . . we pass'd Peteet, Passage, to day.

16 We pass'd high Islands the wind is fair for us to go to Cumberland, where we are order'd.

17 At 10 . . Clock A . . M : we Came to Anchor in Cumberland Bay about 4 Miles from the Town . the Country has a very pleasant appearance from where we lye, I am in a disagreeable Situation to-day, but there is not such a scence of Slaughter, and Blood shed, as I was in this day 12 Months.

18 This day we apply'd to the Cap^t for leave to go on shore but were refus'd.

19 We sent on Shore, & Bought 2 . . Fowl at 3^s Lawful, dear indeed.

20 We understand we are to sail the first fair wind, we had a fine dinner to-day, one Fowl roasted, and another Boil'd, with some pork and Potatoes, I made the best meal that I had made for about six-months past, some of the Inhabitants Brought some sheep along side to-day for which they asked 48 / ^p. piece for — New: England Rum here is 21^s/4^d Lawful ^p Gallon.

21 This is the first day that has looked like summer since I came to Halifax, we expect to sail from here tomorrow, if the wind do favour us, every day seems a month to me, I am very anxious to see my dear family once more.

22 We hove up to day, and attempted to go down the Bay, but the wind was so fresh against us that we were obliged to Come to Anchor again, after falling down about 2 . . Leagues.

23 The wind blows very Strong & Contrary against us.

24 We had a heavy gale of wind at S . . W . . last night, it was suppos'd that we were in great danger, of driving on shore, but by letting go another Anchor, we Rode it out without any damage, the wind remains Still Contrary.

25 At 12 . . O . . Clock to-day we sail'd from Cumberland with a fresh Breeze.

26 at 8 . . O Clock this morning we came to Anchor at the mouth of Anapolis Harbour, seven Leagues from the Town. from Fort Cumberland to this place is 30 Leagues, Anapolis lays on the east side of the Bay of Fundy, the Land at the Mouth of the Harbour, is very Mountainous, and Barren, as is almost all the Land on this Coast which I have seen, — at 3 . . O . . Clock P : M : we weighed Anchor and put up the River, and at 6 . . of the Clock, Came to Anchor at Anoplis Town, which appears to have 50 . . or 60 Houses in it, and a fortification ; several miles before we come to the Town, there are some Inhabitants, On both sides the River, where there is several very good Orchards, the Land in general, is Cold, spruce bad looking Land, but there is very fine Marshes here, which makes a very pretty appearance, as we Sailed up the River.

27 We apply'd for leave to go ashore to-day, but was refus'd the weather is very pleasant . . . This afternoon I was seized with a violent pain in my head, and soon afterwards, I was seized with a sickness in my Stomach, after vomiting very heartily, I felt some relief at my stomach, but the pain in my head increas'd, I was visited by the Surgeon of the ship, who said I was in a high fever, & urged me to take a puke, which Operated very well upon me, after heaving up a large quantity of Bile, I found myself much better, and a tolerable Nights Rest.

28 I find myself very weak and something feverish, I have had

blood let, after which I felt much better, I am now in hopes of escaping a fever, which last Night, I was much afraid of.

29 The weather is very fine, we heard to day, that the Milford ship of 28 Guns, has taken a Privateer of 18 Guns, belonging to Newbury Port, Commanded by one Tracy, we Bought some Veal to-day at 6^d Sterling P. pound, which is very Cheap, call'd here, at 7 O Clock we left the Scarborough (P..M) This morning we come to Sail with a good Breeze, we are extremely well Treated by Cap^t Graves, and the other officers on Board at 7 O Clock this evening we are abreast of Grand Manan.

July 1 We have very little wind, the weather is very Cloudy, at 12.. O.. Clock We have a brisk Breeze and a thick Fog.

2 The weather remains Foggy, we have a light Breeze; our General Course is S..S..W..but as the weather is thick, and we not willing to fall in with the Land, untill it is Clearer, we keep running off and on waiting for the weather to Clear up.

3 The weather is Clear, we are in sight of Mount desert, we have a fresh Breeze at N:W.. We are Stearing for Machias, at 3.. O.. Clock, as we were about entering Machias harbour, we espied three small sail to windward, the Cap^t sent a Barge after them, at 6.. O Clock the Barge Return'd with a small fishing Schooner as a prize, they inform'd the Cap^t that there was a small privateer along shore, which fired several shot at them, at seven O Clock the Cap^t order'd about 20.. hands on board the Schooner — Which they had taken, with some Blunder-Busses and ther arms, and sent them off, after the Privateer, which was in sight when the Schooner left the ship, which was about sun'set.

4 We are Cruising up and down from Mount Desart to Machias waiting for the Schooner which went after the Privater last Night, the weather is very fine — at 2.. O.. Clock P: M: the Boats return'd with Two small fishing boats and two men we Anchor'd this Night by an Island, Called Mespecky.

5 about three Leagues from Machias Harbour, the boats were sent out this morning, and took a Small fishing schooner Laded with fish belonging to Portsmouth, one Fumell Master, by the writing found on Board, the people all left her, and went off in a Canoe, when they found they were like to be taken, we lay at anchor here all day.

6 This morning Cap^t Graves gave two of the men, who were taken in some of the fishing Boats, liberty to take one of the Same, (by the name of Wallas: & Dyer) belonging to Narriguagos, a few leagues below Mount Desart; upon their promising to Carry Major Meigs, & myself to Casco, Bay, and at 10.. O.. Clock, we left the ship and went up as far as Narriguagos, which is about 5 Leagues, and went on shore, to one Cap^t Wallas's where we were very genteelly entertained.

7 This day being Sunday, we went to meeting, the weather is very warm, we found the people all in arms, to oppose any boats from the

men of War, that attempted to land — as they were apprehensive of their Coming to plunder for fresh Meat.

8 At seven O . . Clock in the morning we sailed for Casco : Bay, we made no Harbour this Night, we are off, abreast of Mount-Desart.

9 We have a light Breeze this morning at S . . W . . we pass'd the Bay, of Jericho this forenoon, this afternoon, we pass'd the Isle, of Holt, we saw a Number of very Large whales to day, at 5 . . O . . Clock this afternoon, we pass'd Ponabscutt Harbour, a few Leagues without this Harbour, is a number of small Islands, Call'd the Silley Islands, at 9 . . O . . Clock this evening, we came to an Anchor in a small bay — Called Talland Harbour, where there are several families — it is on the West side of Ponobscut Bay.

10 This morning we set sail at Sun-rise, but the Fogg being very thick we were obliged to put back to the same Harbour again — we went on shore and got some milk and Greens, at 9 . . O . . Clock the weather Cleared up a little and we put to sea, but soon after we put out, it came on very foggy again, it was so Foggy and Calm, that we concluded to go back into the Harbour again . . . where we came to Anchor at 2 . . O . . Clock P : M : Maj: Meigs & I agree'd to take our Land-Tacks on board and quit the Boat . . We walked 2 miles & Came to a river, Called George's River, we Cross'd the same and Came, to a Village Called George's Town, we walked Two miles, and Came to a river Call'd Madumcook, which we Cross'd and Came to a Village call'd Madamcook, where there lives 40 families, we Tarried here one Night.

11 We started this morning for Broad Bay, which is six miles distant from here, at 9 O . . Clock we arrived at said Bay — where there is fine settlements, the inhabitants seems to live very well ; we were very Genteely Treated by Esq^r Thomas, of said place, who I found was Nephew to Gen^l Thomas in the Continental Army, said Thomas favour'd us with his Horse to Carry our Packs as far as Damascoty which is eight Miles, we Cross'd, Demoscoty River & walked Two miles to one Barkers Tavern, in a place Called Newcastle, here Stayed all night.

12 We hired Horses to go to Sheepsctt River, where we we arrived at 9 O . . Clock, we sent the Horses back again and Cross'd the River called Sheepsctt, and walked one mile, and met some people to work on the High : way, we were asked into a house to eat some dinner, here we hired Two Horses to go to Kennebeck River, which is 15 miles, we Cross'd Kennebeck River, at sun-set & walked one mile, then Lodged at M^r Lamberts Tavern.

13 We hired said Lamberts Brother & Horses to Carry us to Falmouth, at 9 . . O . . Clock we Started, at 11 . . O . . Clock, we Cross'd Browns Ferry on Stephen's River, at 12 . . O . . Clock we arrived At Brumswick which is 30 Miles from Casco, he we dined, here are a number of elegant Buildings, & the ruin of an old Fort, Called Brumswick Fort, at 4 . . O . . Clock P M . . we left Brumswick, after passing thro, Yarmouth

woods, which is 10 Miles, we pass'd through North-Yarmouth, and at Sun'set we arrived at Nights Tavern, which is 5 Miles to the eastward of Falmouth, and there put up and Tarryed all night.

14 We started early this morning for Falmouth, when we arrived at Falmouth, there we found a sloop ready to sail, in which several Masters of Vessels belonging to New England, who came from Hallifax, were going Passengers We also embarked on Board said sloop, & at 10.. O.. Clock sailed for Portsmouth, having but very little wind & that quite Contrary, we made but small headway.

15 This morning we are a Breast of Wood-Island, at 5.. O.. Clock P.. M: we are abreast of old york, and the wind ahead.

16 This morning we are a Breast of the Isle-of Shoals, we have a small Breeze and are Running for the Light-house in Portsmouth-Harbour, which place rejoiced me very much to see once more, at 10.. O.. Clock, A: M: I arrived at Portsmouth to my Great joy, and at sunset arrived safe at my own House, at Nottingham, & found my wife well, my Children alive, & my friends in General, well.

FINIS.

MARCH 25th 1777.

Dr. EVERETT, Dr. CLARKE, and Judge CHAMBERLAIN mentioned several anecdotes concerning Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., presented a memoir of the late Hon. David Sears.

The Rev. E. F. SLAFTER presented a memoir of the late Rev. William S. Bartlet.

Mr. CHARLES C. PERKINS communicated to the Society a manuscript which he had annotated, containing a narrative of the events which happened during the insurrection in St. Domingo, from January, 1785, to December, 1794, written by his great-uncle Samuel G. Perkins, Esq., of whom he gave the following biographical sketch:—

Samuel G. Perkins, third son of James and Elizabeth Perkins, was born in Boston, May 24, 1767. At the age of fourteen, his father being dead, and his mother having a large family to educate and support, he was sent to sea, as was the fashion in those days, to make his own way in the world. After many trying experiences of which no record is preserved, as the account which he wrote of them was burned in the great Boston fire of 1871, together with the original manu-

script of the Sketches and other papers belonging to his son Stephen, he went to St. Domingo in 1785, and assisted in carrying on the business of the house of Perkins, Burling, & Co., which, after his elder brother James's return to Boston in 1793, devolved upon Mr. Burling and himself. The Sketches, now first printed from a copy made by his great-niece Miss Sarah Paine Perkins in 1837,¹ give an interesting account of the writer's residence at the Cape, and bear abundant witness to his courage, resolution, and strength of character. In the account of his homeward voyage, after the destruction of Cape François, — here printed after the Sketches, — Mr. Perkins says that one of his reasons for embarking "on the slow and heavily laden brig William for Boston" was his engagement to be married. "The attractive power which lay East," as he quaintly puts it, was Miss Barbara C. Higginson, to whom he was united on the 19th of March, 1795. Later he became a partner in the house of Higginson & Co., and after he retired from business was the president of an insurance company.

During the winter he lived in High Street, Boston, and in the summer at Brookline, where about 1803 he bought several acres of land from Mr. George Cabot, and built the house recently occupied by the late eminent architect Mr. H. H. Richardson. Here he made his reputation as a successful pomologist and horticulturalist, and spent many happy years in cultivating his garden, whose espalier pear-trees were famed for their delicious fruit. In importing them from France Mr. Perkins underwent many difficulties which he was fond of recounting. The first importation was lost at sea; and the second, which arrived off the port of Boston during the British embargo, was seized and destroyed. The third reached him safely, and became the first espalier trees grown in New England, if not in the United States. After the death of their owner they were sold at large prices, and transported to the gardens of Dr. J. C. Warren and other neighbors. In the latter part of his life Mr. Perkins lost his eyesight; but his knowledge of pear texture was so accurate that he would instantly recognize any species of pear by the touch, and as he picked a Bon Chrétien, a Duchesse, or a Seckel, would give it its correct name without hesitation.

¹ This copy was presented to the Library of the Historical Society by Mr. Stephen Perkins. N. B. The notes within quotation marks are the author's; the others are the editor's.

He died on his birthday, May 24, 1847, at the age of eighty. Knowing it to be his birthday, he frequently asked during the day, "Is it still the 24th?" and having repeated the question for the last time shortly before midnight he peacefully expired, leaving behind him the goodly record of a well-spent life, whose years of trial and adversity, no less than those of prosperity and happiness, had proved his strength of character, intelligence, and never-failing kindness of heart.

BOSTON, December, 1835.

TO FRANKLIN DEXTER, Esq.

DEAR SIR, — Agreeably to your request I have committed to paper a rough sketch of the events of the insurrection and subsequent emancipation of the slaves of St. Domingo, with an account of the destruction of Cape François and the massacre of its inhabitants, to which I have added some account of the state of the planters, and of society generally prior to that period.

I have introduced some private anecdotes which, although strictly conformable to fact, may not possess much interest to those who were not actors in the scenes described; but as they are in some measure connected with the general events of the revolt, and form a part of the general machinery of the revolution, I have mentioned them as coming within the reminiscences of those days. As these papers have been written from time to time, when I could find leisure to attend to them, and as they now appear in the undressed and simple garb in which they were first attired, they are defective in many respects. Such as they are, however, I send them to you as a true representation of the *facts* that came within my knowledge.

Very truly and respectfully your humble servant,

S. G. PERKINS.

Sketches of St. Domingo from January, 1785, to December, 1794, written by a Resident Merchant at the Request of a Friend, December, 1835.

CHAPTER I.

At the time I arrived in St. Domingo in January, 1785, and for four or five years subsequent, the flourishing state of trade and the prosperity of its inhabitants were without a parallel perhaps in the world; for here there were no poor, I may say, either white or black, — for even among the latter those who were slaves were taken care of, fed and clothed, and well sheltered by their masters, and those that were free were able to get a living without excessive labor. If they were too old

to work or otherwise incapacitated, they were provided for by their friends and relations. This was shown by the fact that there were no beggars in the streets and no poor houses in the cities; and I do not recollect that I ever saw a free negro or mulatto above the age of ten years that was not decently and comfortably clad, until after the revolution or insurrection of the blacks. As respected the whites, the only poor were the unfortunate gamblers; and they were not in a state of suffering, for when penniless they had free quarters at the gambling-houses, where they could get plenty of good food and good wine to carry them through the day. Indeed it may truly be said that everything and everybody bore the marks of comfort and prosperity; there were no taxes on the inhabitants of any sort, and every one was free to seek his bread in his own way.

The harbors of Port au Prince and Cape François, which were the two principal ports of entry, were always filled with ships either loading or unloading their cargoes, and the sound of the negroes' labor song while at the tackle-fall was always cheering and pleasant. These ports were on the north and west, and Aux Cayes, the other port of entry, was on the south side of the island. The town or city of Cape François contained about thirty thousand inhabitants — white, colored, and black — of which three quarters were slaves.¹ This town was the capital of the Northern Department, with a governor appointed by the mother country. One regiment of French troops of the line of infantry and one of artillery, besides a well-armed and well-organized body of national guards or militia, made up of the white inhabitants and a few mulattoes, composed the military force of the north. The seat of government was Port au Prince² on the west, where the governor-general and intendant-general resided; here also was a military force of the same nature as that at the Cape. The mulattoes, formed into separate regiments, commanded by white officers, were in

¹ Bryan Edwards (*Historical Survey of St. Domingo*, p. 159) says that there were 8,000 free inhabitants of all colors, exclusive of the king's troops and seafaring people, and 12,000 domestic slaves. He describes Cape François as a well-built town, containing between eight and nine hundred houses of stone and brick, besides shops and warehouses; two fine squares with fountains, a church, government house, barrack for troops, a royal arsenal or prison, a play-house, and two hospitals. The town owed its prosperity to the excellence of its harbor, and the extreme fertility of the plain adjoining it to the east. This plain, fifty miles long and twelve broad, was exclusively devoted to the cultivation of sugar-canes. "It yielded greater returns than perhaps any other spot of the same extent in the habitable globe."

² Port au Prince, the metropolis of the colony, contained in 1790 about 2,754 whites, 4,000 mulattoes, and 8,000 slaves. In the plain to the east, called Cul de Sac, which was from thirty to forty miles in length by nine in breadth, there were one hundred and fifty sugar plantations. (*Historical Survey of St. Domingo*, p. 162.)

general very fine troops; handsome, tall, straight, and beautiful men. But as the country was in a perfect state of peace from one end of the French settlement to the other, the services of these troops were never called for, except at processions and public reviews, until after the news of the French revolution reached St. Domingo. The spirit of the revolution which was going on in France had, however, gained ground in the colonies, and insubordination among the troops of the line had been manifested at an early period at Port au Prince, where the colonel of the regiment — a Mr. Mauduit,¹ I think — was murdered on the parade by his troops. Until that period the most perfect harmony, good feeling, and social intercourse existed among the inhabitants, and the most perfect good-will and mutual confidence was evident between the whites and their slaves. The only notorious and open violation of the law was the practice of duelling, which was not only an every-day sport among the young and dissipated, who were satisfied by a scratch or slight wound on either side, but the combatants, having shown their prowess in the morning, supped together in the evening in closer friendship than ever.

The events of the latter part of the year 1789 and the year 1790 were confined to the disorderly conduct of some of the militia, the revolt of the free mulattoes under the famous Ogé,² and their final dispersion, with the capture and execution of their leaders, a detailed account of which will appear in the course of these Sketches.

But it may be proper to explain the origin and leading causes of this spirit of revolt, as it has been little known in this country and little attended to in France, where it originated, and whence it was transplanted to the colonies by the revolutionary assemblies of that country through the agency of the free educated mulattoes who were in France at the commencement of the revolution. These men, sons of planters of fortune, had received the best instruction that France could afford, and were daily witnesses of the violent and injudicious measures adopted by the National Assembly. They knew and felt that although born free men, protected in their property and in the enjoyment of personal security, they possessed no political rights whatever, and were denied even the privilege of defending themselves against the whites unless their lives were endangered. They could, to be sure, prosecute

¹ M. le Chevalier de Mauduit came to St. Domingo in 1790, and sided with the mulattoes against the Government. His death is thus described in the appendix to Bryan Edwards' *Historical Survey*, p. 254: "Urged by his troops to ask pardon of the national guard on his knees, and persistently refusing to do so, he was knocked down by a sabre cut in the face. His head was then cut off and carried on the end of a bayonet, while his body was dragged through the streets to his house by the soldiers and sailors, who gutted it completely and destroyed its contents."

² See note 2, p. 316.

and recover damages for injuries received; but if any one of them returned blow for blow, he knew that he would be condemned to have his right hand cut off by the common executioner.¹ I never heard of but one instance during my residence of this law being carried into effect. Such disabilities were of course a galling and never-ceasing canker in the minds of the free colored people; and when they heard it declared by the leaders of the French people that all men are born free and equal, their active minds soon matured a plan by which they expected to compel the whites in the colonies to acknowledge their political rights as well as their birthright to freedom. Ogé was then in France, and being a man of talent and consideration among them he was despatched, *viâ* the United States, to St. Domingo, for the purpose of accomplishing this desired object. How he succeeded will be seen hereafter.

Thus the causes of the insurrection and final revolution of the free mulattoes and slaves of St. Domingo must be sought in the National Assembly of France. The precipitate measures and rash and untried schemes adopted without due consideration or competent knowledge of the subject in the mother country, were well calculated to produce the results which followed. They were foreseen by the famous Barnave, who was at one time President of that Assembly, and were denounced by that distinguished leader as involving the fortunes of the colonists.

"The declaration of the rights of man, without any distinction of country or color, by a nation holding extensive colonies, cultivated by slaves, while it still determined to hold them with the full intention of reaping all customary advantages from them, without providing any substitutes for the slaves, or making any indemnity to their owners, must be deemed a rash and hasty as well as an improvident measure; but neither these considerations nor the eloquence and warning of Barnave could resist the democratic rage for liberty and equality which then prevailed."

Such is the language of the writers of that period.

There was then in France a society under the title of "*Les Amis des Noirs*,"² or "*The Friends of the Negroes*," which issued publications in

¹ The penalty exacted from a white man who struck a mulatto was an considerable fine. The French mulattoes were liable to three years' service in the so-called *maréchaussée*, after which they had to serve in the militia without pay, providing arms and ammunition at their own expense. They were not allowed to hold any public office or to exercise any liberal profession. The privileges of the whites were not allowed in the French colonies to the descendants of an African, however far removed, whereas in the British colonies they were acquired after the third generation.

² Brissot, Lafayette, and Robespierre were the leaders of this society, which demanded the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, whereas the English abolitionists limited their demands to any further introduction of slaves into the British

favor of the *oppressed Africans*, and caused them to be circulated in the West Indies. The planters had complained to the king of the dangers to which they were exposed through the proceedings of this society; and although he did not favor their application his ministers did; and Necker in particular laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, "*That the nation which sets the example of abolishing the slave-trade will become the dupe of its own generosity.*" "The effects of the promulgation of the doctrines of universal liberty and equality among the colonists," says a contemporary writer, "were first felt in the beautiful island of St. Domingo, the finest parts of which were inhabited by a number of the most flourishing, rich, and happy colonists perhaps in the world; and she became the greatest, the most lasting, and the most deplorable victim to the ensuing calamities." To these causes we may look for the claims made by the free mulattoes, who, though by birth free men with respect to person and property, were not allowed by law to share in the civil government.

"In the process of time," says the same author, "commissioners were repeatedly sent from France; but these carrying out with them the violent political prejudices which they had imbibed at home, and being generally men devoid of principle, if not of abilities, instead of attempting to heal differences on their arrival, trusted to the chances which length of time, distance, and the uncertain state of government in the mother country might produce in their favor, and looked only to procure immediate power and consequence by placing themselves at the head of some of the contending factions. Thus, rushing at once as principals into all the rage and fury of civil discord, they increased to its utmost pitch that confusion and mischief which they were intended to remedy."

Never was there a truer paragraph penned than this, and never were the rights, the properties, and the lives of a people more wantonly sported with than were those of the whites of St. Domingo under the reign of the last commissioners.

But to begin at the beginning, I must go back to the time when I first took up my residence in this island, and give a short account of the general situation of its inhabitants, and of the relations of the planters and slaves to each other. I state no fictions for the purpose of making an impression, but simple facts, all of which were well known to myself, as many of them passed under my own eye, and those that did not were matters of notoriety throughout the country. Indeed, such was their nature and such were the effects they produced on me at the time, that they are as fresh and as visible to my mind's eye now as they were then to my natural and unimpaired vision.

West Indian Colonies. Bryan Edwards (*op. cit.* p. 87, note) says that Lafayette sold his plantation at Cayenne in 1789, with seventy negro slaves, without making any stipulations concerning them.

As early as the latter part of the month of January, 1785, I arrived at Cape François, where, as already stated, I became a resident. The state of the colony (I speak of the French part of the island) of St. Domingo at this time was, as I have before said, the most flourishing, peaceful, and happy that can be imagined. Everything and everybody prospered. There were few or no criminals; no complaints that reached the public ear, and no apparent distress (except such as our nature is liable to everywhere) existed throughout the French settlements in the island. The security of person and property was as perfect as it is in New England, and much more so in fact, for street or highway robberies, shoplifting, and house-breaking were crimes unknown throughout the island. Any man might travel, night or day, alone and unprotected from one end of the French settlements to the other, without fear of interruption or insult of any kind.

There were no public houses on the high-roads, and the traveller who was transported in the carriages of the planters from one estate to the other was everywhere received with the greatest hospitality and kindness, and entertained, without ceremony, in the most friendly and sumptuous manner until he wished to go his way. A carriage was then immediately brought to the door, and he was conveyed by a black driver to the next estate, at a suitable distance on the road. In this way he arrived at the end of his journey, free of expense, free of trouble, and delighted with everything he saw. He was charmed with the humanity, kind-heartedness, and paternal care which he everywhere observed in the masters towards their slaves, and with the good order, cleanly habitations, well-cultivated gardens, domestic comforts, and contented faces of the blacks. In this island, as in every other country on the face of the earth, brutes in human form were occasionally to be met with; but on the French estates this was seldom the case, and if such existed they were principally among the free colored people, many of whom were proprietors of plantations.

To confine myself, however, to what I have myself seen on plantations where I have resided for several days together, I beg leave to mention certain facts which show that the most perfect harmony, mutual confidence, and kindly feelings may exist between the master and his slaves.

Having become acquainted with some of the most distinguished planters in the neighborhood of the Cape, I had occasionally an opportunity of visiting their plantations, and otherwise making myself acquainted with the feelings that mutually existed between them and their slaves. I am not going to speak of my opinions, but of facts within my knowledge, having remained in the island many years and for many months after the general emancipation of the slaves in the Northern Departments and the final destruction of the Cape. My object is to show

how the slaves were treated by their owners, so far as I was acquainted with them; and I have reason to believe that the proprietors in general were equally indulgent and kind. Where this was not the case, public opinion frowned on the delinquents, of whom there were but few.

The Chevalier Dup  rier, the Comte d'Hautval, the Chevalier Dugr  s, the Comte de Corbier, Monsieur Duplessis, and others with whom I was acquainted, resided on their plantations, and were the objects of the most devoted affection on the part of their slaves.

Being unwell or slightly indisposed, the first of these gentlemen had the goodness to invite me to pass a few days with him on his estate. While I was there, I was struck with the perfect order and regular system with which everything was done both indoors and out. The hospital was kept in the most cleanly state, and attended by the most experienced nurses. Warm or tepid baths were provided for the sick, on whom a physician attended once a day, or as often in the day as the case required.

The master himself often visited the patients several times in the course of twenty-four hours to see that they were kept clean, and treated kindly. The convalescents were supplied from his own table with the most delicate and nutritious food, morning, noon, and night. If there was a disobedient or a sluggish slave to be punished, a complaint was made by the negro driver, or superintendent of the field-work, to the overseer, and by the overseer to the attorney or proprietor. The delinquent was brought to the hall, and there the facts and circumstances were inquired into by the master, and the punishment, if any, was proportioned to the degree of crime. One of these examinations happened to be going on when I arrived at the plantation; it was not interrupted by my presence, and I had an opportunity of witnessing the strict justice and merciful judgment of this amiable man.

Nothing could be more interesting than the morning and evening regulations for the children on one of these plantations. An old black woman, dressed as cleanly as a good New England housewife, seated herself in the gallery with a basket of bread cut into large thick slices. The children under working age were then marched in, in single file. When the leader of the file arrived at the place where the old nurse sat, she examined it from head to foot to see that it was clean and in good condition. The child then received a slice of bread, and was marched on to give place to the next, until all the children had been examined and fed. If any one seemed particularly careful of itself, it was caressed by the good dame, or received special marks of her approbation; if, on the contrary, there was evident neglect, she manifested her displeasure, or threatened punishment if the offence was repeated. The houses or huts of the negroes were so arranged as to give to those who had families a separate house with a garden attached

to it. These gardens were cultivated by the occupants at hours allotted for that purpose, and the product was carried to the market town on Sundays by the slave who had raised it, and there sold for his own benefit.

The planters were seldom without company; and as they were always obliged to provide enough daily for the hospital as well as for the family, any one arriving at the hour of dinner found a splendid repast. The house servants were always kept in the most cleanly state, well dressed and well mannered, and were treated with the utmost kindness. This was the life of a planter of St. Domingo from 1784 to 1791. His slaves were well fed and clad, and as contented and happy, so far as I could judge, as any class of laboring people in Europe.¹ But the destroyer came among them; first to render them discontented with their lot, and then to urge them to revolt. This took place in the summer of ninety-one (1791), through the instrumentality of white and mulatto commissions sent out from France, and aided by the free mulattoes of the island, who had revolted the preceding year. But the history of this revolt, and the horrible consequences which followed, both to the whites and to the blacks, must be reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER II.

In which the Reminiscences of an Old Inhabitant of St. Domingo are continued.

THE French revolution took place in 1789. When the news of this event was received at St. Domingo, there was great commotion among the inhabitants. Some rejoiced and others lamented at the news. Cockades (red and blue) were distributed everywhere and to everybody who had a white face, and whether they liked it or not they were

¹ Our author paints the condition of men of all colors and grades at St. Domingo, before society had been disintegrated by French republican doctrines, as absolutely felicitous. That of the masters, who lived luxuriously in a delicious climate, taking no thought for the morrow and untroubled by conscientious scruples as to their right to hold slave property, was exceptionally so; but life must have worn a very different aspect to the mulattoes, who were hated and oppressed by the so-called *petits blancs*, overseers, tradesmen, and shopkeepers, and to the negroes who were always liable to be sold to cruel and brutal masters, against whose absolute power they had no hope of redress. Their condition in 1790 had, however, greatly improved within the past fifty years, if the Père Xavier de Charlevoix is to be trusted. In his History of St. Domingo, published in 1733, he describes them as mere beasts of burden, living in huts no better than the dens of wild animals, unpaid for their labor, and liable to receive twenty blows of the whip for the least fault. "To this condition," he adds, "have men who are not without intelligence, and who are not unaware that they are absolutely necessary to those who treat them so brutally, been reduced."

forced to wear them when they went abroad. I mention this fact as connected with an event that took place at the theatre on the first evening after the excitement began, and to show that it is because the first violation of the law is suffered to pass without rebuke or punishment that the greatest crimes are frequently licensed and established in society.

I have mentioned that highway robbery was unknown in the colony, and that everything and every person passed without fear of interruption throughout the country. This was true until the French revolution sanctioned all crimes, and brought upon this island the disgrace of having the mail stopped on its way from Port au Prince to the Cape. News had been received during the day that the mail had been robbed. Such an event was so novel and unexpected that everybody in the city was astounded. The perpetrator, whoever he might be, was considered as the boldest villain that had shown himself in the island since the days of the buccaneers, and the execration of the people was roused against him. In the evening, in the middle of the play, a shout was raised, and the delinquent having been brought on to the stage, surrounded by some of the hot-headed young men of the place, was pronounced the *first* patriot of the colony. He announced to the public that he had stopped the mail to examine the despatches from the governor-general at Port au Prince to the governor of the Northern Department, that he had found important communications which interested the welfare of the inhabitants, and justified the violence he had committed. Shouts from every part of the house encouraged him, and he went on to make some unimportant disclosures that were received with enthusiasm. Everybody, soldiers as well as citizens, who had not mounted the national cockade, were compelled to do it at the moment, and tumult and disorder prevailed throughout the night.¹

¹ "Our family had all repaired to the theatre without cockades, not choosing to make ourselves a party to the political disputes of the town, and my partner (Mr. Burling) and myself had taken our seats in what was called the amphitheatre, where the young men of family usually sat. After the fellow who had stopped the mail had told his story and was being applauded throughout the house, a cry was raised to mount the national cockade. A young man full of enthusiasm, seeing that Burling had no cockade in his hat, asked him the reason in a tone that did not suit Burling's pride, and he accordingly answered tartly that it was because he did not choose to assume it. To this the Frenchman, who was one of the young Creoles of family and a high blood, made an insolent reply, and Burling immediately struck him with his fist full on the breast. This was death by the laws of *honor*, and Burling invited the other party to follow him, and immediately left the amphitheatre. As I was not near when this fray took place, I knew nothing of it until Burling called to me to go out with him; and when the whole thing was explained, and a Mr. Paigot, a gentleman well known to us, came up and told Burling that the person he had struck was a friend of his, and he begged that time and place might be named for a meeting

This was the beginning of a disorganization which led to mistrust and jealousy between the Government and the citizens, and ended in revolt and massacre among the whites themselves.

Hitherto the people of color had remained quiet; nor was there any manifestation of revolt until the next year, 1790, when a young man, a free mulatto of education, arrived in the island from France, *viâ* Charleston, South Carolina. His name was Ogé. This person soon collected a body of free colored people, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred, with arms, at a place called La Grande Rivière.¹

The Government troops, aided by the National Guards, or militia of the town, after great loss of men by sickness, dispersed the rebels, and drove their leaders into the Spanish territory, where they were arrested and sent to the Cape by water. They were, I think, twenty-one in number, — a white priest, the commander Ogé, his lieutenant Marc Chavanne, and eighteen others. The two chiefs were broken on the wheel, and the priest and the rest were hung in the Church Square.² I shall

in the morning, Burling referred him to me and went home, and I agreed to meet Paigot the next morning at five o'clock in his lodgings, as all was now noise and bustle, to settle these points. Accordingly at five I was at Mr. Paigot's house; but he was not up, and on being called by his servant he came into the hall in his dressing-gown, and said he had been up all night with the mail-robber carousing and playing the fool, and had forgotten his engagement, but he would send for his friend and consult with him, although he wished the affair could be made up, as the young man would be a loss to his friends, and he knew Burling would shoot him. This gave me an opportunity to say that the whole thing lay with them, — they had given the challenge, and if they chose to withdraw it we were satisfied, as the saddle was on their shoulders. 'My friend,' said Mr. Paigot, '*est brave comme le poudre à canon*; but as every one was excited last evening the affair had better be dropped.'

¹ "At the time this insurrection broke out I belonged to a corps of young men, called the Volunteers, under the command of the Comte de Grasse. This corps was ordered into the country to join the army at La Grande Rivière, and the members who had horses were allowed to go on horseback to avoid the fatigue of marching on foot to headquarters, which was of itself enough to break down one half the company. The rendezvous in town was announced to the members, and they were ordered to be on the ground at nine o'clock in the evening. It rained with a violence seldom seen even in that climate, and after supping I filled my canteen with some old rum, took leave of my friends, whom I never expected to see again, and mounting my horse started for the place of meeting. I had not proceeded a hundred yards when I was addressed by a negro who inquired my residence. On asking his errand, he gave me a letter, which I read by the aid of a lamp, countermanding the order. You may be sure my heart leaped for joy; for had we proceeded, not one third of us would have returned alive."

² Jacques Ogé, son of a white planter and a mulatto woman, returned from France, where he had been sent to be educated, filled with the hope of avenging the wrongs of his class. Landing secretly at the Cape, he was joined by two or three hundred mulattoes, who, as related in the text, were defeated in their first encounter with the Government troops. Ogé and his lieutenant Marc Chavanne,

not here attempt to give any detailed description of this appalling spectacle, because it would be disgusting, although it was rendered imposing in the highest degree, and most awful by the preparations, the circumstances, and the forms which preceded the execution. Two regiments of free colored troops were drawn up on one side the square with their arms loaded; on the other three sides were the militia and Government troops. Intimations had been circulated that the free mulattoes would attempt a rescue; but as the Government did not choose to show any distrust of them, they were ordered on duty. The troops, assembled at eight o'clock in the morning, were obliged to remain in a burning sun until twelve at noon before the prisoners were brought out. The battalion was now called to order, and a proclamation was read by the assistant general declaring that if any person should attempt to signify a wish that the culprit should be pardoned, or that the execution should be suspended, whether such manifestation was made by word, act, or gesture, he should be instantly shot dead on the spot without form of trial.

The suffering of the troops was great from thirst and exhaustion, and great murmuring had arisen among them on account of the length of time they had already been kept on the ground in a line, before the prisoners arrived. A glass of water was not to be obtained at any cost or by any means, and a faintness prevailed throughout the whole line of the militia, which was greatly increased by the sight of so many fellow-beings brought before them for execution. The expectation that the corps of mulattoes, composed of about twelve hundred men, would revolt, did not diminish their sufferings or strengthen their sinews; but the moment the proclamation was finished, every man throughout the line on the four sides of the square was as fixed as if he had been bound to a bar of iron.

The first step on the part of the colored people to produce a general insurrection having failed, and peace being restored for a while, the whites became supine, and confident of their own power to control

a quadroon like himself, fled to the Spanish territory, where they were seized and given up to their enemies. Early in March, 1791, they were tried, and condemned to do penance, kneeling in their shirts, bareheaded, with heavy waxen torches in their hands, before the door of the church at the Cape; to confess and ask pardon of God, the king, and justice; to be broken on the wheel in the Place d'Armes, and to have their heads cut off and exposed on stakes. Although Ogé made a full confession of the plot in which he had been engaged, he was put to death with Chavanne on the 9th of March in the cruel manner prescribed. Two days later, Vincent Ogé, Jacques' brother, shared his fate; twenty-one of their followers were hanged, and thirteen were condemned to the galleys for life. The barbarous treatment of these unhappy men excited a storm of indignation in France, and led to the decree of the General Assembly, on May 15, which gave the privileges of French citizens to all men of color in her West Indian colonies.

them.¹ But they were not aware that the ease with which they suppressed the first insurrection was one of the causes of the complete success of those who were preparing a second. The Abbé Grégoire had published in France an inflammatory pamphlet on the emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies,² which had been brought out to St. Domingo and circulated among the free mulattoes, and its contents discussed with great vehemence by the planters and slaveholders generally, at their own tables and elsewhere, in the presence of their house servants, who could not long remain ignorant of the fears and weakness of their masters. However well they were treated, their imagination soon became excited, and that real or imaginary love of liberty which is inherent in our nature broke loose, and was fanned into a flame by their masters, who, while they were cursing the Abbé Grégoire for writing on the subject of negro emancipation, were wearing the cap of liberty themselves, talking of the *rights of man* before their own slaves, and by their republican opposition to the old Government encouraging their slaves to rise against them.

However culpable the Abbé Grégoire may have been in attempting to rouse the slave against his master, the planters and slaveholders generally were not less so in vaunting their own success in destroying the ancient government of France. Their own freedom was the daily subject discussed at dinner, and the violent means by which it was obtained was justified and applauded. How could slaves who had any perceptions stand by and hear such conversations between their masters and not feel that the arguments were as good for *them* as they were for those who, claiming the right *as men* to be free, insisted on enslaving others?³

It *was* then the publication of tracts on emancipation, aided and enforced by the imprudence of the planters and other white inhabitants

¹ They supposed that all danger had ceased in consequence of Oge's barbarous punishment; but, to use the expression of Mirabeau, "they were sleeping on the margin of Vesuvius, and the first jets of the volcano were not sufficient to awaken them."

² Letter of the Abbé Grégoire, Bishop of the Department of Loire at Cher, Deputy of the National Assembly, to the Citizens of Color in the French West Indies, concerning the Decree of the 15th of May, 1791.

³ A writer in the "Quarterly Review," vol. xxi., 1819, speaks of the frenzy which seized on the minds of the more wealthy part of the colonists at this time: "With a population of slaves outnumbering the rest of the inhabitants in the proportion of seven to one (Edwards says sixteen to one; see preface to *op. cit.*), they planted the tree of liberty, pulled down the legitimate authorities, and set up the pernicious doctrine of equality and the rights of man. Their madness moved the negroes but little; but the free people of color, equal to the whites in number, set up their claim to an equality of rights." According to Edwards, chap. 1, pp. 28 and 36, the French part of the island contained thirty thousand whites, twenty-four thousand mulattoes, and four hundred and eighty thousand negroes.

of the island, joined to the secret arts of the free mulattoes, which brought about the insurrection of 1791.

When this insurrection broke out (middle of August) I was in the United States, but embarked immediately on hearing the news, as a part of my immediate family as well as my partners in business remained at the Cape, one of whom, Mr. Burling, had been already severely wounded in the first severe conflict that took place between the whites and the insurgents.¹

1 "When the insurrection first broke out the Government sent a small party of regular soldiers to put it down, but they were repulsed by numbers and returned to town. The Government then sent Colonel Touzard with some regular troops and a body of cavalry formed of the citizens of the town. My partner, Mr. Burling, belonged to this corps and went out with them. There was also a Mr. Selles (a friend of ours who was a sub-officer of the company), a man six feet two, and of great muscular power, from whom I had the following account of the attack and overthrow of the blacks at that time. Colonel Touzard had lost his right arm at Rhode Island during the Revolutionary War under Rochambeau, and was at this time lieutenant-colonel of the Cape, commanded by Colonel the Baron de Champford. 'As the cavalry came to a turn in the road,' said Selles, 'we met our scouts riding back with great haste to inform us that there was a large body of eight or nine hundred blacks and mulattoes on the road, with three pieces of cannon which they had planted in front of them, one of which was a very large piece placed in the middle of the highway and pointed directly towards us. They added that a great part of these people were well mounted, and that their matches were lighted to fire the cannon, should we approach them, by those who had charge of the guns, the shot of which must, from the dense mass of our corps confined in a narrow road, mow down half the company, when the mounted mulattoes would charge the flying remnant and cut them to pieces, and therefore recommended immediate retreat until the infantry came to their aid. Colonel Touzard, however, chose to see the enemy himself, and ordered the corps to advance. One of the soldiers or citizens who was in the first rank at this juncture found out that he was not in his proper place, and said it was not, and fell back into the third or fourth rank. Burling saw this movement, and immediately clapped spurs to his horse and took the place the other had left, which brought him within two or three of the file leader in the front rank and near to Colonel Touzard. When the corps, which was composed of about forty or fifty men at most, came in full view of the enemy, Touzard ordered a halt, and made a short address to the little troop, exhorting them to be firm and steady in their charge, which was now their only chance of escape, as retreat was inevitable death. 'Close your ranks firmly, draw your swords, and move forward on a quick trot; and when I give the word to *charge*, give spur to your horses and dash into the cannon's mouth.' When the troop had arrived so near that they could see the preparation made to fire off the three pieces of cannon at once, the colonel cried, "*Attention! Charge!*" As soon as the word to *charge* was given, Touzard clapped his reins in his mouth, and with his left hand plucked out his sword with such sleight of hand that Mr. Burling, who had his eye upon him, could hardly see the motion. The moment the blacks saw the horse charge they fired the three pieces which had been loaded with all sort of implements that they could pick up or extract from the copper boilers, among which the broad-headed copper spikes were the most abundant. About a dozen of the troop fell from their horses, and the rest dashed past the cannon and into the thickest of the insur-

On my arrival I found Mr. Burling still confined with his wound, and the Cape in a state of siege.¹ The insurgents or revolted slaves,

gents' horsemen, who were waiting for the smoke to clear off that they might see the effect of their fire, and take advantage of the discomfiture and flight of the whites. I saw Burling,' said Selles, 'make at a mulatto whose head was covered with plumes, and who was doubtless one of their chiefs, as he was remarkably well mounted; but no sooner had he approached him than another mulatto chief rode up, and was in the act of cutting him down when Burling saw him, and received his blow on the back of his broadsword, and at the same moment plunged the blade into the fellow's body, and he fell down from his horse to the ground. Burling now turned to look for his first assailant; but he had turned to fly with his troops, who were broken and scampering in all directions. Burling followed, but the mulatto was better mounted; and Burling, seeing he could not overtake him, drew his pistol, and laying his reins on his horse's neck shot the man dead. The mulatto fell forward over his horse's head, and Burling, who was close behind at full speed, leaped over his body in pursuit of others. The bugle had sounded the repeal to prevent the whites getting too far away from each other, and Selles was in pursuit to rally them when he overtook Burling and called to him to stop.' 'Well, what do you want?' said Burling. 'The men are recalled,' said Selles, 'and you must go back.' 'When I have knocked that fellow off his horse I'll go back,' said Burling. 'Why, man, are you wounded?' said Selles. 'Not I,' said Burling, and he put spurs to his horse; but the moment of inaction he had had, showed him Selles was right, for one of his legs was stiff, and on looking down he found his boot was full of blood. He accordingly returned with Selles, and was with the other wounded men put on board a boat to be sent to the Cape. There was one poor fellow by the name of Le Sage who had received a copper spike in his knee from which he suffered excessive pain. When they were landed, the surgeon, Valentine, a friend of ours, came to Burling first; but he would not let the doctor touch him till he had relieved Le Sage, who, poor fellow! died that night."

¹ "At the time the insurrection broke out my brother James was on a visit with his wife and child to the Marquis de Rouvry on his plantation near Fort Dauphin. The following account, taken from his widow lady, who is still living, may be depended on as fact:—

"We had been passing a fortnight with the Comte d'Hautval on his plantation, and on our way home had engaged to dine with the Marchioness de Rouvry, and then go on to the house of M. Obeluc, the procurator of the Plantation Galifet, where the insurrection first broke out. On our arrival at the De Rouvry plantation shortly before the dinner-hour in company with M. Baury de Bellerive and his lady and child, who also came from the Comte d'Hautval's, we were told that Madame had gone to a neighboring plantation, but that she expected us, and would be home in season for dinner. On her return she informed us that she had ascertained on inquiry that the whole country was in a state of insurrection; that as yet her slaves were ignorant of the fact, though it was to be feared they would know it soon, as there was a general alarm, and people began to fly in all directions. We then held a council to decide what course we had best pursue, and determined to leave the plantation that night at twelve o'clock for Fort Dauphin. In the evening a slave passed through the estate, and informed the negroes that their fellows were burning and destroying everything. We soon discovered what had happened by the changed manners of the slaves,—their insolence and bravado, their noise and general deportment,—but we nevertheless sat down to dinner from a rich service of plate, though we ate little, and spent but a short

commanded by a black named Jean François,¹ had possession of the whole plain for sixty miles along the coast, and were still burning and plundering the country.

time at table in gloomy silence. The members of Madame de Rouvry's family then at home were her daughter, a beautiful girl of sixteen; a young lady, her instructress; and a lady who had escaped from one of the neighboring estates that afternoon. The Marquis was in the mountains on business. The lady of the house packed up her plate, and ordered the carriages to be got ready and brought to the door just before midnight. There were evident marks of discontent on the faces of the servants, and some money was necessary to bribe the coachmen to harness their horses and get ready to start. At twelve o'clock we left the house in three carriages. The Marchioness and her daughter and instructress were in the first carriage, with the plate; myself and child, with Madame Baury and her child, were in the second; and Mr. Perkins and the lady who had escaped as above stated, were in the third. M. Baury was on horseback. As we were apprehensive of being stopped if we met any of the insurgents, the drivers were ordered to avoid a village which was in our route; but before their intention was discovered they had gone so far on the road that led to it, that we could not turn back without showing them our fears, and it was judged best to let them go on. Mr. Perkins and M. Baury had agreed, in case the drivers refused to proceed, to put them both to death, and to mount their horses and drive the carriages themselves. These gentlemen were both armed; and as all our lives depended on getting to Fort Dauphin there was no other alternative. When we arrived at the village we found the houses filled with lights, and the slaves howling and dancing throughout the place. On reaching the centre of the village Madame de Rouvry's postilion drew up and stopped the whole party. We now gave ourselves up for lost, but felt the necessity of keeping silent as long as we could, for fear of alarming the blacks by whom we were surrounded, and who were evidently rejoicing over the events of the day. Madame de Rouvry, who was a woman of great courage and who was much feared by her slaves, ordered the fellow to proceed instantly or she would have him punished in the severest manner. The man hesitated; but her voice, which he had been accustomed to obey, drove him from his purpose, and he proceeded through the hamlet so quietly that the insurgents, who were all in the houses dancing and beating their drums, never discovered us. The presence of M. Baury, who was on horseback and armed with a sword, undoubtedly influenced the postilion's decision to go on rather than run the risk of being put to death.^a The fugitives arrived safely at Fort Dauphin about four o'clock in the morning, to the great surprise of the inhabitants. A gentleman of that place, to whose house they drove, assured them that the fears of the regular troops there were so great that they could not be prevailed on to march into the country even a few miles. A 'droger' was procured, and the party embarked in her for the Cape, a distance of about forty miles. A mattress was laid on the ballast of the vessel for Mrs. Perkins and her child to rest upon during the passage."

¹ Jean François took the title of Grand Admiral of France, and his lieutenant Béasson that of Generalissimo of the conquered districts.

^a In this account of the escape of Madame de Rouvry and her guests nothing is said of Mousse, the faithful slave who warned them of their danger and facilitated their flight. In 1785, six years before the breaking out of the insurrection, this poor fellow was landed at Cape François from a slave-ship, and taken to the slave-market in an apparently dying condition. One of the brothers Perkins, happening to pass by, observed his pitiful condition, remonstrated with the slave-dealer on his inhumanity, and on being told with an oath

The unhappy whites, male and female, who had fallen into their hands were in the most deplorable condition that the imagination can conceive. The women, old and young, were collected together on the floor of a church about twelve or fifteen miles from the Cape, where many of them fortunately died under the brutality to which they were subjected. Such were the shocking accounts received of the sufferings and degradation of these unfortunate ladies that the Government thought proper to fit out an expedition under the command of the late gallant Colonel Touzard,¹ whom the negroes had named Manchot because he had but one arm, the force of which they had felt in the first conflict. This gallant officer, who had lost his right arm in this country during the Revolutionary War, stormed their position, destroyed many hundreds of them, and brought off all the whites that remained alive; but many of the females afterwards sank under their sufferings and mortifications, and were relieved by death from an insupportable burden.

The first person of any distinction who fell by the hands of the insurgents was M. Obeluc,² proctor of the Plantation Galifet, one of the most amiable and virtuous men in the colony. Himself and all his family, except one young man who made his escape, were murdered and outraged in the most barbarous manner.

¹ Colonel Touzard marched with a body of militia and troops of the line to the plantation of M. Latour, and attacked a body of about four thousand negroes. Overwhelmed by numbers, he was at length obliged to retreat. Had the negroes dared to follow him to Cape Français, they might easily have destroyed the town.

² M. Obeluc, the overseer of the Galifet plantation, where the kindness shown to the negroes was proverbial, was so firmly persuaded of their fidelity that he ventured to return there with a few soldiers, and paid the penalty of his rash confidence by death at their hands.

that the poor devil was not worth caring for, and could be bought for half a Joe (doubloon), paid the money, and sent the unfortunate African to the hospital, where he eventually recovered. Mousse was then employed in the counting-house, where he soon gained the confidence of his masters. In 1791 he went with Mr. James Perkins to Madame de Rouvry's, and by giving him timely information of the proceedings of the slaves probably saved the lives of the whole party. Mousse then returned to Mr. Samuel Perkins, who mentions him in the narrative (p. 39) as one of the blacks in his house when the town was destroyed. Mr. Perkins's only surviving daughter states that when her father was obliged to fly for his life from St. Domingo, Mousse refused to be left behind, swam out to the boats, and insisted on being taken on board. From the time of his arrival in Boston until his death in August, 1831, Mousse lived in Mr. James Perkins's house as a valued servant. An obituary notice of him which appeared in a Boston daily paper of the 13th of August speaks of Mousse's warm attachment to all the members of the household, and of the esteem in which he was held by old and young for his honesty, independence of character, and warmth of heart. "His remains," says the same notice, "were yesterday deposited in the family vault under St. Paul's Church by the side of those of his late master, who was fondly attached to him." It is said that the name of Mousse, a corruption of Monseur, was given to him by his fellow-slaves in acknowledgment of his dignified deportment and superiority of character. He gave his real name as Deyaha, and said that after he had been captured by slave-dealers while tending sheep with his father in the interior of Africa, he was a month on his march to the coast.

This, reader, was the consequence of the first step taken by the abolitionists in disseminating their *philanthropic* tracts in the island of St. Domingo!!!¹

CHAPTER III.

Reminiscences of St. Domingo, continued.

THE period at which the last chapter closed was the autumn of 1791. Several plantations within the range of country nominally under the control of the insurgents were still in possession of their owners at this period, who defended their canes and sugar works as well as their dwellings, aided by their own slaves, against the ravages and incendiary projects of the revolted blacks.

The fidelity of the slaves in many instances was so great towards their masters that no persuasion and no threats on the part of the insurgents could tempt them to revolt; and at the risk of their own lives they maintained and protected the estates from injury. This course of conduct was not confined to those plantations where the proprietors resided, but was successfully followed up by the slaves themselves in one instance at least, within my own knowledge, for several years, and until tranquillity was finally restored in 1794. This remarkable case I shall take the liberty of relating in the course of my narrative, as it shows a devotion on the part of the slaves towards their master and his interest and prosperity, long after he ceased to be a proprietor, and for several years after he had quitted the island and resided in this country (Charleston, South Carolina), which has but few, if any parallel in history. The proprietor of this plantation was a M. Lefèvre, an elderly gentleman of great respectability and large fortune. Other cases of strong attachment and affectionate regard were shown by the blacks towards the proprietors and their families that reflect the greatest honor upon, and mark the distinguished gratitude and benevolence of these unhappy people, who, but for the ruthless pretenders to a philanthropic spirit, might have remained in peace and contentment to the end of their days. The Chevalier Dupérier, whom I have before mentioned as having always distinguished himself among the wise and humane proprietors, was at home when the revolt began to show itself. As it spread, it approached his plantation, and his slaves were invited to join in the general insurrection. Of this they informed their master; and as he had no means of

¹ It is said that within two months after the breaking out of the insurrection, two thousand whites had been massacred, one hundred and eighty sugar and nine hundred coffee and indigo plantations destroyed, and twelve hundred Christian families reduced to beggary. Ten thousand inhabitants had perished by famine and the sword, and several hundreds by the hand of the executioner.

defence against the great mass of the revolted, he found it necessary to abandon his estate, and make the best retreat he could to the town. With this intention, he ordered his carriage, intending to save his life, if he could, by the sacrifice of everything else. As soon as it was known among his slaves that he was about to leave them and to abandon his plate and other valuables, they assembled in a body and insisted on going with him as an escort to protect him against the revolted negroes. Not contented with this mark of their attachment, they collected the carts and mules, and loaded them with the valuable movable furniture of the house, placed all his plate in his carriage, and surrounding him in a body, armed with clubs, brought him safe to the city. This is only one instance out of many of the same nature which occurred during the first excesses of the insurrection.¹ M. Duplessis, a descendant of one of the first families in Europe and a large proprietor in St. Domingo, his mother, wife, and child, were escorted in the same manner through the midst of the revolted blacks by his slaves, who actually defended them at the risk of their own lives against the insurgents, who made every effort in their power to detain them.² Immediately after

¹ One of the most striking stories of negro fidelity is that of a slave belonging to M. Baillou, the proprietor of a mountain plantation, about thirty miles from Cape Français, who concealed his master's family in the woods, fed them with provisions from the rebel camp for nineteen nights, and then brought them safely to Port Margot. (Bryan Edwards, *op. cit.* p. 100.) After Colonel Mauduit's assassination (p. 309), his scattered limbs were collected by a black servant named Pierre, who gave them burial, "and, having washed them with his tears, made that tomb which his piety had raised his own funeral pile." (Lacroix, quoted in "Quarterly Review," 1819, p. 437.)

² "When this gentleman, M. Duplessis, found that the negroes of the neighboring plantation were all in insurrection, he determined to quit his residence and endeavor to reach the Cape with his family. He accordingly picked up what plate he had at hand, and with his wife and child, his wife's mother, and the child's black nurse, started for the city, *he* mounted on horseback, and the family in a cabriolet dragged by three mules. His blacks insisted on accompanying the carriage for the protection of its inmates; and they accordingly surrounded it, and the whole cavalcade set off for the Cape. As the carriage could not move faster than the slaves who had volunteered to protect it, the insurgents were not long in overtaking and surrounding it, threatening to put the postillion to death if he did not stop. The old lady — mother of Madame Duplessis — was a woman of strong character, very pious and very amiable; she was beloved by the slaves for her gentleness and benevolence, and was well known throughout that quarter of the plain for her just and kind treatment, as well as her absolute control over the blacks with whom she was brought in contact.

"The first step of the insurgents, after stopping the carriage, was to take out the black nurse and the child, the latter of whom was immediately seized by one of the men with a view to destroy it, as appeared by his language and attitudes. The mother had fainted, and the father was at a great distance ahead of the carriage, so that there was none but this old lady to protect the party; for their own slaves were unable to resist, both for the want of arms, with which the insurgents were furnished, and from their limited numbers compared with the incendiaries.

the destruction of the Cape, M. Duplessis, then between sixty and seventy years of age, came to this country with his family, and sold milk in the city of New York for their support, which he himself carried round to his customers, preserving his good-humor and gentlemanly manners towards every one he dealt with.

I remember that a friend of mine who had known him in the days of his fortune told me that being out early in one of the streets in New York he passed an old man, whose white locks first attracted his attention, leading a horse and crying, "Milk for sale!" At the moment he spoke my friend stopped, struck with his foreign accent and fine countenance, which he thought resembled that of some one whom he had before seen. The milkman took from his panniers a tin vessel, and entered a kitchen door of one of the houses. There was something in the face, the tone of the voice, the long white hair that covered his head, and the general movement of this person that riveted my friend to the spot where he stood, until the old gentleman again came forth. He could not tell why, but there was something in the appearance of the milkman that drew my friend towards him, intending to ask for a cup of milk, by way of introduction to a further conversation. When they came nearer, they both looked with eagerness at each other for a moment and then exclaimed simultaneously, "Good God! is this

The plantations were in flames on all sides of them, and the hands of the negroes were still wet with the blood of their late proprietors. 'Take him into the field,' said one of the savages, 'and cut his head off with a bill-hook.' 'Arrêtez, Malheureux!' exclaimed the old lady, 'n'avez-vous pas d'enfants vous même? [Stop, wretch! have you no child of your own?] Have you no fear of God, who sees what you are doing, and will repay on the heads of your own children the evil you inflict on this innocent child? What has *he* done to your race that you should destroy him? If you wish for blood and for vengeance on one who has held you in bondage, take *my* life, but spare the life of the unoffending infant. And *you*, wench!' (addressing one of their women) 'how dare you suffer those wretches to commit this horrible crime? Have you no religion, no hope in God's mercy, no love for your own offspring, that you see an innocent baby sacrificed without cause, without object, and without any possible good to yourselves? Fly! quick! for I see the tear of compunction in your eyes. Fly, and save the child, and save your own soul by restoring him to his mother and his nurse unharmed; and great shall be your reward hereafter!' A universal shout arose among the women of the insurgents, and they ran in a body to the spot where the child had been carried. In the mean time, M. Duplessis had discovered that the carriage had been stopped, and he was returning full speed to see what was the difficulty, when his mother-in-law ordered the postilion to make signs to him to proceed on and not return to them, knowing his life would be endangered. This the postilion did, and at the same time pointed out a party of insurgents who were running across a field to cut off his escape. M. Duplessis saw the danger, and putting spurs to his Spanish jennet soon left his pursuers in the rear. He then stopped to watch the movements of the carriage, and soon had the satisfaction to see it move on to join him. The harangue of the old lady had produced the desired effect on the females of the band. The child was restored unharmed, and the carriage permitted to proceed."

M. Duplessis? Is this Mr. P——?" A few minutes served to explain to my friend the situation of this worthy old gentleman, who said that he had taken a small farm in the neighborhood, where he kept four or five cows, which furnished him with milk enough to keep the family from starving; that he had two or three slaves that chose to follow him to this country, who aided by their labor on the farm; that his wife took care of the dairy, and he brought the milk to town to sell; that he had a good farm that would easily maintain four or five cows more if he had the means of buying them, but that he had no reason to complain, for his family were all in good health, and were constantly employed, so that when night came they enjoyed a refreshing sleep which enabled them to pursue their daily routine of labor without much suffering; but, said he, "if I had four or five cows more, I should be the most independent man in the country, for I should have all I want this side the grave." "That you shall not want long," said my friend; "come with me and you shall have the means of buying the cows if that will make you happy." He presented the old gentleman five hundred dollars in cash, which the latter declared made him as rich as a Jew, and would make his wife as happy as a queen.

I have related this anecdote because it shows that a good and well-balanced mind can be happy even in poverty; that, however elevated our situation may have been, if we have a proper view of our dependence and uncertain state in this life and a due and proper confidence in the Almighty, we cannot be degraded by the accidental loss of our property.

CHAPTER IV.

Recollections of St. Domingo, continued.

As the exclusive object of these Sketches is to show the effects and consequences of the revolt and insurrection of the blacks of St. Domingo, I have purposely omitted a variety of interesting and touching circumstances relating to the disputes between the citizens, the soldiers, and the local Government, and the massacres that ensued; but there is one fact which, although not necessarily allied to my general plan, is in some degree connected with the events I am recording, and as it forcibly illustrates a trait in human nature (not unknown nor unacknowledged by men of observation), I may be excused for relating it.

The government of the Northern Department of the island, of which the Cape was the principal city, had made a stand against the outbreaks of the people in favor of the French revolution, and many of the most respectable citizens had thought it their duty, for the purpose of maintaining order, to side with the ancient authorities in preserving the

peace of the community. Although the Government had neither violated nor intrenched on the rights or privileges of the citizens, there was a jealousy existing between them which only required a bold and desperate spirit to inflame it into wild hatred and open violence.¹ Such a one was found in a young man of a Jewish family of respectability, who had been discarded by his father for his dissipated and abandoned habits. This young man, with much art and address, had by false representations and a show of ingenuousness, gained the friendship of M. Cagnon, a merchant of high standing and large fortune, who had ministered to his wants, supplied him with money for his support and comfort, and in all things contributed, as far as in his power, to restore him to the favor of his indignant parent, who was a man of character and substance; but he eventually discovered that his bounty was wasted on a profligate, and he ceased to supply him any farther.

This gentleman, who was one of the most noble-spirited men in the city, beloved by everybody who knew him for his benevolent nature and amiable manners, commanded a company of cavalry, composed of merchants and other men of character and respectability. At a general review of the militia of the town, he had been despatched with his corps to the Government House on duty. The uniform of this company was yellow, and had been such for many years before the revolution. This color, it seems, was obnoxious in the eyes of the young Jew, as he alleged to his comrades in the line where he was placed under arms, because it was the same color as that worn by the Regiment d'Artois in France. This pretext was doubtless set up with a view to rouse the indignation of those around him, having, as was believed, determined on ridding the city of his old benefactor, whose purse he could no longer command. When M. Cagnon (for that was the officer's name) returned with his troop to join the militia, the young Jew stepped out of the ranks as the other approached him on the march, and ordered the captain to strip off his coat, which he said was the badge of aristocracy. The officer, finding himself thus addressed by a young man whom he had saved from starvation and prison, was for a moment utterly astounded, but recovering himself he asked by what right *he* called on him to do an act so humiliating. The answer was: "By the right of the voice of your fellow-citizens. Off with your coat at once, or I will strip it off for you!" M. Cagnon replied with great gentleness that if his uniform

¹ "It must be owned that some of the nobility were very indiscreet in censuring and laughing at the bourgeois. Madame la Marquise de Rouvry used to say publicly that formerly under the old *régime* the soldiers' password when on duty was 'Prenez garde à vous!' ('Take care of yourself!') corresponding to the English cry of, 'All's well,' but now, under the republican system, the password was, 'Prenez garde à moi' ('Take care of me'). Such things naturally irritated the citizens, and produced ill-will towards the higher classes."

was offensive to his fellow-citizens, he would retire to his house and change his dress to gratify them. "No, citizen; off with it here on the spot!" replied the miscreant, presenting his musket at the breast of his benefactor, "or take the consequence of your refusal." "Never," said Cagnon, "while I live, shall my name be disgraced by an act so degrading to an officer and a gentleman!" The words had scarcely passed his lips before he was shot dead by this vile assassin, and a general massacre of the corps which he had commanded immediately commenced.¹ How many were destroyed I know not, but I saw several of them flying, laid prostrate on their horses, to save themselves from the fate they had just seen their comrades suffer. After this act of cruel and cool barbarity, the militia marched through the town with pieces of the coats of the troops that they had just murdered hanging to their bayonets. There is no doubt that most of the militia abhorred the act that they had not presence of mind or nerve enough to prevent; but the effect was nevertheless most encouraging to the blacks, who could not but rejoice at seeing their masters cutting each other's throats.

The base ingratitude and barbarous spirit of the young assassin was universally spoken of with horror; but there were many who had joined him in the attack on these unhappy men, and some who applauded the act, but soon it was forgotten by the occurrence of new scenes of blood and insurrection, and was overlooked and forgotten.

This was previous to the insurrection of the slaves, and was one of the encouraging circumstances which led to that event, but it was not the only evil that resulted from the disorganized state of society and the consequent laxity in the discipline of the troops of the line. About this time a whole regiment of artillery, which had command of the

¹ "M. Cagnon, with about sixteen followers, went into the body of their enemy to deliver themselves up. M. Lavard, commandant of the lately arrived dragoons, met him in a friendly and proper manner, begged him to quit his coat, as it was displeasing to the troops, and assured him of his protection. It was too humiliating for the commandant of so respectable a corps, and a man who on all occasions had behaved so well as M. Cagnon to be obliged to strip himself in the street; he would go home and do it, but not there. While they were discussing the point, a pistol was fired by one of Cagnon's party, and immediately four of them were shot dead, among which the lamented Cagnon fell. Had their fury stopped there, they might be forgiven; but no, they must add barbarity to murder. They cut off his head, stabbed his dead body in several places, cut his jacket to pieces, dipping them in his blood, and wore them in their shoes and on the end of their swords as trophies of victory." — *Extract from a letter written by S. G. Perkins to his brother James, dated Cape, Oct. 20, 1792.*

"Poor Cagnon is lamented by all the town. It is certain he did not fire at all, but sacrificed his life rather than submit to be stripped in the street. As commandant of a respectable corps, I think him right. He had rather die than be disgraced. At present there is a momentary calm, but I fear much it will not long continue. The public stores are in want of every kind of provisions, and no means of obtaining them." — *Do., dated Cape, Oct. 26, 1792.*

powder magazine and the park of artillery, revolted and turned their officers out of their quarters.

When the Government called out the regular infantry and the militia of the town to subdue them, their chief told the commander of the troops that were assembled round their quarters that the first gun that was fired would be the signal to fire the magazine, which would blow him, his troops, and the whole city to atoms along with themselves. From the character of the man, this was known to be no empty threat, and was no balm to the suffering of the citizens who were drawn up under arms on the spot. There was no doubt as to the extent of the evil that would follow the least indiscretion on the part of the commander of the assembled troops, who was the colonel of the regular regiment of infantry. He stood firm, however, although it was whispered that his own regiment was wavering. "Go," said he to his soldiers, — "go, comrades, any who are disaffected or disinclined to act in the subjugation of the rebels, — go to your quarters; you have my free consent to hide your heads from this threatened danger, or rather this holy duty. I shall stay to complete the work I came to accomplish, and bring the LEADERS of this revolt to punishment (for it is only *a few* of the regiment who are guilty), even should I remain by myself." A shout of "Vive Champford, nous vous suivrons à la mort!" extended throughout the line of his troops, and in a moment all was silent again.

All this passed within the hearing of the insurgents, who had shut themselves up within the high iron railing which surrounded the artillery park, where they were formed in line with twenty pieces of loaded cannon pointed towards the surrounding troops, and with lighted torches in their hands.

The well-pointed emphasis on the word *leaders*, and the intimation that he considered that there were but few of the regiment who were guilty, was not lost on those who had been led into the revolt against their own inclinations. "Soldiers of the artillery," cried Colonel Champford, addressing himself to the insurgents, "am I mistaken in my conjectures? Is it not true that the great body of your corps has been led away by the few factious spirits among you? Your hitherto excellent discipline and soldier-like conduct and marked bravery in the field assures me that you cannot, as a body, have turned traitors to your country. It is only the criminal leaders of this revolt that will be made answerable to the laws; and I pledge myself to you as an officer whose word was never doubted, that those among you who have been led away by the influence of the chiefs of the revolt shall be pardoned and restored to your ranks without stain. Deliver up your chiefs therefore, and surrender yourselves prisoners to the Government."

The leader of the revolt, who was a desperate and bold villain, looked round on his troop to see what effect this speech had made on

them, when, seeing them hesitate, he attempted to apply his torch to the gun immediately under his command as a signal to fire the magazine; but he was seized before he could effect his object, as were the other leaders by their own comrades, and the whole regiment was marched out under the guard of the troops and lodged in the church, where they were kept until they had been tried and sentenced.

This happy termination of one of the most daring and alarming revolts ever known was owing to the skill and spirit of the Baron de Champford, colonel of the regiment of the Cape, — a brave and discreet officer, and an amiable and excellent man. The Baron kept his word: the leaders were punished in proportion to their relative degrees of crime, and the rest were restored to their ranks, and were drawn up on the Place d'Armes to witness the degradation and the execution of the two principal leaders of the revolt. The minor criminals were sent to the galleys.¹

These events are not to be forgotten by one who was an eye-witness to the various scenes herein described, and who had to perform the duties of a common soldier during this dreadful and alarming crisis.

¹ "The form or ceremony of the degradation was very solemn. The square of the Place d'Armes was surrounded with troops. On one side was the regiment of the Cape, or regular troops of the line; opposite to them was the mulatto regiment; on the side to the right of the regulars were the citizens under arms, and opposite to them were the artillery-men, who had been brought out with their side arms to witness the punishment of their comrades. The two principal leaders were placed in the centre of the square in full uniform and unbound; they were both sergeants, daring in their appearance, and reckless in their manner. The only thing that seemed to disturb them was the scaffold, which was erected under a gallows large enough for both. Their comrades, who had been sentenced to a milder punishment, were drawn up opposite to them, with their arms bound behind them, without arms or uniform. A small detachment was drawn out as a guard over them, and their sentence was then read. As soon as this was done, the adjutant-general, placing himself in the centre of the square, ordered silence, and then read a proclamation that any person who should ask for the pardon of the criminals, or suggest by word or deed a desire to save them or to mitigate their punishment, should be shot dead on the spot. One of the sub-officers of the regiment then advanced and stripped off, first, the sword from the side of the principal criminal, then his worsted epaulets, then his hat and coat, and then with the butt end of a musket struck him on the breech as a mark of official degradation. When this ceremony had been performed also on the other soldier, they were furnished with white caps and led to the scaffold. One of them appeared depressed and humiliated; but the leader never lost his insolent and audacious manner, and when placed under the drop attempted to address the soldiers, beginning with threats and denunciation against the officers of the troops generally; but his voice was soon drowned by the drums and trumpets of the guard, and they were both launched into eternity."

CHAPTER V.

Recollections of St. Domingo, continued.

FROM the autumn of 1791 until the summer of 1793 the town of Cape François was besieged by the black army of revolted slaves, and frequent attacks were made on its outposts by the troops of Jean François.

The inhabitants of the city were all, even to the foreign residents,¹ obliged to keep a strict guard to prevent surprise. The country afforded ample supplies to the besiegers, and the harbor was entered by all nations, who brought the means of support to its inhabitants. Some few plantations in the neighborhood of the city and the rising or mountain ground behind it were still free from the depredations of the blacks; and among these the Lefèvre plantation, which was defended by the slaves to whom it had been abandoned by its owner, to whom its revenues were regularly transmitted. In the beginning of the revolt other plantations were preserved by the judicious conduct of the proprietors, and among the rest that of the Comte de Corbier, which was defended for a long time by its spirited and energetic owner, who at the time of the revolt was confined to his bed by a rheumatic fever. His first care was to send off his wife and children to the city; his next was to assemble his slaves around his bed, and to communicate to them his determination to defend his property. M. de Corbier, although not old, was in the decline of life, and so infirm that he could not stand without support, and then with great suffering. His slaves gave him assurances of their fidelity, and offered to sacrifice themselves in his defence. He had on his plantation two small brass pieces of ordnance, which he caused to be put in good condition to oppose the enemy, who were in the neighborhood. Scouts and outposts were established, and reports were made to him as the insurgents changed their position. Though everything was in flames around him he still remained tranquilly in his bed. When at length the tide of sedition began to flow towards his own estate, and he was assured by his people that his plantation was their object, he caused himself to be placed on a litter, and to be transported to the entrance of the road by which the infuriated mob was approaching. Here he ordered the

¹ "The Americans had a guard-house assigned to them, where they were obliged to keep a regular watch every night. The guard was commanded by my brother James, and I acted as his lieutenant. We drew our forces from the American shipping as well as from the residents in the city. The arms and ammunition were kept at our house, and my brother, as captain, was accountable to the Government or military commander. We had some laughable scenes at this station, and one that came very near having a tragic ending."

cannon placed on either side of him as he lay stretched on his pallet, his body raised by pillows so as to see the operations of the combat. With a drawn sword in his right hand and a pair of pistols at his side, he conducted the defence of his estate in so masterly a manner that the insurgents were not only beaten off, but so roughly handled that he was left in peace until his crop had been gathered in and his sugar transported to the city. He then himself withdrew to the town, where I saw him stretched on his bed in extreme suffering. He afterwards came to this country with his family, and placed his eldest son under the care of one of my brothers.

I mention these facts as evidences of the sincere attachment of some of the slaves to their masters, and the little inclination they had to commit any outrage on them or to seek to obtain their freedom by violent means when uninfluenced by the misrepresentations and acts of the French philanthropists. But these very slaves, when once led into deeds of violence and crime by their black companions, became as daring and as reckless as the worst among them, and in some instances more so. How any virtuous mind, knowing these facts, can suppose that the flood of destruction when once raised to a head can be stopped by the friends of humanity, I cannot conceive. When once the passions are roused to desperation, the better feelings of men are lost in the general vortex and tumult of action. Slaves who would have died in defence of their masters but a short time before under such circumstances were the first to massacre them; and the only resource left to the whites, where there was any equality of force, was a war of extermination.

But let us follow the course of events as far as our recollections serve us. The Government of the Northern Department had undergone several changes. Commissioners had been sent out from France under pretence of tranquillizing the colony. One set had been recalled, or had returned to Europe without effecting any important end.¹ A new governor (Despatches) had been sent out with fresh troops from France, but their efforts were of no avail against a people who had no local habitation. They were here to-day and to-morrow in the mountain passes, while the European forces were dying by hundreds on the burning plains without even the consolation of having signalized themselves by one deed of daring. They had no enemy to contend with but the climate, no effort to make but against disease, no excitement to rouse their failing energies but the sad duty of burying their comrades in the trenches that were left open for their reception. This

¹ The arrival of the commissioners Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger in January, 1792, caused great terror in the island, as it was supposed that it would be followed by a general emancipation of the slaves. The commissioners returned to France in March or April.

could not last long: the troops were recalled to the city or its outposts, and the blacks had again full command of the plains.¹

¹ "A body of several thousand troops had been sent out from France under the command of General Rochambaud, and they were billeted or quartered on the citizens. We had four of them at different times in our family, although we were foreigners. In general they dined with the master of the house where they were lodged; but with us they ate by themselves. These forces cleared the plains for a time of the insurgents, who retired to the mountains to watch their foes as they were daily sinking under the influence of the climate. Such was the mortality among them that one half the whole army perished without seeing an enemy to encourage and animate them. As soon as these troops were recalled to the city the blacks rushed again to the plains with renewed confidence, and bearded the inhabitants at the entrance of the town, which they now invested and attacked almost nightly. Every white inhabitant was a soldier attached to some corps, and even the Americans were obliged to do duty whether they were residents or not. On recurring to this fact I am reminded of a laughable circumstance that took place one night when I had the command of the guard. There was a sail-maker—a French white man—who lived next door to us, who was in the habit of getting drunk every week or so, and making a great noise so as to disturb the neighborhood. My sister, Mrs. James Perkins, being quite unwell, I was requested by her or some one to silence this noisy fellow, whose cries and oaths were such as to annoy every one within hearing. I went to his door, but it was fastened, and I could not obtain an entrance. He was then bawling and howling like a maniac. I accordingly went for a guard of French soldiers, whom I brought to the spot, where we found our man in the street stark naked, attacking every one and alarming the whole neighborhood. When he saw the guard he attempted to escape; but as they presented their bayonets on every side he was obliged to surrender. As he had no clothes on, and very short hair, it was difficult to secure him, as he slipped through their hands whenever they attempted to seize him. I accordingly procured a wide board, to which, when some negroes had caught him, he was tied on his back, and carried through the streets to prison, where he was detained a week or more, and then on promise of good behavior released. This frightened him so much that he kept quite sober for a long while, always avoiding me, drunk or sober, as he would an evil spirit. One night, however, some time after the event just related, when I had charge of the guard, one of my sailor soldiers who had been posted as a sentinel at some distance from the guard-house and near the residence of the sail-maker came running to the guard-house without his musket, frightened out of his senses, and said that he had been surprised, had had his gun taken from him by a man who was stark naked, and who appeared to be mad. I knew at once that this must be my sail-maker, and taking two men with me, armed with muskets, and arming myself with my sword, we approached the quarter very cautiously, hoping if possible to surprise the fellow should he be still in the street. As we looked round the corner of a house near the spot, we saw our man marching backwards and forwards like a sentry, with his gun on his shoulder. At the least noise he would cry out, 'Qui vive?' and present his musket in the direction of the sound. As the gun was loaded with ball it was necessary to be cautious. We therefore got as near him as possible without being seen, and as he turned from me to walk back to his limit I sprang from behind the wall of the house with my sword upraised, crying, 'Down with the traitor!' No sooner did he hear my voice than he dropped his musket, and throwing himself on the pavement, face downwards, began to beg that I would spare his life. I put my foot on his back, and let him feel the point

At this period the Northern Department was commanded by General Galbaud, who was governor of the Cape. The troops had been fed principally by the American merchants at the Cape, who furnished provisions to the Government, — first for money, then for drafts on France. When these were refused payment, as was the case, bills on the French minister at Philadelphia were proffered, and in some instances accepted, in payment for the articles required for the soldiers. My drafts on M. de Ternant, then minister at Philadelphia, for twenty thousand dollars were at first refused payment, though subsequently paid. Orders were, however, given to make no more drafts on him, and the Government was nonplussed.

Forced loans had been tried before the drafts on France had been issued; the inhabitants were discouraged, and an earthquake had shattered almost all the buildings throughout the town.¹ The fear of a revolt among the slaves in the city compelled such of the white inhabitants as were not on military duty to keep guard before their houses during the night, relieving each other every four hours. The regular troops, who were in want of food, swore that unless some measures were taken to relieve them they would plunder the city. All was despair and distrust, and efforts were made to collect what remained from the depredations of the insurgents and to ship it off to this country.

In this state of things the governor called a meeting of the French merchants, to whom he represented the condition of the troops and the necessity of providing some means for their relief. At this meeting it was agreed, and unanimously voted, that if the American merchants would furnish the necessary provisions to the Government to satisfy the soldiers, they, the French merchants, would pay for the same at fixed prices in the produce of the island, which they daily received by coasting-vessels from places to which the revolt had not spread. This engagement was solemnly entered into by the merchants, and confirmed by the governor, who caused the American Board of Commerce to be notified of the fact. On receiving the notification the Board undertook to supply the funds needed, and without hesitation fulfilled their engagement to the amount of between eight and nine hundred thousand livres,

of my sword in his loins; then made him promise never to appear naked again in the street, and that he would in future be a quiet and good citizen."

¹ "About this time an earthquake took place which shattered the houses, which were built of irregularly shaped stones, to such a degree that it appeared impossible they could stand another shock. The like had never taken place before since the settlement of the Cape. The first shock was at daylight in the morning. It would be difficult to describe the terror of the inhabitants on this occasion. The second shock, which occurred in the afternoon of the same day, was much more formidable and alarming than the first, and seemed to us the precursor of some great evil, as it proved to be."

of which amount the house with which I was connected furnished upwards of one hundred and eighty thousand. When the provisions promised by the American merchants had been delivered, they found that the French warehouses which a few days before had been well stocked with sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, etc., were empty with the exception of a few belonging to the more honorable and respectable merchants. The goods had, as was supposed, been reshipped on board the coasters or the European ships that lay in port; and none from the coast had been sent to replace them.

There was nothing left to pay for the goods that had been delivered, and those who had emptied their magazines professed themselves unable to comply with the requisition. A representation of the facts was accordingly made to Governor Galbaud, and he felt it his duty to designate a number of merchants who had been present at the meeting as the responsible parties, and to direct the company of the public magazines to draw orders on them for their respective shares. This was done accordingly, and some goods were delivered in the early part of the morning of Monday the 16th of June, 1793; but the French merchants after breakfast on the same day generally refused to deliver anything more, without giving any reasons whatever for so doing. Some of them had indeed delivered their full quota agreeably to their original engagement; but this amounted to a small portion of the whole debt. It was soon rumored abroad that new commissioners, Polverel and Santhonax, had arrived from Port au Prince, the seat of the General Government, where they had been to quell a rebellion.¹ Dissatisfied with what they called the dictatorial ordinance of Governor Galbaud in forcing them to pay a debt which they had solemnly contracted, the French merchants resolved on applying to these all-powerful representatives of the nation for redress of their grievances. This they accordingly did; and on June 13th General Galbaud, arrested by the commissioners, was sent prisoner on board the ship of war "La Normandie" to be transported to France for trial.²

¹ The new commissioners were three Jacobins, Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud. The latter was sent back to France in 1793, leaving his colleagues absolute masters of the colony. Santhonax soon after got rid of Polverel by sending him home as bearer of despatches, and disembarrassed himself of General Rochambeau, who had arrived as commander-in-chief, by ordering him on board a corvette. He then nominated Toussaint l'Ouverture to fill his place. (Quarterly Review, 1819, p. 441.)

² In the attack on the Government House by twelve hundred seamen, Galbaud's brother was taken prisoner, while one of Commissioner Polverel's sons fell into the hands of the Government party. An exchange was proposed by the latter; but the commissioner refused to allow it, saying "that his son knew his duty, and was prepared to die in the service of the Republic." (Edwards, *op. cit.* p. 144.) On leaving St. Domingo, General Galbaud took refuge in the United

On Tuesday morning the American Board of Commerce sent a deputation to the commissioners with a memorial representing the facts, and asking payment of their debt in such manner as might appear just under the circumstances. The memorial was received by M. (or, as he was called, Citizen) Santhonax, who ordered the committee to return the next morning for their answer. On Wednesday morning, when, at the hour appointed, the deputation returned to the Government House for their answer, Citizen Santhonax placed in the hands of the chairman of the committee a printed document, ordering thirty-six merchants therein designated, jointly and severally, to pay the debt due to the Americans forthwith; and in default of payment on the first application the creditors were directed to apply to the procurator-general for redress. This officer was ordered by the same document to seize the property of the said merchants wherever it was to be found, and to sell as much of the same at public auction as was necessary to discharge the balance due the American merchants; and in case there was not property sufficient to be found, to seize the persons of the said merchants, and hold them in prison until the money was forthcoming.

On looking over the names designated, the chairman saw one or two names of gentlemen who had already paid their full quota, and he mentioned the fact to the commissary, considering it an injustice that they who had so honorably and promptly done their duty already, should be called on again to pay. "Withdraw, citizens," was the reply of this petty despot, "you have your answer" ("Retirez-vous, citoyens, vous avez votre réponse").

One of the gentlemen who had paid his portion without hesitation on the first demand was a M. Poussel, a merchant of the first class and standing in all respects. The committee thought it their duty to call on him immediately to show him the ordinance, and consult with him as to the course they had best take under the circumstances. The partner of M. Poussel, a gentleman whose name I now forget, read the paper with astonishment, but he said, with the greatest frankness, that the merchants of the Cape had rendered themselves responsible, and it was their duty to make good their engagements; that he could give no other advice to us than that we should see those who had not paid and show them the ordinance, and if they still persisted in refusal, to apply, as directed, to the attorney-general for aid. The whole of this day (Wednesday) was employed in hunting up the delinquents. As those whom we could find, absolutely refused to do anything, and others kept themselves out of our reach, we were obliged to call another meeting of the creditors to decide what was to be done. At this meeting it

States. The preceding governor, M. de Blanchelande, who came out in 1790, was guillotined in France, Aug. 9, 1793, and his son shared the same fate in July of the following year.

was agreed that the committee should call on the attorney-general the next day, and lay the subject before him.

Accordingly on Thursday morning, June 19, the committee proceeded to the house of the public functionary who was charged with the execution of the decree. He was not at home; but on their way to his house they saw the ordinance pasted on the walls of the houses, where it had been put the day before. Returning home they found the stores everywhere shut. The most gloomy silence prevailed in the streets, and the inhabitants, who were collected at various places in small knots or groups, eyed the committee as they passed, and showed evidently that they were speaking of them or their measures. Being acquainted with many of these persons, and seeing that something important was in agitation, I stepped up to one of those who had paid a portion of his quota and asked him the cause of all this gloom, and why the stores were shut. He replied, "You will know presently." The committee then proceeded to the Bay, as the street was called where their houses and stores were situated. Here a very different scene presented itself. All was bustle and agitation. The balconies were filled with persons armed with spy-glasses, looking attentively at the ships of war, and asking each other in loud tones what all this meant. Arrived at my house I was called up into the balcony, and a spy-glass was put into my hand. "See," said my partner, "the ships of war are getting springs on their cables, and have brought their broadsides against the town; what can all this mean?" I then related what we had seen in the upper streets; and we no longer doubted that some serious attack was intended, and that the merchants of the place were privy to the fact. The truth undoubtedly was that the French merchants, outraged by the arbitrary decree of the commissioners, whom they had but a day or two before petitioned to relieve them from the obnoxious Galbaud, and the still more obnoxious debt due to the American Board of Commerce, had now solicited protection from Galbaud himself and the French admiral against the still more obnoxious commissioners. Of this I have never had the least doubt, although I have no other evidence of the fact than the circumstances themselves. It has been said that an affront offered to some of the naval officers by the commissary or some of his mulatto troops, was the cause of the ships taking sides against the Government, but of this I know nothing. Be it as it may, we had not looked many minutes at the ships of war when we saw their large boats hauled alongside, and filled with armed men to the number of seven or eight hundred. There was no longer any doubt on our minds as to their object, and as we were well convinced that serious consequences would ensue, and perhaps the town be battered down, we sent off our books and valuable papers, together with such specie as we had on hand, on board a brig which was consigned to the house, whose

captain happened to be on shore with his boat, and was fortunately with us at the house.¹

In the mean time the armed sailors from the ships were landed and marched to the Government House, where the commissioners resided. This body of undisciplined men was headed by a brother of General Galbaud's, who had embarked with him. He bore the commission of a major in the army, as I was informed, and was considered a brave and good officer. As soon as this rabble, for it can be called by no other name, arrived in sight of the Government House and within shot of a battalion composed of two regiments of mulatto infantry, which was drawn up in front of it, two colored officers of rank from these regiments advanced, and demanded a parley with the leaders of the sailors. Galbaud ordered his people to halt, and immediately stepped forward with another officer to hear what they had to say. While saluting each other with profound respect, the mulattoes dropped their hats, and seized "*Massa Galbaud*" in their arms, while at the same moment a portion of the line of infantry discharged their pieces into the body of the sailors as they were standing huddled together, without any suspicion of treachery, awaiting the termination of the conference.² Many were killed dead on the spot, and many wounded; the rest fled at full speed to their boats, which still remained at the wharves, but so closely were they pursued by the mulattoes that few reached their ships in safety. Many of those who were in the rear, finding the boats had put off with those that arrived first, jumped into the water. Such as could swim were picked up and carried on board their ships, but many were drowned. The loss of men in this way was altogether great; but it formed only a portion of the total loss, which included those who were butchered on the occasion.

The commissioners had been doubtless informed of everything that was going forward, and knew that many of the citizens of the town who probably intended to join the sailors had been the movers in this foolish and inconsiderate measure. Doubtless an order had been given to massacre all the whites that were found in the streets, and it was most faithfully executed.³

¹ "It was fortunate for us that we decided as we did at once; for had we wasted half an hour, or even twenty minutes, it would have been too late, and we should have lost all our books and money. We had about fifteen thousand dollars on hand at the time in silver in bags. Scarcely was it placed in the boat when we heard the sound, and soon caught sight of a large body of regular troops; and the boat had not got half-way to the shipping when the whole street was lined with soldiers to prevent all communication between the shipping and the shore. No opportunity offered after this to save anything."

² "This fact was related to me by an eye-witness when I returned to the Cape six weeks afterwards, at which time Major Galbaud was confined in chains in prison. What finally became of him I never knew."

³ "A clerk of ours named Dubeau, a very athletic young man, told me that he

No sooner was this massacre ended than another scene of carnage commenced at the Government House, or in the gardens and square in front of it. A corps of young men of the first families, called the "Volunteers," composed of about three hundred high-spirited gentlemen, attacked the mulattoes, and attempted to enter the Government House

was one of the many spectators of the scene at the Government House, and that he fled with the rest down the street leading to the King's Wharf. Finding himself close pressed by the mulattoes, and numbers of merchants, as well as sailors, falling about him under the shot of the pursuers, who did not stop to examine the bodies, but followed the flying, he thought his only chance was to fall with the next volley. This he did, and as soon as the soldiers had passed over him in pursuit, he sprang on his feet and entered a house, where he secreted himself until he found an opportunity in the evening to get off to the shipping. I cannot resist an inclination to relate as briefly as possible an anecdote of this young man, Dubeau, which made a strong impression on my mind at the time it occurred. A gentleman whose name I now forget, but a man of some consequence, and a member of the Assembly, owed the house some two or three hundred dollars, and not having called to pay it as was expected, I sent M. Dubeau to him to collect the money. Dubeau returned without it, saying that the gentleman was unwell and could not be seen. Some time after I told Dubeau to go again; but he made some excuse, and showed such an aversion to going that I went myself to the house, and having inquired for the person was introduced to his chamber, where I found him walking the room. On making my business known, he begged pardon for not having paid the debt before, but said he had been confined for some weeks to his room, having been bitten by a mad dog, and that his physician had ordered him to remain indoors six weeks, when, if all was right, he might go out, and he would then call and settle the account. On my return to the counting-house, I mentioned the fact, and I observed Dubeau turn pale as ashes. A week or ten days elapsed when one day, while Dubeau was posting his books at a desk near the window that opened into the street, I turned towards the door and saw the gentleman in question, who had just arrived. Addressing him by his name, I asked him how he did. The moment his name was mentioned, Dubeau dropped his pen, sprang out of the window into the street, and took to his heels as if the man had presented a pistol at his head. I saw nothing more of him during the day, and could not account for this extraordinary behavior. The next day, when I called him to account for his conduct and absence from his duty, he related the following facts as an apology for his apparent derangement: 'Sir,' said the poor fellow, trembling from head to foot like a child, 'you will excuse me when you know the horror I feel at the name of a mad dog. My father died raving mad, having been bitten by my uncle, who had been bitten by a mad dog, and himself fell a victim to hydrophobia. I was young at the time, but I saw my father while under the effects of his wound, and the awful and heart-rending scenes that it produced in my family made such an impression on my mind that the thought of it almost makes me mad myself. When I first went to his house and was told the facts, I was so much alarmed and affected that I could not return, or tell you the reason why I declined going again. When he arrived here and you called him by name, I was seized with an indescribable terror, and the first impulse carried me out of the window and drove me away from the house. His presence haunted me during the whole day, and I was afraid to return home while it was light. Indeed, I have thought of nothing else since, and I hope the circumstances which I have related of my family misfortune may plead in my favor.'

and seize the commissioners. These, however, had made their escape into the country with a body of their guards; but the blacks had been armed, and their liberty proclaimed, so that the numbers that were collected to oppose the whites left this unhappy battalion of volunteers no chance of success. The greater part were destroyed, but some brave fellows among them escaped and joined themselves to other armed corps.

They did not, however, die unrevenged, for their discipline was excellent, having been trained under the Chevalier Dugrés and the young Comte de Grasse; and the efforts they made and the courage they displayed brought double their number to the ground. The scene was horrible. At the same moment a general massacre of the white inhabitants commenced in the upper part of the town; and as no boats could either come on shore or go off from it in consequence of the whole Bay being lined with white troops who were stationed there early in the afternoon to prevent all communication with the shipping, our house towards evening was filled with women who had fled from the emancipated slaves who were butchering all they could reach in the upper part of the town. Most of these were mulatto women, who fled with the rest when the massacre began. What became of them finally I know not, for as we ourselves had no means of escape they all left the house during the night, and sought safety elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI.

Recollections of St. Domingo, continued.

THE Government House was distant about half a mile from the residence of the American merchants; and the landing-place where the sailors had disembarked was nearly half that distance below them down the bay, but in full view from the balconies. A little further on was the Artillery Park, where a regiment was stationed. As the fighting was at some distance from the seaboard, we could only hear the rattling of the musketry, but could see none of the operations after the sailors had been driven into the sea, as the troops engaged were in the neighborhood of the Government residence. When the alarm among the inhabitants in our quarter had been raised to the highest pitch by the news that the commissioners had freed and armed the slaves, every one seized his firearms, and without concert placed himself at the corner of his street to defend his person and his property, or his family, if he had any, expecting momentarily that his own house servants would join in the massacres. Every moment accounts from the interior of the town were brought by the fugitives of the dreadful and deadly contention that was going on there between the white inhabitants and the armed slaves,

who now considered themselves authorized by the commissioners to commit every species of outrage. While some were struggling with the whites in the streets, others were robbing the houses of their most precious effects or committing acts a thousand times worse on the female inmates. A constant and unceasing fire of musketry had been kept up in the upper part of the city since the first attack of the mulatto regiments on the sailors, but when nightfall arrived it extended everywhere, for the fears of the whites led them to dread every one who appeared, and as they could not distinguish between the whites and blacks in the dark, it was only a cry of "Who's there?" and a shot followed the sound before the question could be answered. Thus, in the general panic whites destroyed whites and blacks destroyed blacks throughout the night, and one constant and incessant firing of musketry, with incessant roaring of cannon, was heard in every direction and even at our own doors till daylight. At this period a field-piece was planted at the corner of our house by some white soldiers, who began firing up the street, but they were soon driven from their position by other cannon at the head of it. The white troops that had in the early part of the afternoon been stationed along the seaboard to prevent communication with the shipping had withdrawn before dark, and had mostly joined the whites in defence of the town, and were now involved in the general warfare, but as the brigands of the country had been let into the city, the troops had by degrees been driven to their quarters, or to the Artillery Park, where they made their stand.

The quarter of the town where our house stood was entirely deserted, not a soul was to be seen at sunrise, and no boat of any kind was in sight from the front balcony. The hot contest was carried on chiefly at a distance from us (although a musket ball did find its way into our room while we were at breakfast). We were alone, and without support, except from our own arms.¹ We felt the necessity of escape, but we had no means left us, as there were no boats or boatmen to be seen. The cannon at the head of the street still kept up a regular fire towards the bay for some time after the enemy had retired. Soon after it ceased we heard a cry in the street, and running to the window saw a merchant of the city, who had commanded a troop of horse the day before, running swiftly to the water, with his sword drawn, and without his hat, crying as he went, "Sauvez-vous! tout est perdu!" Repeating these words with great vehemence, he plunged into the sea and swam towards the shipping. It was now time to look about us; we breakfasted, however, and consulted with

¹ "The white persons in the house, all well armed, were Mr. Burling, Mr. J. Carter, Mr. —, a French clerk of ours, whose name has escaped me, a young man named Porter, an apprentice of ours, and myself; the blacks, Tom, Samson, Plato, Moussa, Yorick, and Nancy the cook."

each other as to the course to be pursued. Although well armed, we could not expect to defend ourselves long against the numbers that would soon be upon us, and it was determined to try to rouse one or more of the boatmen who might be skulking behind some of the large flat-boats anchored along the bay, that were employed to load the shipping. After repeated calls from the front balcony for a passage-boat, with all the force we could muster, we at last had the satisfaction of seeing a black head raised above the side of one of these vessels; but all our appeals for help availed us nothing. The head was shaken in negation, and dropped out of sight. My partner, who was with us, was almost a cripple with the rheumatism. To attempt to swim to this boat was for him out of the question, and we could not and would not leave him, even if death had stared us in the face. Renewed calls for help brought up another black head and a friendly shake of assent. We all therefore left the house as we stood, without a second shirt to our backs, and even without carrying off our watches, which were left in our bedrooms, but armed with pistols for our defence.¹

We had the greatest confidence in our blacks, to whose leader — a faithful slave, whom we had long owned — we gave the charge to keep the doors shut, and to open them to no one but ourselves, should we be fortunate enough to return. This man had informed us the night before that he had been promised his liberty if he would join the rebels. We were in a few minutes placed on board a vessel belonging to Baltimore, that happened to be nearest the shore. Scarcely had we time to thank God for our escape, when, looking with a glass towards our house, we saw that it was surrounded by a troop of black cavalry; our doors were open, and our negroes were wading off towards the ships. I jumped into a boat with two sailors, and soon brought them all on board in safety. They told us that scarcely had we left the shore when they heard the tramp of the horses, and fearful of being obliged to join the insurgents, they quitted the house and made for the water, where they were hidden from the troops by the piles of lumber that covered the bay, or seaboard. This was on Friday morning, June 20. Our house

¹ "When we saw the means of relief before us, we were too much overjoyed to think of anything but the preservation of our lives, and our retreat was therefore rather precipitate. While the blacks were rowing us off we regretted our haste, and began to reproach ourselves that we had not stopped to take our watches and a change of clothes; but had we done this we should doubtless have been all sacrificed. We might have defended the passage upstairs for a time, and could have done it against quadruple our numbers, but we must finally have been overpowered and put to death. Our confidence in our strength was great, because we had plenty of muskets and ammunition, twice as many as we had men; for the ammunition and the arms of the American Guard were kept at our house, and we had loaded them all. Fortunately we were too much alarmed to wait the issue of a battle, as we could expect no support from the whites, who had abandoned our neighborhood on every side for the third of a mile."

was soon filled with blacks, like all other houses on the bay, and a regular plunder began of the most valuable effects that had been left by their late occupants. Money, plate, watches, and jewels were the first objects that were sought for. This we discovered afterwards, as will be seen by what follows. Transported on board one of our own vessels that lay farther out in the harbor, we had time for reflection, and leisure to inquire into our situation and wants. We were without clothes, except the light linen dresses which we were accustomed to wear in the morning, and of these we had only what we had on our backs. Everybody we saw among the inhabitants who had escaped was in the same situation, and of course no relief could be looked for from them. After due deliberation, we determined to arm ourselves and land the next morning, with a view to get some clothes, and if possible to save some dry-goods of value belonging to our friends, that were in one of the back rooms of the house. After having resolved on this course, we seated ourselves on the deck to watch the course of proceedings on shore.

The firing had not ceased for one moment from the time it first began on the preceding day at one o'clock, and as we approached we were able to see more distinctly where it was kept up with most vigor. At a small fort called the Picolet, which had been taken possession of by the few volunteers who had escaped from the massacre at the Government House and by some troops of the line who had abandoned the commissioners, there was a rolling fire of musketry during the whole night, and in every quarter of the town the flashing of guns was to be seen in quick succession, sometimes one or two, and in some places several together, as if a desultory warfare was carried on by detached parties, or by individuals who were destroying each other. This at the time we supposed to be a contest between the remaining whites who were defending themselves individually, or in small parties, against the slaves who had been let loose upon them, but we afterwards found it was a contest among the liberated slaves for the possession of the plunder which some were carrying away, while others who had been less fortunate in their search shot at them. Thousands of the blacks were supposed to have been destroyed in this way, for as soon as they had gotten rid of their masters, either by murdering them or by running away from them, they turned their arms against each other to secure the plunder that either or any of them possessed. This scene kept us on deck during the night, and however strange it may appear to those who have never been placed in circumstances of great peril, we were never distressed or discouraged. As soon as daylight permitted, we began our preparations for a descent, and having broken our fast we embarked in three boats with four sailors in each, and commanded, one by Captain Clark, one by my partner, and one by myself. We were all armed with muskets and pistols and with a supply of cartridges. There were, besides, one or two volunteers

to each boat, — among others, a Mr. Hunter, of Georgia, a high-spirited gentleman, who had made one of our family at the time of our flight. Our party was therefore composed of about eighteen or nineteen armed men, the leaders of whom were in too destitute a condition to hesitate about risking their lives in the hope to obtain wherewithal to cover their nakedness.

As we passed on towards the shore we were hailed by the master of a small brig belonging to Charleston, South Carolina, the brave and amiable Captain Campbell, who has since commanded the frigate "Constitution," and desired to come alongside his vessel. This we at first refused to do, as we saw the coast was clear, and were afraid that by delay we might lose what appeared so good a chance to us of obtaining our object. This we stated to him, but he insisted on our compliance, and offered to accompany us; we therefore rowed alongside his brig, and he called on his crew for volunteers to accompany him in his own boat. The call was met with three cheers both from his own crew and ours, and in a few minutes we had an accession of four stout sailors commanded by a cool, steady, and spirited officer. This gave us all our original force for fighting men, and left four men to take care of the four boats, so that our party was quite respectable as to force. We placed our boats' sterns to the shore with graplines at the head, and a sailor was left with each to steady them in this position, so that when we came down to the boats with our several loads of goods, we had only to wade off a short distance and place them in the stern-sheets, where they were stowed away by the boatguards. The sea-breeze had set in very strong, so that our clothes and a part of the goods got quite soaked with the spray which came over the bows. This arrangement was necessary, not only for the convenience of loading, but to have the boats in a position to facilitate our escape in case of need. The event showed the importance of this precaution.

We appointed Captain Campbell commander of the sailors who were to form our defence, while we attempted to save some portion of our property. The streets being laid out at right angles, and the houses built in square blocks, our guards stationed at the entrance of the streets on either side the block in which our house and stores stood, could repel any small body that might get information of our landing. No opposition was made to it, and not a person of any kind was to be seen alive. The only impediment to effecting an entrance into our own house was a dead negro, who lay directly across the doorway with a bundle at his head. On removing him, we found he had been shot in the back, probably while running off with his plunder. I shall never forget with what nonchalance one of the sailors caught up the bundle, and threw it to one of his comrades who was behind him, crying out, "Hollo, Jack, catch this, and throw it into the boat, my boy; here is

fine plunder for us!" Other dead bodies were scattered about, but all of blacks. We rushed into our several lodging-rooms, where we found our wardrobes untouched. The keys were in them, but not an article appeared to be deranged. Our watches were gone, but we had what was more important to us left, — our clothes. Each one seized a sheet, and filled it with whatever came first to hand; and as we always had a large stock of linen, we were not long in placing our bundles, filled with shirts, pantaloons, and other articles of dress, in the boats. As soon as this was done the goods-room was opened, and other sheets were filled and placed on our shoulders to be carried to the boats. As we had to cross the open street on the seaboard in going to the boats, we were saluted from behind some piles of lumber up the bay by a few musket-balls, which whistled by our ears, but we could see no one. As the party that was firing at us was so hidden that we could not return the compliment with any effect, we continued our labors, starting as quickly as we could with our burdens across the street, until we arrived under the shelter of the piles of lumber in front of our own house on the seaboard. We knew that if the alarm was once given, we should be soon overpowered from the back part of the town, and in this we were not mistaken, for Campbell, who was lame in one leg, was put to his mettle to superintend the defence of the two posts where our guards were stationed. This, however, he did do so effectually that the first assailants were driven for security behind the blocks of houses above us. But we were not left long undisturbed.

Soon after the cessation of firing, a white man, dressed in soldier's clothes, rushed into one of the streets on horseback, crying to our party to save him. While pushing his horse full speed towards our lines, several muskets were fired at him by the blacks. We received him as a fugitive from the enemy. He had no arms, said he had been taken prisoner by the blacks, and had seized an opportunity to make his escape. Finding there were boats on shore with white people, he came to ask our protection and to be taken on board with us. He asked the strength of our party, and was willing to take arms and lead us to attack the rebels if we had a few brave fellows to spare for the expedition. While we were listening to this fellow, my partner came up from the boats, and hearing what he proposed, asked him a few questions, which evidently confused him, and made him look round as if desirous of escaping. He was still on horseback, and Mr. Burling, being satisfied that he was a spy sent by the negroes to see what our force was, did not hesitate, but drawing a pistol from his belt would have shot the fellow dead had I not seized his arm and prevented him. This interference led to a warm altercation between us, in which the bystanders took sides. Meanwhile the fellow made his escape to the blacks, and in fifteen minutes after, we were attacked by a strong body of them

in both streets, and our late distressed friend and fellow-sufferer was seen actively engaged in urging them on to the attack. Reinforcements were every moment arriving from the back part of the town, and a stronger body had taken their stand behind the boards above us on the bay, from whom we had every now and then a discharge.

Retreat was necessary, as we saw we should soon be overpowered; but we had made our arrangements so that the boats were manned, ready to pull off, while the guard, although diminished in numbers, kept up a brisk fire until all was prepared. As soon as this was announced, Captain Campbell drew off his battalion in a sailor-like manner, and made his retreat good to the boats, without the loss of any one except the French soldier who had stolen a march upon us. Scarcely had we put off when the blacks made their appearance, but not being able to see whether the boats were still all off-shore, they moved very cautiously, fearing an ambush, so that we had made good progress before they were prepared to fire on us from the beach, and one or two well-directed shots from the boats soon dispersed them.¹

These details may have little interest for general readers; but as they led to other results, and as they show the importance of system and organization, as well as of union of thought in all cases of a like nature, I have thought it proper to state them at the risk of taxing their patience. Had I not interfered to prevent the shooting of the soldier who came among us in the character of a suppliant for protection, we never could have been sure that his fate was deserved, and we should have always deeply regretted the rashness that led to the catastrophe. At the time I was blamed, and perhaps justly, but I have never repented that I saved a fellow-being, though he proved himself afterwards to be a spy and a traitor. It is better that ten guilty men should escape than that one innocent should suffer, either by Lynch or Statute law.

As our persons were well known to most of the blacks of the part

¹ "My partner, Mr. Burling, who had been confined with severe rheumatism for a long time, and almost deprived of the use of his limbs before the events of the 19th, became as active as any of the party in consequence of the excitement and exertion that he was obliged to make.

"When Captain Campbell announced the necessity of a retreat and all were ready to move, Burling stood at the door of the store facing the bay, ready also, as we supposed, as he had been called from the rooms above for the purpose, but at the moment when Campbell was about to draw off the guard, and the blacks were pressing on us with force, Burling cried out, 'Keep your guard, Campbell, while I run up and lock the goods-room door, we may have another chance at it yet,'—and back he ran upstairs and through the whole length of the building to lock this cursed door, while we were exposed to be overpowered by the brigands. Nothing could stop him, back he would go, and would have gone if the devil had stood on the stairs. He was the most fearless man I ever knew."

of the town where we had lived, it was soon known among them that we had landed with arms, and had shot several negroes in defending ourselves from their attacks. This was treasured in the memory of some who hoped for an opportunity to revenge themselves at some future period.

CHAPTER VII.

Recollections of St. Domingo, continued.

HITHERTO the excitement of the scene that was passing before us, and the continued action of the morning, had kept up our spirits to their highest stretch; but as we had now attained our immediate object, and were out of danger from the attacks of our enemies, we had nothing more to gain or to hope for, as we were convinced that we should never again be permitted to land, or to secure any more of our property. The silent gloom that succeeded, as we rowed forward to our ships, was soon aroused by the cries and lamentations of the miserable beings who stood on the decks of the vessels that we passed, all of whom had been watching our landing and anxious return in the frail hope that we might bring them tidings of their lost friends. Men, women, and children half naked (a most heart-rending sight), with uplifted hands were beseeching us to give them hope of safety, — some for their wives, some for their husbands, some for their children, and some for their parents. They mingled their tones of supplication and entreaty with such a show of wretchedness that the firmest hearts among us gave way to emotions that none but brutes could have resisted. We were overwhelmed with grief; and men who but a few minutes before had braved death without a sensation of fear or sense of suffering were now unmanned and as feeble as children. All that had passed before, and all that succeeded this scene, until I arrived in the United States six months afterwards (and my sufferings were neither few nor light), were nothing to what I then felt. Forty-four years have passed since that period, and the facts are now as fresh and as marked on my memory as if they had occurred but yesterday. The wives and children of planters, of merchants, and of mechanics who had been murdered in their defence were now frantic with despair, for they had lost all, even their guardians and only earthly protectors. But the horror of the husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers who were inquiring for their female relatives was, if possible, still more strongly depicted on their faces and in their agitated frames, for they felt that miseries worse than death had befallen them.

Let those who advocate the immediate emancipation of the slaves in our own country reflect for a moment, and ask themselves what would

be *their* feelings had Heaven cast their lot in the Southern States, — their only patrimony the slaves that their fathers had inherited from their parents, — should the mistaken philanthropy of their neighbors pursue a course of measures calculated to produce the same effects on them and their families that I have witnessed, and have feebly described in these pages? I say nothing of the violation of the compact that gives the Southern States the right by law to hold this property undisturbed; I speak only of the effects that would necessarily be produced, and the misery that must follow the success of their plans, — misery not only to the innocent whites, but misery and tenfold wretchedness to the slaves themselves; for this would as certainly follow a general rising of the blacks, or an immediate emancipation of them, as effect follows an operating cause. But let us proceed with our narrative.

Scarcely had we arrived on board of our own vessel when she was surrounded with boats filled with the late inhabitants of the town, who came to have their inquiries satisfied, or to beg for a few clothes to protect them from the burning rays of the sun; for hundreds who lived at a distance from the first outbreking of the slaves, having retired to rest, had left their beds and fled with nothing but their night-clothes to cover them as the storm approached their own dwellings. Who could resist at such a moment to contribute a portion of their means to their suffering fellow-beings? There were but few of us that were not soon reduced almost to as small a stock as that we possessed before we landed, particularly in shirts, for this garment served for either sex, and all were equally destitute.

We had scarcely swallowed our dinner when we were called on deck to witness new scenes. The seaboard was now lined with black troops on horseback, with long lines of mules tied to each other by their tails, and accompanied by black drivers. These mules — which had been brought in from the country for the purpose, with their drivers, who were accustomed to this mode of transportation, coffee being brought to the town for sale in this manner — were at once loaded with the dry-goods and other articles easily transported from our stores. When one set was charged and led off, another line was brought up and loaded, until all the articles from the stores and houses that could be thus carried away were sent off to the country. The whole bay for nearly three quarters of a mile was stripped of its merchandise; and other parts of the town were doubtless plundered in the same manner, but this we could not see.

We sat watching the plunderers till nightfall, but the darkness of the night had not long set in when we were attracted by a light which soon spread into a blaze, and in a few minutes the whole line of houses on the bay were on fire. This was immediately followed by a general conflagration of the interior of the town, amidst the rattling of mus-

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ketry and the roaring of cannon ; for the lower part of the city and the forts were still defended by such whites as had not been able to escape on board the ships. The nature of the merchandise in many of the French and American warehouses was such that it burned vividly, with occasional explosions, caused by the large quantities of brandy, rum, and other spirits left in them. Great quantities of oil, tar, and pitch contributed to feed and brighten the flame, so that all objects at a distance were distinctly visible.¹

The whole harbor was lighted up ; and the ships, with their miserable tenants, were not the least distressing objects before us. The sight of a great city in flames, though awful, is sublime, and we sat watching the flames until daylight announced that something must be done for our own preservation and support. The property that we had left in our stores, the debts that were due to us for goods sold to the inhabitants, were all lost forever ; our only resource was in the commissioners, whose act enforcing the payment of the goods delivered to the Government was doubtless the immediate cause of all the disasters and dreadful effects we have related. After consulting with such of the American merchants as could be collected together, it was determined to send a flag of truce on shore at the ferry at the upper part of the town, in hope of gaining access to the commissioners, who were the now ruling and supreme power.

But who would undertake this hazardous mission ? The late Commodore Barney, who commanded the ship "Samson," then in port, offered his barge, rowed by six men, with the American flag at her stern and a white flag at her bow. He would doubtless have been the best man to have gone in her, but as no part of the debt was due to him, and as he had his ship to take care of, we could not with any propriety accept his offer. In this conjuncture, being the youngest of the party who were immediately concerned in the measure, I offered to go, provided I could obtain the company of a mulatto of respectability whom I knew and had seen on board one of the ships. Without this precaution it was deemed by all a desperate attempt. The boat was accordingly manned, the flags hoisted at the stern and stem of the barge, and I set forth to find my friend the mulatto. Fortunately for me, he scouted the idea of landing among a set of savages whose hands were still wet with the blood, not only of the whites and mulattoes who had fallen within them, but with that of their fellow-slaves, whom they had destroyed to possess their plunder. "My person or my color," said my

¹ "There was in our store a great quantity of rum and brandy, oil, candles, and other combustible merchandise, beside a quantity of gunpowder in one of our iron chests made into cartridges for the American Guard, so that we outshone them all ; and our house was distinguished as exhibiting a finer display of fireworks than any along the whole bay. When it blew up there was a shout among us that on another occasion would have been taken for one of victory."

judicious friend, "would afford *you* no protection whatever, even if *I* was spared; and your flag would only be a signal for your own destruction, since it must be well known that several American boats have landed with armed men, and yourself among them, and if any of the blacks were killed you would never be allowed to reach the commissioners, but would be immediately sacrificed. For all the Government owe your merchants I would not risk my neck for one minute among them, — *I*, who have done them no harm; and I advise you to return on board your ship." By the time I had reached the vessel where our party were, a new alarm had arisen. It was circulated among the shipping that the men of war, of which there were four or five in the harbor, were preparing to leave the port that evening as soon as the land-breeze should set off from the shore. I was accordingly despatched on board the Admiral's ship to ascertain the fact. I found everything indicating a movement on board, and soon learned that it was the intention of the men of war to get out of the harbor as soon as the wind would let them.

This news was soon spread throughout the fleet, which amounted to three or four hundred vessels of all classes.

The alarm spread that the blacks were preparing to come off and attack the shipping in the night; and as the ships of war lay at the outer part of the harbor, and the merchant vessels within, it would in fact have required not a great effort on their part to have possessed themselves of all the shipping that was anchored nearest to the shore.

The excitement and disorder that ensued throughout the vessels, and the panic that prevailed among them, can be better conceived than described. Many of the great French ships lay with their yards fore and aft unprepared to put to sea; some were without ballast, some were under careen, — that is, were undergoing repairs, — and few had their sails bent; many were without provisions or water for a voyage of any length, and they had every reason to fear that they would meet with but a poor reception in any other port in the Island. But necessity hath no law: the fear of the blacks was stronger than the fear of starvation; the danger from one was immediate, from the other remote. The signal was hoisted on the Admiral's ship for all vessels to get ready to leave the port, and the confusion was without parallel.

The usual time to go to sea from this port is the morning, as soon as the objects that mark the channel can be seen; but at sundown the ships of war dropped their topsails, and as soon as the land-wind blew they got under way. In these latitudes there is little or no twilight; it was soon dark after the sun had disappeared, and the efforts to get forward were increased to such a degree by the fear of being left at the mercy of the blacks that every one set all the sail he could to pass his neighbor, by which reason the greatest disorder prevailed, and vessels

were constantly running into each other. The bawling and brailing of the masters, the cursing and swearing of the sailors, and the crying and moaning of the poor inhabitants, who were going they knew not where, was enough to shake the resolution of any one who was a silent spectator of the scene. In the morning at daylight all the fleet were laying to the wind in sight of each other off the harbor; boats were passing between the vessels, and friends joining each other to take their chance together; the city, full in sight, was still burning with violence; and the harbor, with the exception of a few vessels that had been crowded on to the shore on either side of the channel, was destitute of shipping.

I cannot refrain from mentioning an event that happened to my partner, who was on board the brig "Martha," belonging to us, on her passage out of the harbor. As he was a very passionate but a very humane and brave man, it made him extremely angry, while it caused the rest of us great amusement when he related the facts to us the next morning when we met off the harbor. As we were in different vessels, and had no time to consult with each other as to the course we should pursue, I borrowed the boat of the captain in whose brig I was passenger, and went on board the one where Mr. Burling was with our money and books. When I arrived I found him in bed, dressed in a red baize shirt and trousers which he had borrowed from one of the crew of his vessel. He was in great pain from head to foot with a fierce return of rheumatism. This did not surprise me, because he with the rest of us had got entirely wet when we went on shore on Saturday; and while the excitement was kept up he had escaped a relapse. But on questioning him as to the time when the pain returned he stated the following facts to me: "As we were passing near the shore on coming out of the harbor we heard a lamentable cry for help from the shore near the 'Picolet.' Every one said it was the cry of a woman in distress, and I accordingly ordered two sailors into the boat, and with a view to save the poor creature I got in myself, although quite stiff and beginning to feel a return of my disease. The difficulty of landing in the night among the breakers was very great, and I knew I must get drenched again. Still I could not bear the poor woman's wailing, and I determined to rescue her if possible. She might, I thought, be some reputable female who was left by her friends, and who had escaped from the brutality of the insurgents. The captain tried to dissuade me from the attempt, but I had got my head full of the suffering of the woman, and the relief I should afford her, so on we pushed into the breakers, when I got well soused before we struck the beach. It was extremely dark, but I could see the poor woman standing with outstretched arms awaiting her deliverance. As the distance between the boat and the shore was considerable, I called to her to wade off and we would take her in; off she came, but what was my horror and indignation when, instead of a woman, a tall strapping soldier, without his coat and in white trousers, presented himself alongside. 'Where is the woman,' I said, 'whom I heard crying here?' 'Woman, sir! there has been no woman here; it was I that

you heard!' The traitor that escaped us on Saturday came full upon my mind, and I took up the tiller to knock the rascal's brains out, but he was out of my reach; and I was so stiff I could not move a joint. 'Push off the boat, men, and let the rascal remain where he is; he shan't come into the boat, — knock him down with your oars if he attempts it!' said I to the sailors. The men were about to comply, when the rascal, in the most humiliating tone and crouching down in the water, with both hands up-lifted in prayer, cried out, 'Pour l'amour de Dieu, sauvez-moi, Monsieur!' and I was fool enough to take him in." This scene occurred on Sunday, June 22, 1793.

No one who has not been placed in a like situation can easily imagine the feelings which overwhelm the mind when men are driven from their homes where they have passed a great part or perhaps all of their lives; deprived, not only of their property, but of many of their nearest and dearest friends by the ruffian hands of licentious bandits; not knowing where they are to go, or what is to be their future lot in this world of sorrow and suffering; doubtful whether those they have left behind are dead, or living in a state of degradation and misery ten thousand times worse than death itself; themselves on the point of being transported to a distant country where they must be shut out from all information for months, if not forever, that might allay their anxious fears. The beings who were now looking on the burning ruins of the city which but a few days before they inhabited in peace and happiness, surrounded by friends and relations, now scattered they knew not where, blessed with abundance and with those domestic ties that sweeten and make life desirable, were now friendless, penniless, and without a home on the habitable globe where they might shelter their heads. This was the work and the consequence of the sudden emancipation of the slaves in the Northern Department of St. Domingo.¹ Let those self-styled philanthropists who are now endeavoring to bring about the immediate emancipation of the slaves in our own country ask themselves whether they are willing to see themselves to be the instruments of like scenes of misery and wretchedness to their fellow-citizens. Is the

¹ The representations and entreaties of the planters who had escaped from St. Domingo induced the British Government to send an expedition to the island in September, 1793, under Colonel Whitelock, with orders to occupy such ports as were willing to accept protection. Although the commissioners had a force of some fourteen or fifteen thousand whites, and a motley band of negro troops at their command, they did not feel themselves strong enough to repel the English, and therefore resorted to the desperate expedient of proclaiming the abolition of slavery. About one hundred thousand blacks then took possession of the mountain fastnesses, while a desperate band of thirty or forty thousand mulattoes and negroes ravaged the northern districts. On hearing of the seizure of Port au Prince by the English, the commissioners fled to the mountains with about two thousand followers, but finding that Toussaint l'Ouverture had occupied the heights, they turned their steps to the coast and embarked for France. (Quarterly Review, 1819, p. 439.)

comfort, or what *they* call the comfort, of the blacks of more importance to them, or to the real friends of humanity, than the preservation of the lives of their white brethren of the South? Can ladies, nay, can women of any degree, contemplate the horrors of degradation which must fall on their own sex throughout the Southern States in case of sudden emancipation, or of a general rising of the blacks, still hold meetings to encourage a course of things that must inevitably produce this result? Can men who profess themselves Christians, who have wives and daughters, sisters and friends, labor to produce evils to their fellow-men, — their fellow-countrymen, too, — that if brought home to their own firesides would make them shudder with horror? But so sure as this great and awful revolution is effected the shock will not be confined to the Southern States; it will be felt to the uttermost limits of this great Republic, even to the firesides of those who have promoted it. This will be their recompense in this world; of the future we know nothing.

But the comforts and the freedom of the slaves are of more importance than any consequences that may result to our white population, say these fanatical emancipators. We shall see how it operated on the blacks after they had gained their boasted freedom.

CHAPTER VIII.

Recollections of St. Domingo, continued.

THE fleet separated on Monday forenoon, some for France, some for the United States of America, some for the bight of Leogane, and other ports to leeward in the island. Nothing can be more beautiful than a fleet of three or four hundred sail of vessels of all classes, from the humble droger or coasting-craft, up to the majestic ship of the line, all under full sail, moving in various directions. The brig in which I was destined to pursue my course, in company with half a dozen other American residents at the Cape, was commanded by an amiable and worthy Bostonian, and that in which my partner Mr. Burling had embarked was owned in this city, partly by our house. Mr. Burling, who had charge of all the money we had saved from the flames — about fifteen thousand dollars — was captured and carried to Jamaica, there being at this time war between England and France, but before his capture he had gone into a small port called *Limbe*, a few leagues to leeward of the Cape, to get water for his voyage to the United States.

I may be excused perhaps for relating an adventure that he met with at this place, as it shows what feelings and dispositions were roused among the blacks the moment they heard of the liberation of their

fellows at the Cape. On landing, Mr. Burling having chanced to meet a planter of our acquaintance, a man of great wealth and owner of several plantations, named François Lavaud, communicated to him the state of things at the Cape, and Lavaud immediately determined to load Burling's vessel with sugar, as well as that of another American who had also put in there. His carriage was in town, and he invited these two gentlemen to proceed in it to one of his plantations in the neighborhood, while he mounted his horse to accompany them, with a view of making final arrangements regarding the freight he was to give them. Scarcely had they left the town when four blacks, mounted on fleet horses, passed the carriage at full speed. They were armed with swords and pistols, and passed directly on towards Mr. Lavaud, who was some hundred or two yards in advance of the cabriolet which contained our friends. The moment the blacks arrived within striking distance of this gentleman they shot him dead. As this was done in full view of those in the carriage, they ordered the postilion to stop, and by the time they had got out the assassins were before them with their pistols presented at their breasts. The shock they had received by seeing their companion killed before their eyes, without even a question being asked him, left them no doubt that equal despatch would be made with them. "We are Americans," exclaimed both these gentlemen together; "we belong to the United States." One of the blacks who knew enough of English to understand them, cried out, "Stop, comrades, they are not French; they are from America, — a country of liberty." "No matter," said another, "they are whites, and that is enough; shoot them like dogs." A dispute arose between the four, two swearing they should be killed because they were whites, and the others opposing the step with great vigor. During the contest between the murderers, the two Americans slipped off into the woods, and as it was now nearly dark they were left to grope their way as well as they could till daylight, sometimes wading through deep swamps, and sometimes so entangled in the underbrush of the wood that they could with difficulty extricate themselves. When day appeared they found themselves on the seaboard, and soon descried their vessels at anchor. Having hailed their respective ships, they were soon on board, well pleased with having escaped this second massacre. Our woman-cook had gone on shore, where Burling left her.

The brig in which I was embarked sailed to the port of St. Mark's, where we were no sooner anchored than a guard of soldiers took possession of the vessel. The officer proceeded to examine us, and finding we were inhabitants of the Cape, sent us off to jail, where we were locked up with all sorts of filthy criminals of the lowest grade of the slave population. As soon as it was rumored throughout the town that a number of American gentlemen from the Cape were

confined in prison, we were visited by some of the white inhabitants, among whom was a Mr. Ricard whom I had formerly known at the Cape. This gentleman remonstrated with the jailer, who was a mulatto man, for putting us into a confined room with a parcel of black convicts, and finally obtained from him a promise that we should be separated. He then sent us some mattresses to spread on the floor, which was of stone covered with mud, where we were destined to sleep, if we slept at all, or to remain on our legs during the night, for there was neither chair nor bench to be had to rest upon. I had afterwards an opportunity of thanking this amiable man for his kindness, as it saved us from much suffering.

Fearing that the news of the revolution at the Cape and the emancipation of the slaves might produce similar effects at St. Marks with those we had so lately witnessed, we were very desirous of remaining up, and in the jailer's room, to which we had been allowed to retire through the intervention of our French friend, so that we might be ready, in case the jail was forced or set fire to during the night, to defend our persons or make our escape according to circumstances.

To effect this object, we represented to the jailer that we were half famished, and begged him to procure us a good supper, and plenty of wine of the best quality, and invited him to join us in the good fare that he might provide. We gave him money to buy what was needed; and having ordered supper to be served up very late in the evening, we passed the intermediate time in cogitating on the future. During the repast we contrived to ingratiate ourselves with our host, who very obligingly allowed us to remain at table till one in the morning, when he told us it was more than his head was worth to extend this indulgence. He then locked us up in our room, and left us to a sound and undisturbed repose until the morning was well advanced.

As the governor of the place did not arrive in town until the afternoon of this day, we were detained in jail; but on his arrival he called to see us, and after some inquiries ordered our release.

When the governor first arrived he absolutely refused to let us out until he had orders from the commissioners; but on our telling him that we were under their special protection, and that the revolution at the Cape had taken place in consequence of their having ordered the merchants to pay us the debt that the Government owed us, and that this persecution would be highly resented by them when they should receive our letters, he ordered the prison doors opened, and apologized very humbly for the mistake that had been made.

The first step we had to take was to procure some ready-made shirts. I had only three remaining of all I had saved from my wardrobe, the rest having been disposed of to those that were more needy than ourselves.

After a short stay at St. Marks, I proceeded to Port au Prince, where I found a vessel loaded with flour from Baltimore to the consignment of our firm. Having disposed of this cargo, and obtained some money for my expenses from the commissions that I received, I determined on returning to the Cape to look after the debt due us from the Government. One of the commissioners, Citizen Polvorel, had in the mean time arrived at Port au Prince, where a guillotine was erected by him *in terrorem*, to keep the whites in order.

I had applied to him by letter for instructions as to the mode to be pursued to obtain my money, and was informed that without the evidence of the debt nothing could be done; that the ordinance awarding to my house the amount due to it must first be produced, and then the commissioners would take the subject into consideration. As this ordinance had been left in the hands of the commissioner of the Government stores at the Cape, I had no chance of getting anything but by going back to look it up.

I accordingly embarked on a small vessel — one of the coasting craft of the island — with several other passengers, among whom was an American, whose name I shall not mention because he is long since dead, who had also claims on the Government to an inconsiderable amount. On our passage, this person, who was a great talker, was exceedingly indiscreet in his observations respecting the commissioners. There were several Frenchmen on board the boat, and one of them was a gentleman evidently above the rank of the other French passengers. He was extremely taciturn, but evidently watchful of everything that was said or done among the guests in the cabin. I had frequently chided the half-Dutch, half-American passenger (for such he really was) for the license he gave his tongue, which I thought extremely impolitic at least, situated as we were; but his reply was, "Nobody understands us; and if they do, I care not a straw." There were several parcels on board, directed "To the Citizen Santhonax, Commissioner, etc., at the Cape," lying in the cabin in a small open box; these had been frequently handled by this person, who said one day that he should like to see what the despatches contained, and had an inclination to open them and satisfy his curiosity. The master of the vessel was on deck at the time, but the French gentleman, whom I have mentioned, was sitting apparently half asleep at one end of the cabin. "For Heaven's sake!" said I, "what do you mean? Are you mad?" "No," said he in reply, "I am not mad; but I mean to see what mischief these rascals are brewing." Shocked at the cool and determined manner which he showed, I remonstrated with him. I represented not only the crime, but the consequences that would follow it. I attempted to rescue the packet from his grasp. Everything that could be done I did to prevent this outrage on common decency. I told him if it was

known he would be hung, and deservedly; and if the result were to end there I should not regret it, but all on board, particularly myself as an American, would be implicated, and we might expect on our arrival to be all imprisoned if the packet was missing. This rash man, however, had broken the seal, and proceeded to read the enclosures, when a movement from the person at the further end of the cabin alarmed him, and he threw the despatches out of the cabin window. My anger was roused to the highest pitch, and I said everything that my indignation suggested to him; but he remained as undisturbed as if I had been paying him a compliment for his hardihood. The French gentleman rose and went on deck, and as I had suspected that he had seen the letters thrown overboard, if not all that had passed, I followed him up, greatly distressed lest he might suspect me of participating in this shameful outrage. He joined me on the deck and immediately opened a conversation on the subject, by which I was soon relieved from all apprehension as regarded myself at least.

He told me that he had heard the conversation between me and the other American citizen during the time we had been on board; that he understood English well, and could speak it with considerable ease; that he had watched the whole proceeding below, and that he was happy to say he was fully satisfied with my conduct, and should, in case of need, bear testimony to my efforts to prevent that madman below from committing the crime he had so foolishly been led into. He then told me he was a councillor of State; that if the facts were known to the Government, the violator of these public despatches would pay for the trespass with his life; but that he should be discreet, and if the captain did not discover the loss of the parcel he should remain silent, provided no other violence was committed. He cautioned me, however, not to mention to Mr. — that he knew anything of the transaction, as it might lead to some communication between them, and in this case he should be obliged to order the captain of the vessel to arrest and confine him, which would lead to an open publicity of the transaction, and thus bring about a catastrophe which he was desirous to avoid.

I shall never forget the mild, benignant, and amiable character of this gentleman. Few men in his situation would have shown the same degree of moderation and forbearance that he did. I have now forgotten his name; but I afterwards learned that he was a man of great consideration, and high in the confidence of the Government. When we arrived at the Cape he took a kind leave of me, and bowed coldly to my companion. I confess I had some doubts on my mind whether the loss of the packet would not be discovered either by the master of the vessel or the commissary, and that we should be called on to account for it; but all passed off in silence.

The author of this shameful scene was extremely alarmed when he observed the marked difference which this gentleman showed towards us at parting, and he would have given all he was worth to have been sure of his life, for his reflections had convinced him that he had forfeited it to his curiosity.

On my arrival I went on board the Boston brig "Betsey," which had arrived at the Cape after its destruction. The captain, who was an old acquaintance of mine, received me kindly, and inquired what was my object in coming there. Being told that it was to obtain evidence of the debt due to my house from the Government, and to endeavor to collect it from them, he advised me to return without landing, as I might be assured if I went on shore I should be shot on the ramparts before twenty-four hours had passed, if I had not been already assassinated in the streets. He stated that it was well known that I had landed with a party of armed men and had shot some of the blacks; that he had heard the thing mentioned among the blacks repeatedly, and that nothing would rejoice them more than to get me into their power. I told my kind friend and adviser that we had done nothing more than we had a right to do, which was to defend our lives while we were securing a part of our property, and that if I could reach the commissary I had no doubt I could obtain from him the necessary protection against violence; and that as I had come up from Port au Prince with the knowledge of Citizen Polvorel for this purpose, I could not return without an effort to get my money. I accordingly requested the loan of his boat to put me on shore, which he granted with tears in his eyes, and I landed on the quay called the King's Wharf. On the end of the wharf I observed a black man dressed in a suit of white dimity, wearing a white cocked hat bound with gold-lace on his head, having a gold-headed cane in his hand, and a large gold watch-chain hanging from his fob. He eyed me as I approached the quay, and when I landed he walked up to me very deliberately (for he was very fat), opened both his arms, and gave me the fraternal accolade.

By this time I had recognized André, a slave and house-servant of M. Joyeux, one of my neighbors, a stout old gentleman, who, like myself, was an American commission merchant, although a Frenchman. He had been killed in the general massacre; and his favorite servant, who was about his height, being an aristocrat in feeling, and having by the new order of things become a citizen, had thought it would well become the dignity of his new character to wear his master's Sunday suit and carry his gold-headed cane. During our short interview the good André recommended me to be cautious, not to show myself in public more than was absolutely necessary, and to sleep on board my vessel without fail every night. He also advised me to salute all the blacks I had occasion to speak to with the title of *Citoyen*, as all were now free and equal.

On leaving André, to proceed to the residence of Mr. Meyers, who was then American Consul, I perceived a number of black men and one white man in the water, in the act of rolling a hogshhead of sugar into a large flat-bottomed boat. The white man was encouraging the rest to exert themselves by cheering them with his voice. "Allons, mes enfans, encore une fois!" exclaimed the old gentleman, whose head was as white as snow; "now for the last shove!" and the hogshhead was safely lodged in the boat. "Now for another," said he, turning round to come to the shore for another cask, when who should I see but my former next-door neighbor, M. Laroque, lately a gentleman of large fortune, now without hat or shoes, in a coarse checked shirt and trousers, doing the labor which but a few weeks before was the business of his slaves. I immediately went down to the beach to meet him. "What!" said I, "is this M. Laroque that I see here working like a slave?" "Que faire, mon ami?" said he; "il faut bien vivre." I was struck dumb. He then cautioned me not to use the word *slave* on any occasion, as it might cost me my life.

On leaving him I proceeded to the Government stores, which were near the wharf, and there found Consul Meyers, with whom I proceeded towards the commissioner's lodgings, which were no longer at the ancient Government House, that building having been mostly destroyed during the contest. On our way we were conversing in a low tone, with our faces turned towards each other, and our heads rather stooping, my hat being drawn over my face to avoid being recognized, when I received a blow on the breast that almost levelled me with the ground. On looking up to see whence the blow came, I saw before me a negro fellow of great size, in full uniform, with his sword half drawn, glaring upon me with the most infernal countenance I ever beheld. My first impulse was to break out upon this savage with a heavy curse, but as prudence is the better part of valor, a moment's reflection cooled my anger, and I asked the fellow what he meant by striking me in that manner. He eyed me steadily for a moment, and then raising himself up with the most arrogant manner to his full height (which was six feet two or three inches), in the most contemptuous tone he exclaimed in Creole, "Moi trompé!" ("I am mistaken in my man!") and passed on. Although it was consoling that I was not his man, I did not get over the pain in my breast during the day, and I thought it best on the whole to show my face in future, that I might not have to pay for the misdeeds of others as well as my own. The incident, however, gave me an excuse for asking the commissary to give me a *carte de sureté*, which he granted without hesitation. The commissary treated me politely enough, and told me if I could procure my ordinance he would write to Citizen Polvorel at Port au Prince to have my balance paid.

On application to the Guard Magazin for this purpose, I was shown

into a large room, fifty or sixty feet long, one end of which was filled with papers in one solid mass; and here I was to hunt for my single sheet of proof. I had the work of a month before me at least; I was in despair. However, to work I went, and as if fortune thought it proper to indemnify me for the blow I had received in the morning, she placed the paper in my hands in fifteen minutes. Full of spirits at my good luck, I sallied forth to find the consul and communicate to him my happiness. On the way I met a negro, whom I had known as the servant of a rich old merchant of my acquaintance who had retired from business. The fellow recognized me at once, and made up to me with his hand extended, which I took and shook with great cordiality, expressing a hope that he was well. This fellow was not decked out like my friend André, but was decently clad. I was afraid to ask about his master; for the fellow had always appeared to me to be a surly bad-tempered chap, and I felt a conviction in my mind that he had murdered him. "Will you come home to my house and dine with me?" said he; "I shall be glad to give you a dinner if you are not too proud to dine with a black man." My blood ran cold at the thought of dining with the murderer of my old friend, but I thought it best to appear satisfied, and I asked him where he lived. He said he lived in the same house where he had so often seen me. "At what hour do you dine? I have some business to attend to before dinner that will engage me for some time." "Oh, at any hour you please, only come." "Thank you; I will endeavor to be with you at two." "Very well, I'll wait for you." "Apropos," said I, "you had better not, on the whole, wait beyond your usual dinner-hour, for I may be detained altogether, and not be able to come." The fellow looked at me with a malignant eye, said nothing, and went his way. I had not separated from this man many minutes when I met an American captain who asked me where I intended to dine. I told him what had passed between me and the black, that I had resolved not to dine with him, but that I felt uneasy at his apparent suspicions and jealousy. "Never mind him," said the captain; "you will of course sleep on board, and as you are, I understand, under the special protection of the commissary, they dare not touch you in daylight if you keep yourself in the business quarter, where there are always men enough to protect you. Come and dine with me at an excellent house close by, and before dark you can go on board." I accepted his invitation, and at one o'clock we sat down to table. The host was a mulatto man, whom I had never seen before to my knowledge. It was soon rumored at table that I had a special protection from the commissary, and my host was very gracious and disposed to make me comfortable. There were perhaps twenty persons at table, — some well-dressed mulatto men, several American ship-masters, and others of whom I knew nothing, — all, however, well-clad and decent-

looking people. Scarcely were we seated at table when a black fellow, without hat or shoes, a dirty checked shirt and trousers, which had apparently been worn for six months, entered the room, and without ceremony took a chair at table. Every one turned his eyes on this individual, expecting the landlord would order him out of the room; at least that was my expectation. But the fellow, seizing on a roasted fowl, began to devour it most voraciously, and after a few minutes' eating helped himself plentifully with wine from the bottle of his neighbor which stood beside him. The landlord immediately placed another bottle on the other side of his guest, but said not a word to the intruder, who appropriated the rest of the wine he had seized to himself. After eating to his heart's content and cursing the whites in his negro Creole, he looked round the table with the fierceness of a tiger for a few minutes to see if any one chose to take exception at his conduct. Every one, however, being occupied with his dinner or his own thoughts, and not choosing to notice him, he retired. After he was gone, some one asked the host why he permitted such a scamp to take a place at his table. "If I was to refuse," said the man, "I should have my throat cut in a short time. When such things happen, as they frequently do, I have found the safest and best way to be silent, and I am then quit for a dinner and a bottle of wine; but the jealousy of these liberated slaves is such that if you hint that they are not fit company for the whites, you may be sure that they will find some occasion, when you least expect it, to put a knife into you." The captain with whom I came turned his eyes towards me, and I thought it would have been safer to have accepted the invitation I had received from the cut-throat in the morning. The host was a free-born mulatto, whom I have since seen in this country. Although cautious, he did not hesitate to speak freely of the liberated blacks as, in general, a most worthless and depraved set of men, who had already committed so many crimes that all timidity and compassion were strangers to them when their anger or their cupidity was roused. I mentioned to him the invitation I had received and how I had evaded it. "That fellow," he remarked, "is said to be one of the most daring villains among them. He murdered his master, and has possessed himself of his house and all his tangible property. You did right to avoid him, but you had better in future keep out of his way."¹

¹ "Among the various facts related to me during my then short stay at the Cape, there is one that may be worth relating, as it shows the effects and consequences of avarice and the futility of a miser's calculations. A M. Cassignarde, a near neighbor of mine, who was quite rich and always kept a large amount of specie on hand to operate with as occasion offered, on the night between the Thursday and Friday of the breaking out of the insurrection at the Cape, had allowed all his slaves to quit his house, except a child of five or six years of age. He and his partner then dug a large hole in his yard, which was in the

The quarter where business was now done was confined to a small space about the King's Wharf and the public stores, all the upper part of the town having been destroyed. Before dark I went on board and related all that had taken place to my friend the master of the "Betsey." He was rejoiced to see me well and under the protection of the commissary. "That," said he, "may save you from a public execution; but look to yourself, for I believe there is a plot among the blacks to put you to death." I considered this to be the effect of an anxious and heated imagination; for I was not conscious of ever, during my residence of nearly nine years, having done an injustice or been guilty of any severity towards any black man in the place, and the contest during the time we were securing our clothes and our goods, even if it had terminated in the death of any of them, could not in justice be imputed to me as a crime. I slept little, however, during the night; my thoughts were constantly calling up all I had done while I remained at the Cape, and I could not remember any event of my life that could justify hostility towards me from any of the slaves I had ever known. On the contrary, I knew I was a favorite with them for repeated acts of indulgence and interference in their behalf, and I did not feel afraid to trust myself with any of them that I had ever known. The man, however, with whom I had declined to dine, came frequently to my mind; but his anger was of fresh growth, and my friend could not have reference to him.

Towards morning I fell asleep, but my rest had been so much broken that when I appeared at the breakfast-table the captain thought me unwell, and insisted on my remaining on board during the day to recruit;

centre of the building, and nicely paved with bricks, and therein deposited between thirty and forty thousand dollars, replaced the paving so as to leave no marks of its having been removed. His house was burned with the rest; and although his slaves knew he had large sums in the house when they left it, after the fire no traces of the treasure could be found by them, and it was supposed he had removed it. Had M. Cassignarde, when order was restored, stated the fact to the Government, they would have had it removed to a place of safety for him, but fearing that they might claim a salvage, he determined to keep his own counsel until a fitter opportunity occurred to carry it on board some American vessel. Such, however, was his anxiety that he could not refrain from paying frequent visits at night to the place where it was deposited, and this he did until he was observed, and a suspicion aroused that the money was still there. Some of his slaves who knew the child had been left in the house, having searched in vain for the treasure, took the child with them to the spot; and he soon pointed out the place where it was hidden. They then carried it off, replacing everything as before. Cassignarde continued his watch as often as he dared to go to the place; but when, having matured his plan of removal, he went to get it on a dark night, he found that it had taken wings to itself and was gone. I saw the old man in extreme poverty at the Cape while I was there. He had entered his complaint to the Government; but it was now too late, and he was brooding over his loss and his folly for not having taken this step earlier."

but it was all-important that I should see the commissary at once, and obtain his orders on Port au Prince for payment of my balance. I therefore went on shore immediately after breakfast, and going to the Government House, where I left my ordinance with the secretary of the commissioner, was told to call the next day for my answer.

I now had the whole day before me, and nothing to do. I thought, therefore, I would take a stroll into the upper part of the town and up the bay to see the state of our house, and to take a last view of the ruins of a dwelling where I had passed so many pleasant and happy years of my life. I went first to the great squares where the bodies of the dead had been burned. The bones were lying in long rows across the squares in great masses, showing that the destruction of human life must have been great. As there could be no correct computation made of the number, the only means of judging was from the quantity of human bones that lay on the surface of the ground. In some of the streets dead bodies still lay exposed; but whether they were those of persons killed at the time of the destruction of the town or whether they were the fruit of more recent assassinations, I had no means of judging. The walls of the old Government House were still standing, but the interior appeared to be mostly destroyed. I descended to the bay, at least to the street which ran back of our houses. The timbers and rubbish which lay in heaps in the cellars were still burning. Our two iron chests lay among the burning materials, with their covers forced open. There was not a soul moving in that quarter of the town; all was still as death. I moved round to the front of the building on the bay side; what a change had taken place in six short weeks! This was the business part of the city, where the whole bay for three quarters of a mile was filled with merchandise being landed or being shipped; all was bustle, noise, and cheerful labor. The blacks during the working days enlivened the scene by their rough but cheering songs as they pursued their labor, with constant explosions of loud laughter at the absurdity of their own roundelays. On Sundays, groups of dancers took the place of laborers, and the drum and the pipe, and the laugh and the song, made the air ring with gayety and frolic. Now all was hushed as death; not even the dip of an oar or the sight of a boat, where all was alive but yesterday, with the voice of the mariner urging his craft to her appointed destination. The stores and warehouses that were so lately loaded with merchandise from all parts of the world lay smouldering in flames, and the harbor that formerly was filled with the ships and crafts that had transported it hither contained only a few inferior vessels at its outer anchorage. A melancholy came over my spirit, as I leaned against the wall of the house, contemplating these sad changes, that I had never before felt. I turned my back on the gloomy scene, and stood gazing into the cellar, endeavoring to see what were the materials that had for so long

a period retained combustion. I had not been in this position long when I heard the tramping of horses, and immediately turned round to see whence it proceeded. At no great distance from me, coming from the then business quarter of the town, I saw a troop of black horsemen. The captain of the troop, as I took him to be from the epaulet on his right shoulder, was some distance in advance of his troop. My first impulse was to move off into the back street; but this I thought might cause suspicion, and as I had the commissary's protection in my pocket, I thought it best to remain where I was, looking steadily at the troop. I observed the leader of these men look at me with a scrutinizing eye from the moment I turned my face towards him; the troop continued to advance until they came within a hundred yards of me, when the chief ordered a halt, and advanced alone to the spot where I stood. I had no doubt he came to arrest me, but as I had lived a life of suffering and danger for some time, and was naturally of a firm temperament, I stood his glance without showing any fear, although I would have given much to have been on board my ship. After eying me for a moment he said in negro Creole, "Vous pas conné moi, ha!" "No," said I, "I don't know you." "Si fait, vous conné moi bien, oui!" ("You don't know me, ha! but you do know me very well, yes!") I told him I did not recollect him if I knew him. "Vous pas connaître Antoine, naigre M. Lefèvre? Ces epaulets là pour quoi vous pas conné moi." ("Don't you know Antoine, the negro of M. Lefèvre? It is my epaulets there that prevent your knowing me," pointing to his epaulets.) You may perhaps recollect that I mentioned in the first part of these Sketches a black slave belonging to M. Lefèvre, who had charge of and defended his plantation against the insurgents on the Plain du Nord. Antoine was this very man. I knew him well, for he used to come in the large flat-bottomed boat with the crew to get the necessary provisions from our store for the plantation. I knew all he had done before the destruction of the Cape to preserve his master's property, and my heart jumped for joy when I heard his name. "You see those fellows there," continued Antoine in his Creole, and pointing his thumb over his shoulder; "the rogues think themselves free, but they are a thousand times more slaves than ever. They are cut-throats, murderers, wretches, ready to commit any crimes, but they have put on uniforms, and think they are great men! And what," said he, "have the blacks gained that have been set free? They are starving for the greater part for want of food; some work, to be sure, when they can get work to do, but most of them are too lazy to work, and go without food until they are obliged to seek it by plunder." All this was said in a subdued voice, but with sufficient action to lead his followers to suppose he was in dispute with me. He asked why I exposed myself by coming to that part of the town. I told him I had a

written and sealed protection from the commissary. "That's right," said he, "let me see it." I accordingly pulled out the paper, which he took care to display so that his comrades might see it. After returning my passport, he asked me if I had any vessel at the Cape, as he wished to load one for Charleston, where his master lived. He said he had loaded one already, and had produce enough on the plantation to load another; if I would let mine go to Charleston, he would load her for his master. He uniformly made use of this word *master* in speaking of M. Lefèvre. I told him I had understood that one third of the produce of the plantations went to the Government, one third to the blacks that worked it, and one third to its support and the maintenance of the workmen. "That is true," said Antoine; "but I always contrive to save enough out of the two thirds to remit a good portion to my master, who, after all, if justice was done him, is the owner of the whole." I was truly delighted with my friend Antoine, and could have given him the fraternal accolade with all my heart; and as I stepped forward to offer him my hand he saw my object, and stopped me. Pointing with his sword (which he had drawn when he first came up to me) up the cross street, as if ordering me to be gone, he advised me to retire and not to put myself in peril again, but to sleep on board always, and to get away as soon as I could. I had told him I had no vessel, which was a great disappointment to him; but he said he should look out for one, and hoped to make a good shipment to M. Lefèvre. I afterwards saw and dined with this old gentleman in Boston, and related the facts above stated to him. He said it was all true; that this man had continued for a long time to make him remittances, but that of late they had ceased, and he was afraid the faithful Antoine was dead.

As I returned to the King's Wharf determined not to dine on shore again, I met the chap who had invited me to dine with him the day before. He walked directly up to me, and with a fiendish expression on his countenance addressed me thus: "Well, Citizen, so you would not dine with me yesterday." I attempted to make some apology, but the fellow cut me short with — "It is not true; the reason you did not come is because I am black, because you despise the black people. I know what you did when you landed with a body of armed men; that account is to be settled, look to yourself!" Some persons coming by, he walked on; and so did I as fast as I could towards the boat that was waiting for me.

I now determined to get away from the Cape as soon as possible; and as a brig ("Delight," I think her name was) had come out from Boston to my address, I resolved, if I could get my papers from the commissary the next day, to go down to Port au Prince in her the day after. I had told my adventures of the day to my friend the master of the "Betsey," who cursed the papers and the commissaries, and

swore I was a madman to wait for anything. I however went on shore in the morning, and proceeded directly to the commissary, who gave me my orders on the Commissioner of the Public Stores at Port au Prince, with which I embarked, and sailed the next morning in the "Delight;" and delighted I was to get away from my once happy home.¹

I ought not, perhaps, to omit mentioning an incident that occurred while I was at the Cape, which serves to show, in another instance, that the blacks, when left to themselves, were generally contented and happy with their masters. I had observed that the negro woman who was formerly our cook had left the brig at Limbè while my partner was on

¹ "I subsequently understood, from persons whom I left at the Cape, that a regular plot was laid to take my life, by false information to the commissary as to my having tried to prevail on a negro boy, named Farmer (who had remained behind at the Cape when his master, my friend Mr. Tremain, fled with us), to go off with me; and if this failed it was planned to draw me away from the small settlement about the public stores, and put me privately to death. I understood that this scheme was laid by a free black woman named Betsey, who had been a sort of housekeeper or upper servant in our family while Mrs. Perkins remained at the Cape; and as she had always conducted herself well during that time, we retained her in the same capacity after Mrs. Perkins left the island. This woman had been suspected of embezzling wine and other stores belonging to the house that were under her charge; and I had determined to get rid of her, although I could not allege this as a reason, because I had no proof of the fact. She, however, contrary to the rules of the family and to the police of the city, stayed out one night till ten o'clock; and having no written card from us, as the law required, she was taken up on her return home by the patrol and lodged in the guardhouse. I knew nothing of this till the next morning, when Miss Betsey was not to be found, and the keys of the store-closet, of which she had charge, were missing; but we soon learned that she was in limbo, waiting for an order from me to release her; but in limbo I was determined she should remain, at least for the whole of that day. When she was released, she complained at my having left her there so long, and I paid her her wages, and discharged her. This made her very angry, as I was told at the time; but after a while she appeared to have gotten over it, and used occasionally to visit the house. This had happened some time before the events above spoken of, and the circumstances had slipped my mind at that time, although I had been told that with all her apparent reconciliation, she still continued to feel a revengeful spite towards me. When I arrived at the Cape from Port au Prince she kept a boarding-house, and had a barber's shop attached to her establishment, in which she had placed Master Farmer as principal operator, he having been accustomed to dress his master's hair, which was always well frizzled and powdered. To this shop I went to get shaved; and there, to be sure, I had some conversation with Farmer about his master, asked him why he did not come off with our slaves, though I avoided asking him to go away then, as I knew this was strictly prohibited. Nevertheless this, it seems, was made the foundation of a plot to take my life, through the revengeful disposition of Miss Betsey. I had seen her that morning, and she was very gracious indeed, and urged me to take lodgings and to eat at her house; but as I had determined not to sleep on shore, she lost an opportunity of carrying her purposes into execution while I was there, and I left the Cape before she was aware of my intention."

shore, and that he left her there. On my arrival at the Cape she came immediately to see me, and after expressing her joy at finding me well, asked me to give her my clothes to wash while I remained there. This I did without hesitation, and they were all returned to me the next day done up in nice order; but when I offered to pay her for washing them, she turned on her heel and exclaimed, "Pray, what do you take me for, master? Do you think I would take money from you now?" I did everything in my power to prevail on this woman to accept some money, if not for washing my clothes, as a present from me; but nothing that I could say had any effect on her. She absolutely refused to take anything, and insisted on washing my clothes while I stayed, without pay, saying, "You will want it all by and by, master, and I have hands that will always provide me with enough." I was very much affected with the disinterested and kind conduct of this girl. She had been many years our slave, was an excellent cook, but was generally esteemed to be a bad-tempered woman. She was hideous in her form and face, although she now appeared to me quite comely, and was very clean in her person and habits.

On my arrival at Port au Prince I delivered my credentials, and was assured that I should have the first produce that came in from the country on the Government account; but I soon found that a Philadelphia ship, on board of which there was a French supercargo, that had arrived at Port au Prince after I did, was getting all the sugar that arrived, while I was put off with excuses by the old commissioner of the warehouses, who had orders to supply my demands first.

I complained, and told the old gentleman that he had no right to do this; but although he promised that I should have the next parcel, still the French supercargo found means to soften his heart that I had not the power of doing. At last I became fearful that I should get nothing, and I told the old fellow that unless he stopped furnishing the other vessel and gave me my produce, I should complain to Commissioner Polvorel, who was at Port au Prince. This, however, he disregarded, and was moreover somewhat impertinent, so that I determined to pay a visit to the great magician who held the lives and fortunes of every one in his right hand.

I had never seen Citizen Polvorel, although I had corresponded with him; but I knew his character, and had no doubt he would see that the order of his colleague was executed. I accordingly went to the Government House, and sent in my name requesting an audience. I was not kept long waiting, but was soon ushered into this man's presence. There was in the room with him an old mulatto man named Penchina, a Counsellor of State, said to possess great acquirements and great integrity. He had a mild and amiable countenance. He bowed respectfully when I entered, and directing my attention by a wave of his head

to the side of the room on which I had entered, he said, "There is the Citizen Commissioner."

The Citizen Commissioner was seated at a table covered with papers, pens, and ink; and as I turned to the spot where he sat, his large white eyes met mine with such a peculiar stare and forbidding frown that it had almost as powerful an effect upon my frame as the blow I had received in the breast from the black officer in the Cape. "What is your business, Citizen?" said he, rising from his seat, and showing a figure as powerful as his eye was severe and frightful. I stated in as few words as possible the object of my visit, and told the manner in which I had been put off from day to day, while another vessel was loaded with the merchandise I had been encouraged to believe from the Citizen Santhonax would be delivered to me in preference to all others after my arrival at Port au Prince. The commissioner's eyes grew red as I related my story, until they looked like those of an angry tiger ready to leap on his prey. Where the storm was to fall I knew not, but I would readily have given up my claim to have been safe on board the "Delight." My senses began to reel, and the guillotine erected at Port au Prince, which I had frequently seen, rose up before my eyes in terrible array, when the commissioner burst out with a voice of thunder, his hand clenched and extended towards me, "Allez, Citoyen, allez à ce Gueux-là, et dis lui de ma part, que s'il ne vous paye pas tout de suit, je lui mettrai l'épée aux reins" ("Go, Citizen, go to that villain there, and tell him from me, that unless he pays you immediately, I will plunge my sword into his loins"). By this the gentle commissioner meant only to say he would have the old man guillotined. The style or title by which the commissioners Santhonax and Polvorel were sent to St. Domingo by the National Assembly of France was "the Civil Commissioners!" "Well," thought I, "that is kind, gentle, and forbearing!" I did not wait, however, to talk with this philanthropic emancipator for fear that he might take it into his head to emancipate me from the toils of life; I therefore departed to pay a visit to my old friend of the warehouses.

I told him literally what the commissioner had said; and the doors of the public stores were immediately thrown open for my inspection, with assurances that all that was there (which, by the by, was very little) and all that came should be at my service. I must say that I was very much amused at the terror and dismay of the old man when I told him what the Citizen Polvorel had said; but as his fate was in my hands, I thought there was no great harm in suspending the sword of justice over his head until he had fulfilled his duty.

One other instance of the paternal care which the Citizen Commissioner exercised over his loving subjects may show the state of the white population under the reign of these lovers of freedom. My friend Mr. J.

G. F——, an American citizen of the United States, but a resident merchant of Port au Prince, had written to his correspondents in this country that such was the precarious situation of the place that he could not advise them to send out any more goods for sale, and recommended a suspension of their shipments to Port au Prince until things bore a more favorable aspect. I had done the same thing myself; but my letters were not copied, nor seen by any one. How the fact got to the commissioner's ears I know not; but while I was in the act of writing one of these letters in the counting-room of Mr. F——, a file of soldiers commanded by an officer entered. Mr. F—— was out on business. The officer demanded to see him; called for his letter-book and paper case, where he kept his half-written, unfinished letters; summoned an interpreter, and began the examination of the unfinished letters then lying on his table. I looked at these people with astonishment, not knowing their object; but as soon as the interpreter began to read, and the officer to comment on those parts of the letters that related to the importations of goods, I found that I was myself exposed to be brought up before those horrid white and red eyes again, that had so lately thrown me into a cold sweat. I continued to write on for a minute or two, as if quite easy about their movements, and then doubling up my paper, as if it contained some memoranda, I rose and left the room without interruption. I went in pursuit of F——, but he was not to be found; he was, however, soon arrested and sent to prison. After a fortnight's detention in jail to the great injury of his business, he received his trial at the request of the American masters and some American citizens, who represented to the Government the baleful effects that such proceedings must produce when known in the United States. I attended the trial. The commissioner was not present; and I had reason to be thankful that my friend maintained such perfect self-possession. The trial was by interrogatories from the judge to the prisoner. F—— acknowledged without hesitation all he had written, stated the grounds on which he did it, declared that he would do it always when he thought it for the interest of his friends and the United States, and so completely justified himself that the court ordered him to be discharged, with a caution to be prudent.

The young men who had escaped from the massacre of the Cape on board of coasting-vessels, and others that fell into the hands of the commissioners at the time, settled at Fort Dauphin, a small town about forty miles east of the Cape. A second massacre took place there some months afterwards, that carried off the principal part of the survivors of the first.

The circumstances were related to me by a gentleman by the name of Jolly, whom I had long known at the Cape, on my return to St. Domingo in 1794. I met this gentleman at Cape St. Nicholas mole, or

at St. Mark's, I forget which. He told me that Jean François, the commander of the original insurgents of the plain Du Nord, had become jealous of having so large a body of young white men so near him, although they had taken no steps whatever to annoy him. They at first had received assurances of protection from him, and I think he said the black chief had visited Fort Dauphin, and had held a conference with them as to their views; but of this I am not certain. However this may be, they felt themselves in perfect security from having received his promises not to molest them, and no guard was kept on foot to give the alarm in case of need. Accordingly, one night when all the inhabitants were buried in sleep, this man, Jean François, entered the town with a strong party of black troops, and murdered every white man they could find. A few, very few, made their escape. A number of the young volunteers who had fought so bravely at the Government House at the Cape on the 19th of June, and had subsequently escaped and gone to Fort Dauphin, were all butchered in their beds, or while endeavoring to escape in their night-clothes. M. Jolly had succeeded in getting off in a boat, and subsequently arrived at the place where I saw him.

From this gentleman, and some others who had been preserved from the knives of the blacks in the sacking of the Cape and carried into the country, I learned also the fate of many of the inhabitants, male and female, who fell into the hands of the commissioners. The road, said my informants, from the town to the Haut du Cape (a village about two or three miles from the Cape), was lined with men, women, and children of all colors, lying on the ground exposed to the burning rays of the sun; without food, without liquid of any sort to quench their vehement thirst; exposed to all the outrageous insults of the blacks who guarded them; half naked, and half raving with their sufferings, and praying the Almighty to relieve them from their miseries by death. Some had already been happy enough to reach "that bourne from which no traveller returns;" some were speeding their way thither; some weeping, some praying, and some cursing the cruel authors of their sufferings. Among them there were some who, having money within their reach when they were obliged to fly, had taken gold, as the lighter article in proportion to its value, in their pockets. They endeavored to bribe their guards to give them a glass of water in exchange for gold pieces of eight or sixteen dollars in value; but the savages refused their yellow money, and demanded white money or dollars, with which they were acquainted. Such as were fortunate enough to have it obtained what they wished, but those that were without it were refused, although they offered sixteen times the value that their neighbors had paid for it. Hence arose a traffic of dollars for Joes or doubloons, happy to give one piece for another as it would procure them what they most wanted,

a little water. How long these miserable people were left in this situation, I know not; but finally the commissioners ordered that they should receive food and shelter. Among the sufferers were many mulattoes and blacks who had not joined the insurgents; and as soon as the excitement was passed, and the plunder of the freed blacks was expended, they themselves had to experience a full share of the miseries they had inflicted on their masters. Famine and sloth soon accomplished what my friend Antoine had so strongly prophesied would be their fate; and those who had been used as instruments to extirpate the whites soon became the greater sufferers.

Long before the destruction of the Cape it was known that the insurgents of the plain Du Nord, who were commanded by Jean François, were languishing under the severest trials and the most despotic rule. The life of the laborer and the soldier were equally under the sole control of this chief. The smallest departure from the orders given them cost them the severest stripes, or the loss of their lives. Even those highest in the ranks were without hesitation cut off, if his will ordained it; and his second in command was shot by his order, without trial, because he had disobeyed him. It is true that he sometimes exercised his authority for beneficial and humane purposes; but his power was, nevertheless, absolute, and his orders instantly executed whether for good or bad ends.¹

So far from gaining a relief from labor or the blessings of liberty, the blacks were ten times more slaves than ever, and ten times more severely treated and worked, without any of those comforts that always awaited them under their former masters when their labors for the day were over, and when sickness or wounds were their lot. In lieu of a clean comfortable bed, and kind nurses in a commodious hospital to watch

¹ "The following well-authenticated anecdote shows what summary punishment this chief of the insurgents was accustomed to inflict: The black man who was second in command, whose name has escaped my memory, had a separate command at some distance from Jean François. He was one of those brutes that always extend their barbarity in proportion to their power. His cruelties to the whites who had fallen into his hands, and particularly to the women, had been reported to his chief more than once; but occupied with other objects of more importance to himself, he had overlooked them. It was, however, finally reported to him that he held an old lady in prison who was supposed to have hidden money on her plantation, and that the lieutenant had threatened that unless she revealed the place where it was deposited before a certain day, he would tie her up and whip her to death. On the morning of the day assigned for this execution, Jean François set off for the quarters of his lieutenant with a company of cavalry. On his arrival he was informed that his second was in the courtyard executing this threat. The chief entered, and found the poor and helpless old woman, stripped naked and tied to a tree, undergoing the infliction of the cart-whip; while the lieutenant was seated in his arm-chair, encouraging his menial to lay on the strokes harder! Jean François had him shot dead on the spot."

over them, they were left to seek relief from the shelter of the hedge on the bare ground, without the care that they had formerly seen given by their masters, even to the beasts of the field.

Certainly, if a balance of suffering could be made up, the black slaves lost as much in proportion to their wants and habits of life by their emancipation in St. Domingo, as the whites did. Instead of being raised in the scale of humanity, they were doubly degraded; for they became the slaves of their own black or mulatto chiefs, a cruel race whom they detested, in lieu of being the slaves and servants of the comparatively humane whites, by whom they were always well fed and well clothed and generally well treated.

"NOTE — taken from various authors, such as Cornier's '*Memoire sur la situation de St. Dominique à l'époque de Janvier, 1792*;' also from a work by M. Buclis, called '*Un mot de vérité*,' published at Paris, December, 1791; and partly from the speeches of the deputies sent from St. Domingo to the National Assembly and delivered at the bar of that body, Nov. 30, 1791.

"'While the National Assembly,' says a writer of that day, 'was considering how laws should in future be made for St. Domingo, that valuable colony exhibited the most ludicrous caricature of the revolution in the mother country. Two of the mulatto deputies to the Assembly, "Henry" and "Hirondelle Viard," having clandestinely returned to the island after the insurrection of Ogé, imported thither all the artifices used by the demagogues of Paris. They distributed libels and incendiary publications of every kind, and provided persons to read them at private meetings of the slaves who could not read; all was summed up in one favorite expression from Robespierre, "Perish the colonies rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles!" It was industriously disseminated that the king had given liberty to the negroes through the influence of the Abbé Grégoire, but that the white colonists withheld the boon thus granted to them. They consequently looked upon Grégoire as their patron saint. The revolt broke out in the night between the 22d and 23d of August, and was marked in its commencement with that base ingratitude which too often enhanced the guilt of bloodshed in the mother country. The first person of any distinction who fell was M. Odeluc, member of the General Assembly, and the attorney of M. Galifet's estates, on all of which the treatment of the slaves had been so eminently mild, humane, and paternal that it was a prevalent mode of expressing any man's happiness to say at the Cape that he was happy as one of Galifet's negroes. When M. Odeluc recognized his coachman among his assassins, he said, "I have ever treated you with kindness; why do you seek my death?" "True," replied the wretch, "but I have promised to cut your throat;" and instantly the whole gang rushed in and murdered their benefactor. About twenty white persons, nearly all who were present, perished with him. Another principal place where the insurrection broke out at the same time, was the plantation of M. Flaville. The attorney who resided there owed his death to his gentle and merciful disposition. About eight days before, a negro had been caught in the act of setting fire to an out-building belonging to M. Chabaud. On his examination the man gave intelligence of a plot for a general conflagration and massacre, and pointed out four of M. Flaville's negroes as the principal ringleaders. On being made acquainted with this charge, the attorney had so much confidence in the attachment which he had deserved from those under his management, that he assembled them, told them of the accusation and his own disbelief, urged the enormity of such a crime,

and offered his own head as an atonement if he had injured any of them. With one voice they answered that the story was a gross calumny, and loudly swore inviolable fidelity to him. They kept their oath by bursting into the bedrooms of the members of his family, murdering five of them as well as himself, in the presence of his wife, who on her knees in vain implored mercy for him, and told her, in mockery of her sorrow, that she and her daughters would be spared to serve their pleasure. Then throwing down their weapons, the murderers took torches, and soon set everything on the spot in a blaze. It was the appointed signal, and all the neighboring gangs instantly armed themselves. This account was given by a young man of sixteen, who escaped, though with two wounds. Wherever whites were found they were immolated. Men and women, young and old, fell indiscriminately under the unrelenting fury of the assassins. It was thought that if the Government had sent a strong force into the country, the insurrection might have been suppressed; but they sent only a small detachment, and the flames gained ground on all sides, until the adjacent districts presented to the view nothing but heaps of ashes and mangled carcasses. This small force, however, gained some advantages over the insurgents; but the negroes had increased to such numbers, that when beaten in one quarter they spread themselves into another, till they had filled the greater part of the Northern Department with carnage and desolation. Those who were taken and tried for the murder of their masters pointed to the real source of the mischief: "he was not," said they, "a bad or cruel man; we killed him for the sake of the nation; they have labored in France to give us freedom."

"The crimes committed in this struggle for the French rights of man," says this writer, 'are shocking in the recital, but they are due as a dreadful lesson to the world and to posterity.' (Here follows a detailed account of the horrible acts of butchery and brutality which were inflicted on the whites, both male and female; but they are too shocking to present to the eye of any man of feeling, and too gross to be read by any female of character.) 'Nor did the ferocity of the negro natures, stimulated as it was by the new principles, show itself against those only whom they considered their enemies, but also against their confederates, their countrymen and kindred. Such of their own race as declined joining in their excesses, they frequently seized and roasted by the next fire.' 'When they were in want of surgeons to attend their wounded,' says this historian, 'they confined them in a hut and set fire to it. Their chiefs were always at enmity with each other, and ready for mutual destruction; they exercised over their followers an absolute despotism and unparalleled tyranny; their claims to superiority were outrages of nature, — children killing their fathers with their own hands, and presenting their dead bodies to their comrades as evidence of their courage, and proofs of title to the confidence of their companions.' Accounts were received in France before the National Assembly had dissolved itself, that property had been destroyed in St. Domingo to an amount exceeding twenty-five million pounds sterling, or about one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. About two thousand white inhabitants had been destroyed, or had perished miserably; and at least fifteen thousand of the insurgents themselves had fallen, less by the despair to the which they had driven the colonists than by their own internal jealousies, and the barbarities of the chiefs they had chosen. 'It is a melancholy fact,' says our author, 'that the slaves who had been most kindly treated by their masters were generally observed to be the very soul of this no less perfidious than bloody insurrection. Yet, for the honor of human nature, it should be also known that some were found who at the risk of their lives rejected with disdain all attempts to seduce them.'"

BOSTON, Jan. 11, 1836.

FRANKLIN DEXTER, Esq.

DEAR SIR, — Your last note, which I received a few days past with the second part of the narrative of the revolution of St. Domingo, requests me to give you an account of the events of my voyage after I left that island at the close of 1793. I omitted to do it in the narrative, because it was unconnected with the facts that you had expressed a wish to learn regarding the insurrection; and I now do it with diffidence, because it involves so much of personal action that there must necessarily be great appearance of egotism.

But as the account is for your personal inspection, and not intended for the public eye, I will with great pleasure comply with your request, not doubting that you will excuse the frequent and necessarily repeated recurrence to myself which will appear in the course of the narrative, which I shall confine to the simple facts, without deviation from their course so far as they now rest on my mind.

Very truly and respectfully yours,

S. G. PERKINS.

*Narrative of a Voyage from Port au Prince to Boston the latter Part
of the Year 1793.*

THE constant alarms which existed at Port au Prince after the destruction of the Cape, lest a similar fate should befall that city; the frequent arrests of persons who were obnoxious to the ruling powers, and some rumors that were current as to the disposition of the slaves, led me to determine on returning to America; and accordingly, after my business was closed, I took passage on board the brig "William," Captain P——, for Boston. The week before the brig was ready for sea, I was dining on board an American vessel with a party of gentlemen, among whom was the commander of a British armed cutter named Young. Some vessel had arrived the day before from the United States, the master of which reported that he had been chased by a row-boat, armed with fifty or sixty men of all colors.

We had heard of this boat before at Port au Prince, and it had been reported that an American vessel had been taken by her, and all hands murdered; but how the fact was ascertained I do not now remember.

In the course of the conversation respecting this cruiser, it was mentioned that there was on board of her an Irishman of prodigious size, who had hailed the American, and that from his brogue his nationality was easily known; that he was quite young in appearance, although as ferocious in his manners as a wild bull. At this description Captain Young, of the cutter, observed that he had no doubt this fellow was a deserter from his cutter, on board of which vessel he had acted as

boatswain, and that he had left her some time ago without their having been able to trace him since. "The Lord have mercy upon any poor fellow who may chance to fall into that rascal's power," said he, "for surely nothing else could save him; for this O'Brian (I think he called him) would not hesitate to cut the throat of any man living, if he could get a dollar by it; and when his passions are up, nothing but absolute force would prevent him from destroying his opponent. He has the strength of a lion with the ferocity of a wild-cat."

As we were about to pass through the strait where this boat had been seen, this description of the commander of the cutter was not very consoling; but as we reflected that there were two or three chances to one that we might not meet or see it, and as many more that if we did we might, with a good breeze, escape from any description of row-boat then known, as the American had done before us, we flattered ourselves with the hope that we should be "*quitte pour la peur*." Besides, as she had been seen by several vessels that had escaped her, it was supposed that she would, from fear of having an armed vessel sent after her, shift her cruising-ground, and leave the coast between the island of Gonarve and that of St. Domingo open for us to pass unmolested.

I mention these facts because, if I had supposed there was any great risk of falling in with her, I should not have trusted myself in the "William," as she was a dull sailer, and deeply laden with molasses. I had had enough of pirates on land without running the chance of meeting them at sea, and I was too much exhausted both in body and spirit to expose myself unnecessarily to a new encounter. The season was, however, far advanced, and there was no other opportunity for the Northern States; I had no spare cash to enable me to pay my passage to Baltimore and then home by land, for the little I had saved from my commissions was my all, as far as I then knew, and I could not spare a cent. Besides, I was engaged to be married, and the attractive power lay far east. After I resolved to embark, I was requested by a M. Thouiën, a planter who had become obnoxious to the Government and was coming to the Cape, to take charge of two watches belonging to him, as he was fearful, in case he fell in with a British cruiser, that they might be taken from him, he being a Frenchman, and there being war at the time between France and England. One of these was a plain gold watch; the other was mounted with diamonds, and cost two thousand crowns, or twelve thousand francs. It had belonged to M. Thouiën's wife, who had lately deceased. The watches had been given to me before any rumors of pirates had reached us; and when they did M. Thouiën had left Port au Prince. I had of my own money seventy Joes in gold, rolled up in strong paper, and about seven hundred dollars in silver, besides my watch (for I had bought a gold one at Port au Prince) and a pair of silver-mounted pistols that my brother had given

me some time before I left home. When we sailed all these articles, my own watch excepted, were deposited in my trunk. We left Port au Prince early in the morning, and had a good run until midnight, when it fell calm. The next morning at daylight I was roused by the captain, who told me that the boat we had heard of was in sight and making for us. I immediately rose and dressed myself; and as the least evil to be apprehended was plunder of everything in sight, I put M. Thotien's diamond watch and my rouleau of Joes in the lower part (about the ankles) of my pantaloons, which were large, and had, as is usual in that country, feet to them; his *gold* watch I put into my fob, under my own watch, which I wore as usual, hoping that by taking *it* they would look no farther. I went on deck, and there I saw the row-galley coming towards us with eight or ten oars of a side. We could not tell which, as she came on, head towards us. She soon came near enough for us to distinguish the men and a long swivel-gun on the deck. The quarters of the brig were surrounded with bags of cotton, which came breast-high, so that they served for shelter in case the pirate should fire into us. I took my station on the quarter-deck with my spy-glass laid on the bulwark, looking out for O'Brian, the Irish giant; but I could see but one man of extraordinary size, and he appeared more like a Spaniard. There were perhaps fifty or sixty men on her deck, all armed with pistols, blunderbusses, and cutlasses, besides long knives in their belts.

There was not a breath of wind, and no vessel in sight, and we were about half-way between Gonarve and St. Domingo in the narrowest part of the channel. The crew of the brig were all on her deck watching the approach of the galley. Not a word was spoken by any one, for we were all too much taken up with our own thoughts and fears to be interested in anything else, and as we were without arms, resistance was useless. There was one man, however, a poor French passenger who lived in the steerage, who did not make his appearance. He had crept down into the hold under some rubbish, where he thought he might escape the *first* onset at least. As the galley approached near to us there appeared to be great confusion on board. "Long Tom," as the swivel-gun is called, was pointed towards us, and one of the ruffians stood with a lighted torch ready to fire it should there be occasion, or should they apprehend resistance. As our people stood uncovered and unarmed, the pirates could see there was no danger, and they steered the boat alongside, raising the most disorderly shouts imaginable. I looked steadily at the crew for O'Brian, but I could see no one who answered his description. The moment the galley touched our vessel twenty or thirty men sprang on board and began laying about them with their cutlasses, until they had driven all the crew, including the mate, down forward, where they were secured. The captain and

myself remained aft on the quarter-deck during this gentle operation, but as soon as it was accomplished the rush was aft towards us. The fury of the crew, however, was restrained by their leader, who asked in French for the captain, and I pointed him out to this now gentle and polite assassin; for as soon as the crew were confined, he became as complaisant as you could desire. He asked me whence we came and where we were bound; when he was answered, he asked for the ship's papers. These the captain produced. He said the cargo was French property, and that he should send us into St. Jago de Cuba for adjudication, as there was war between France and Spain, and we were a good prize. I asked him if his boat belonged to St. Jago. He said it did, and that she was commissioned to make French prizes; that he knew our cargo was French, sent off to save it from destruction by the blacks. To this we could only answer that we were willing to go to St. Jago, where we could easily prove that the cargo was the proceeds of the property carried out from America.

He showed us what he called a commission from his captain to take charge of us as prize-master, and said that as soon as the wind sprung up he should run down for the island of Cuba; but in the mean time he demanded the keys of our trunks. These were given him, and we all went into the cabin together, where the trunks were opened, the money and other effects in them seen, and then reshut without disturbing anything, except an overturn of our clothes to see if there were any more bags hidden beneath them.

The captain had a bag containing about five hundred dollars in his trunk, but nothing else of value except his clothes. The cook was allowed to come on deck to get breakfast, and two of the sailors were let out to haul the yards about, as the little wind we had made necessary.

The mate officiated as one, and the other was a man named Jack Stevens. I shall never forget Jack Stevens. We invited the prize-master to breakfast with us in the cabin, where he behaved himself with great decency, — talked of the Americans, how much he liked them; that it was his intention to go to the United States and live among a people who had a free government; that he had known many Americans, and was very sorry to take us out of our course, but it was his duty; he could not help himself; he was under orders, being the second in command on board the galley, but that we should soon be liberated, as he had no doubt we could show all was right, etc. The fellow managed his tongue so well that he soon talked us out of our fears; and as I could see nothing of the Irishman, I began to think this must be some other boat fitted out as a privateer. After breakfast we went on deck; the galley was at some distance from us, and we had on board sixteen armed men beside the prize-master. The captain's papers had

been all put on board the galley, but I thought if a breeze of wind should spring up while the galley was at a distance from us we might retake the brig and proceed on our course. I talked to the mate about it, who readily agreed if the captain, who was an uncommonly strict man, would consent and lend a hand. I asked him whether the sailor was to be trusted and could be depended on. "Who, Jack Stevens? Ay, sir, for anything he undertakes, I'll answer for him while there is any breath in his body." "Well," said I, "sound him carefully, and take care that you are out of ear-shot of the rascals, for some of them may understand a little English." Jack was soon after sent to me, and I found him ready to undertake any four of *them thieves*, as he called them, if the captain and mate and myself would manage the rest; we might mark him out any four we chose, and he would engage to silence the lot. "But, Jack," said I, "we can't in open day engage seventeen armed men who are on the watch; it must be done at night when some are asleep, so that we can secure their arms, and then we may have only half the number to contend with; and we may release the rest of our crew unobserved, and if there is a breeze, by extinguishing the lights, we may escape the galley." "Well, sir, any way you like, so that I get a fair lick at their dingy heads; I warrant you I'll warm the wax in their ears." "Well, hush is the word, Jack; the captain is to be consulted yet. I will see you again; but be careful you don't show fight before we are all ready." Jack promised faithfully to be prudent, and I went to consult the captain. But at this moment our attention was attracted by a shot from the galley that lay in shore of us towards Gonarve. On looking towards her we discovered a small boat still farther in shore, and the galley appeared to be in pursuit, and fired again and again; and we could hear the shout of the crew each time that Long Tom was let off. I asked the prize-master what this meant, and he replied that it was a pirate they were in pursuit of. Well, thought I, what a lucky thing it is for us that we have fallen into the hands of these honest men; for as sure as we now live, if they had not picked us up the pirate would, and it is better to be in the hands of privateersmen than to be butchered by the pirates. "How do you know that it is a pirate?" said I. "Oh, I know it very well! for we have heard from vessels that we have boarded that there is a pirate in the neighborhood; and that must be he, for there is no anchorage for vessels in the island of Gonarve." The galley was soon alongside the small boat, when a general shout was again raised, and away they came towards us at full speed, with the small boat in tow. The small boat was so situated that she was frequently hidden by the large one; but as they approached us, and the galley hauled up to cross our bow, I saw the boat was full of men. I took the spy-glass, and the first glance I got at her showed me the man whom I had so much dreaded seated

in her stern sheets steering her. As soon as they got within suitable distance, the small boat was cast off, and she rowed directly for the brig. *Que faire ?* I went below.

You may suppose that my feelings were not at ease. I heard the fellow's voice ordering the hatches opened with many oaths and imprecations. I seated myself on the after locker, and took up a book that happened to be near me without knowing what I was doing. I opened it; but my thoughts were on other things. I heard the abusive language of the pirate ordering the men and officers to obey him immediately, or he would cut them in pieces. My blood boiled within me. I could with difficulty keep my seat, but I determined to keep below and not be the first aggressor; but all my prudence, all my discretion, all my self-possession, were gone. I felt as if my last hour had arrived; that there was no escape; that we had been deceived from the first, and that we were in the hands of a gang of pirates.

I always hated discord and contention, and if left to myself should never kill a fly; but I hated oppression of all kinds still more from my infancy upwards, and always resisted what I thought such at all hazards. The hatches were broken open, and I heard the orders of the savage given to load his boat with various articles; still I remained quiet. "Well," said the pirate, "let's look into the cabin;" and giving a call to his comrades, down they rushed. I sat still with my book in my hand, pretending to read. "Holloa! holloa! here below; have you got anything to drink?" vociferated the beast as he entered, (at the same time reaching a case bottle of gin or brandy from the captain's case that stood in the transom.) "Here, my lads, take a tiff!" turning out a tumbler full of the liquid, which he drank off without taking breath; he then repeatedly filled the glass for his companions until the bottle was empty.

The prize-master had followed this fellow below, which I was glad to see; for though I had lost all confidence in him, still there was a decorum, a kindly manner, that soothes even while it destroys.

I had a pair of new white-top boots hanging up in the cabin near the door; they had been sent out to me by my friend and brother-in-law, but were too large for me. I had had thoughts of putting Mr. Thotien's watch into one of these, thinking it a place not likely to be searched, but something had prevented my doing it. As soon as these wretches had drunk as much gin as they chose, their leader began to look round for plunder. I saw his object, and forgot the good and valuable hint given me by our friend Butler, "He that fights," etc. The first things that caught his eye were my boots, nicely polished, ample in dimensions, and apparently just from the last. These he seized without ceremony. My blood was up to boiling heat; away went the book across the cabin, and with one spring I snatched the boots from his

hand and threw them into my berth at the other side of the cabin. "Those are mine, *sirrah*," said I, and turning to the prize-master I called on him in French to protect his prisoners from the outrage of this brute. O'Brian, confused by the sudden and unexpected assault and the manner in which I addressed him, was for a moment thrown off his guard, and probably, from being accustomed to be commanded and ordered about his ship while in the royal navy, was for a minute confounded; but his recollection soon came to him, for his cutlass was out by the time I had finished my appeal to the prize-master, and with a tremendous oath he made at me. But the prize-master, whose views were to find out if possible whether we had other precious metals beside those he had seen, thought gentle methods answered the objects of his party better than violence, and he immediately stepped between us and ordered the fellow to desist. I then told the Frenchman that if we were a lawful prize to him and his galley, it was his duty as well as his interest to protect us from these outrages, and insisted on his sending the fellow out of the vessel. O'Brian did not understand anything I said, but stood cursing and swearing that he would have his revenge.

The prize-master, however, spoke to him in Spanish, and soon persuaded him to leave the cabin. As he moved off he stopped at the door, and turning round doubled his fist, which he shook at me with the fierceness of a maniac, and swore by the living God he would have my heart's blood! I made no reply, but tried to look as bold as he did, although I felt myself entirely in the power of the gang, of whose character I no longer had any doubt. It was not long before I heard the splashing of oars, and I was soon informed that the boat with her crew had gone off to the island of Gonarve, and glad indeed was I; for my courage for want of fuel began to cool, and I felt convinced that unless we were relieved before night we should all be murdered.

I now set myself to work to devise means of defence in case of need, for I was determined not to surrender my life without an effort at escape. I had harsh feelings towards the prize-master, but I saw he was a feeble man, and could not, if he would, protect us long against this barbarian, should he return in the night with his myrmidons to cut our throats. I returned, therefore, to the project of retaking the vessel as soon as a good opportunity offered at night; and to this end I applied to the captain. Captain P—— was a man of great size and strength; but as my friend Jack Stevens said of him, "he is not made of the right stuff, sir." The captain's arguments were: first, it was impossible for us to master seventeen armed men, even if we were armed ourselves;¹ then, if we

¹ "The following facts will show that this is a mistake, and that by good management and a determined spirit a much more slender force than we possessed can control and subdue seven times its own force. The brig 'Ann,'

failed we were sure to be murdered; next, if we succeeded on board our own vessel, the galley might overtake us, and we were lost without redemption; and last, the captain of the galley had his register, and if

Robert Lord, belonging to G. H—— and W. P——, of this city, was captured in the year 1799 by a French privateer and carried to France, where she was condemned. The captain came to Paris while I was there in the early part of 1800, and I gave him a small box in charge, containing a variety of valuable articles, to bring home to my wife. Captain Lord returned to Bordeaux from Paris, where he was put in charge of a ship, with a view to bring her to the United States. On her passage she fell in with a French privateer from Guadaloupe, and was captured. All the crew, including the mate, were taken out of the ship, the captain alone being allowed to remain on board; and after putting fourteen men and a prize-master and an Irishman whom they had taken from an English vessel, she was ordered to Guadaloupe. As soon as the prize separated from the privateer, the prize crew began to hunt for plunder, and among other objects fell on the box I had consigned to Captain Lord's care. The articles were taken out of it and divided among the crew. The Brussels lace, cambric handkerchiefs, kid gloves, etc., with a case containing eighteen silver fruit-knives, were separated in equal proportions and divided among the privateersmen. Lord saw this division made with an aching heart. He had tried to save the box from plunder by representing to these fellows that it was a present from a gentleman in Paris to his wife in America, and was put into his keeping; but all he could say merely raised a laugh against him, and he was obliged to submit, but with a determination, if possible, to retake the vessel and repossess himself of the articles. Accordingly he formed a plan which he carried into operation in the following manner: As he knew nothing of the feelings of the Irish passenger towards his captors, his first object was to sound him and ascertain whether he had a right to expect any aid from him. This he did very cautiously, and soon found his man ready to go all lengths with him. As soon as this was settled, he communicated his plan to his companion, which was to be carried into effect the first foul day that occurred. In the mean time Lord, who had always a penknife in his hand whittling pieces of pine into various shapes, contrived to make, without being observed, several toggles or round spikes or spigots of wood suited to put into the staple when the hatches are closed and the hasp is drawn over it. These he put into his pocket, and waited until a suitable day should arrive for his purpose. At last a cold drizzly day occurred, and the prize-master retired to the cabin for shelter, and took to his book for amusement, and the Irish passenger followed his example. Half the crew were asleep below deck, down in the forward steerage, it being their watch below, so that there were only seven men on deck, one of whom was at the helm. The rest of the watch were sitting under the lee of the long boat to shelter themselves from the rain; and Lord walked the main deck, occupied as usual with his penknife. Lord spoke French well enough to be understood by the crew, with whom he had made himself familiar during the few days they had been together. 'Why do you sit here in the rain?' asked Lord of these men; 'two of you are enough to stay on deck at a time, and the rest of you can keep yourselves dry down forward, and if anything occurs to need your assistance you can be called.' Accordingly, four of the six went below, and as the booby-hatch was always left open to admit the air, they could see and hear all that was going on on deck. The provisions and water were kept down aft, and the covering of this hatch was, like the forward one, covered with what is called a booby-hatch, which has hinges and fastens with a staple and hasp, and is always kept unfastened. Lord took up a tin pot which he had placed on the deck,

we were overhauled by a British cruiser, we should be taken for pirates ourselves and be hung up in some of the Bahama Islands without judge or jury. Beside, we might be relieved !

The captain was a very good-natured, indolent man, and if put to his mettle could fight as well as anybody ; but he did not like the labor nor the excitement, and though as anxious as any of us to get out of their hands, he thought discretion the better part of valor. I could not move him.

My next plan was to get at my pistols that were in my trunk ; they were loaded and in excellent order, being a pair of first-rate arms, which, as I before said, were presented to me by my brother. My project was to ask the prize-master for the key to get a clean shirt ; this he readily granted, but he accompanied me to the cabin. I told him I was afraid that Irish whelp would return in the night, and as he had threatened to put me to death, I wanted my pistols to defend myself. He looked slyly at me, and said there was no danger ; he would protect me. I said everything I could think of to persuade him, but he remained inexorable.

In the course of the day Jack Stevens got into a row with one of the pirates ; the fellow struck him with the flat of his sabre. Jack knocked

and asked one of the men on deck to go down aft and get him some water, and at the same time he walked forward, and covering over the hatch of the fore-*scuttle* he closed the hasp and put a toggle or spigot into the staple ; and before the party below were aware of their situation or had time to make a clamor, he had returned to the man on deck and asked him to see what the other sailor was about so long in getting the water. This man went to the hatchway aft, and stooped down to call his comrade, when Lord seized him by the breech and pitched him headlong into the after-steerage, and then shut over the hatch and fastened it as he had the other. This last act was seen by the man at the helm, who immediately stamped violently on the quarter-deck to rouse the prize-master. This was the signal for the Irish passenger to begin operations ; and having all things ready prepared, Lord soon silenced that personage. In the mean time the helmsman sprang forward to seize upon Lord, who had placed a harpoon in such manner that he could possess himself of it at once ; but the Frenchman was so quick upon him that Lord was obliged to drop his weapon and resort to his fist, with which he knocked the fellow overboard the first blow he struck him. The noise now, both forward and aft, by beating against the hatches in trying to force them open, was so great that Lord was obliged, with his companion, to have recourse to the firearms, which they repeatedly discharged to let the sailors know they had the means of suppressing them entirely. When this impression was sufficiently made, they entered into a compact with their prisoners, agreeing that if the two fellows aft would supply them with provisions and water, they, Lord & Co., would cook it and give them their share. This the Frenchmen both fore and aft were glad to accede to, agreeing to let a portion out to help work the ship daily, and to submit in all things to the recaptors. In this way the ship was brought to Bermuda, where she was libelled for salvage in the Vice-Admiralty Court. Lord collected all the articles belonging to me, and delivered them to my wife ; but the lace was sadly cut up."

him down, and the whole horde rushed forward to avenge the insult ; Jack jumped overboard, and swam to the galley, that was not far off. This caused great alarm, and it required all our eloquence to pacify the indignant prize-master and the enraged crew. Jack was put in confinement on board the galley under deck, where he was kept till the next morning almost suffocated and quite starved. The next morning he was let out ; but the moment he put his foot on the deck, he sprang into the sea and swam for the brig. By coaxing and persuasion I got the prize-master to take him on board ; but he was put below at once, and kept a close prisoner.

It had been calm all day, and we saw nothing in the offing. The prize-master dined with us in the cabin, and was very good-humored ; talked of St. Jago, and wished for a good breeze to carry us there ; abused the Irishman for a hot-headed fool, and said he was afraid he was no better than he should be, but did not think he was a pirate, but that he was a thief and a drunkard. He had seen him before, but that party did not belong to their crew ; they were suspicious of them, and kept a jealous eye upon them. All this I considered as mere sham, as in fact it proved to be ; but he talked of morality and honor, as if he knew their worth. He, however, treated us with civility, and the afternoon went off without any new incident ; the weather was still calm.

But night approached, and my apprehensions came with it. I had no confidence in the assumed character of the galley, and was convinced something would befall us before the next morning. No means of resistance was left us ; the captain refused to aid in the rescue of the vessel, and indeed prohibited the undertaking. Besides, our right-hand man, Jack Stevens, was confined under deck in the galley.

After remaining above as long as the pirate would permit, I went to my berth and lay down with my clothes on, but not to sleep, for had I drunk deeply from the fountain of Lethe I could not have closed my eyes or lost for a moment my recollection. I thought of all the means within my power to defend myself. I did not despair or lose my resolution ; it was increased rather than diminished ; but what could *my* will, unarmed as I was, do against a host of cut-throats, armed with every sort of deadly weapon, from the knife to the blunderbuss ?

I felt sure that O'Brian would revisit us during the night, and his last threatening attitude and vengeful curse when we parted were constantly present to my mind ; but I was young, strong, and full of confidence in my own powers, and I had been accustomed to dangers all my life. The habit of constant exposure to danger grows by degrees into indifference. We lose our excitability as danger and oppression become familiar to us, and a strong feeling of dogged submission or a determined resolution to resistance controls all our actions. The latter was

my feeling; for there was no hope in cowering before the ferocity of such a villain, and die I must if he came on board, unless chance or Heaven should interpose. These thoughts occupied my mind during the night; at the least noise I was up and ready for the worst that could come; but I did not feel as if I were to die that night, and I was determined not to if my own exertions could save me. There was no light in the cabin but such as the eye habituated to darkness can discern, but my senses were all awake, and hour after hour passed on while I watched and listened for the splashing of oars which were to bring the Irish giant back upon us. The morning, however, arrived, and no O'Brian appeared, and my heart and spirits sank within me. Strange as it may appear, I was less depressed, and ten times more fit for action and resistance during the whole of this gloomy night than I was when I went on deck and found all quiet and safe. I said nothing to any one on the subject of my apprehensions, and a little reflection and a warm breakfast brought me to life again.

I mentioned in the first part of this letter that a M. Tholien had given me a couple of watches to keep and bring to the United States for him, and that I had placed one of them in the ankle part of my pantaloons on one leg, and a rouleau of Joes in the other, which belonged to myself. I had carried them thus the whole of the day, but with great inconvenience and pain, as they chafed my ankles so that I could scarcely move at night. When I turned in I removed them to the pockets of my pantaloons, which were covered with the flaps of my frock-coat. After breakfast I took the spy-glass as usual and looked round the horizon and the distant shore, to see if there was anything in sight. As I looked to the northward, I thought I saw a speck, but could not make out what it was. I said nothing. The brig's head was to the northward, and there was a breath of air stirring from the east, off shore. I lounged forward and got into the bow, and then, without any apparent object, went out to the end of the bowsprit.

I watched the motions of the prize-master; and whenever he turned his face towards me I looked with my glass round the shores of Gonarve and St. Domingo, sweeping the horizon as if I was amusing myself, but watching the speck in the north as I came to it in turn. It grew larger by degrees, but not fast. I saw, however, it was a sail just peering above the horizon; but as there was little or no wind, we approached each other very slowly. My elevated position gave me an opportunity of seeing it when no one on deck could observe it, and the galley was still lower than us. Here I sat for an hour and a half without interruption; and as the wind freshened to the northward where the strange vessel was, the masts and sails rose out of the sea, and although I was afraid to look too steadily at it, I was not long in discovering that it was a large ship of some sort or other. This is easily seen

long before you can discern the hull of the ship, by the distance between the masts; and as the ship was running down a southwest course, my mind was satisfied that it was a British ship of war probably bound to Jamaica.

About half-past ten or eleven o'clock the galley hailed the brig. I heard the captain say something to the prize-master about *bati-menta*, which I knew must relate to this ship, although I did not understand Spanish. I therefore kept my face turned from the deck of the vessel towards the north, looking steadily at the vessel which I was now fully convinced was a British frigate. There was but one glass on board our vessel; and that I had, and intended to keep as long as I could. The prize-master came forward and asked for the glass, but I could not hear him. He asked me what sort of a ship that was in the offing, but a sudden deafness had come over me and I did not notice his question. At length he ordered me to come on board, to which I answered that I would presently when I had made out the vessel ahead. He then again demanded the glass; and as the captain of the galley hailed again to know what the ship was, the fellow sprang out on to the bowsprit and threatened to throw me overboard if I did not surrender the glass. I told him not to be violent, there was time enough for him and me too to look at the ship, that I could not make her out yet; but the fellow seized the glass, and I remained quiet, and hoped that the ship would ere long be within gunshot of us. The prize-master looked for a moment only, and sprang on deck, calling to the galley that it was a *fragata Inglesa*. I still kept my position, looking anxiously at the frigate, which I could now see plainly with my naked eye. Suddenly I heard a noise on deck, and on turning round saw the pirates beating the brig's sailors down below with their sabres. The prize-master came forward and ordered me on board, and then directed the captain, the French passenger, and myself to go into the cabin. This we did without hesitation, followed by the prize-master and four men, three of whom were armed with blunderbusses.

At the entrance of the cabin hung a cot-bed, in which the mate usually slept. Here I was ordered to stop, — the captain and Frenchman being placed opposite to me. Each had a blunderbuss presented at his breast; and the fourth man, with a dagger in his hand, stood over the poor wight who was to be operated upon, with his dagger raised ready to strike in case of need. The prize-master began with the Frenchman, whom he ordered to strip.¹ This "Crapaud" did without delay, and on examination of his pantaloons five Joes in gold were

¹ It appeared afterward that the French passenger had manifested his thanks to the prize-master for sending off O'Brian by showing him five Joes he had in his trousers, saved from that thief! This was indication enough.

found in the pockets. Every part of his body was searched for more; but this was all the poor fellow possessed in the world, and with it he was flying from insurrection and bloodshed to the United States.

I watched the operation, not daring to move for fear my friend with the blunderbuss might take it in dudgeon; but I saw what my fate was to be, and I thought of poor Thoiën's diamond watch, to say nothing of my seventy Joes so nicely rolled up in my breeches pocket.

As soon as the new-made citizen was thrown aside under the care of his especial musketeer, they began with the captain, who stood, like myself, with the open mouth of the double-charged blunderbuss at his breast. The enormous frame of this individual made it necessary for him to strip his huge limbs and muscular body to nudity. Looking at the fellow with the dagger with one eye, and at the musketoon with the other, while he reluctantly undressed, was too ludicrous to be resisted; and although I did not know what was to follow this deshabillement, either to his own person or mine, I burst into a broad laugh, which caused the gentlemen who were searching him to turn their attention to me. The captain had nothing about his person, that I recollect, but his silver watch to surrender; and when they were satisfied with this, they left him to his man-at-arms, and came over to poor me.

The prize-master ordered me to undress; and as I stooped under this pretence, I endeavored to smuggle poor Thoiën's beautiful watch, which was done up in paper, into the mate's cot; but my object was at once detected, both by the fellow with the dagger and the prize-master. The fellow struck at me with his stiletto; but the blow was arrested by the officer, who warned me to remain immovable, as he should not again arrest the arm of his companion if I attempted to throw anything from my person. The watch was seized in its passage, and then I was thoroughly searched, and the two gold watches and my rouleau of Joes taken from me. The prize-master, or head pirate, then proceeded to the trunks of the captain and that which belonged to me, and took out the two bags of silver, my pistols, and some other articles; and leaving the guard to watch over us, he proceeded with his satellite, after giving some orders in Spanish to the guard, to the deck. These fellows stood with the muzzle of their guns pointed at our breasts for some minutes, when a rude stamping on the deck caused them to move backwards, till *they* reached the deck also; leaving us half naked, looking at each other like a set of craven hounds, whipped out of the course. All was silent on deck for some time; and the captain having resumed his small clothes thought he would take a peep and see what was going on. He mounted the ladder very cautiously; but no sooner had his eyes cleared the top of the companion-way, than down came his unwieldy bulk on to the steerage-floor. I roared with laughter to see his mighty frame lay

prostrate on the deck; but on inquiry as to the cause of this new mode of retreat, I learned that directly opposite to the gangway he saw half a dozen musketoons presented at his head, which brought on a relaxation of his muscular system, and down he fell like a brave fellow. The galley now pushed off; and as she passed under our stern, the crew gave us three cheers, and rowed off towards the island of Gonarve; and thus ended our acquaintance with these freebooters.

We were soon on deck, and the crew were released from their confinement; and as the breeze increased we shortly had full sail on the brig, steering for the frigate that was now within a few miles of us. But unfortunately, in lieu of coming down to us, she crossed our bow, apparently bound to Jamaica. After things were got into a little order the crew went into the steerage to shift their clothes, but they were soon up again looking like despair. "Well," I asked, "how do you find things below?" "Why," said Jack Stevens, "them damned pirates have robbed us of all our clothes, and I have nothing left but what I stand in; but my old check shirt and trousers must serve me till I get home. But there's some comfort left, for I am now ready for the newest fashions." This good-natured remark put us all in spirits, and we determined to go into St. Nicholas' mole to repair our losses and to give information of the pirate. I drew up a statement of facts which I presented to the captain of the "Penelope" frigate; the mole was at this time in possession of the British. The governor ordered a cutter immediately to proceed in pursuit of the pirates; but as the rascals had got a good haul, and a night had intervened, I presume they had gone off with their plunder, for I never heard anything more of them.

After replenishing our stores and clothing the sailors, we set sail for Boston; and after a long and tedious passage we arrived in the bay. But Dame Fortune had not done with me yet. It was now the middle of December; and the captain mistaking Boston Light for that of Cape Ann (for there was only one light at Cape Ann, and the Boston Light was a fixed one), we were running head on, with a strong easterly or northeast wind, directly on to the rocks of Cohasset. I was in bed, but not yet asleep, when I heard the man forward cry out, "Breakers ahead!" Every one on board sprang to the deck, and "Wear Ship!" was the order. We escaped; but we had nothing to spare, for the rocks were close under our stern when we had got the brig round. The whole night was boisterous, and the wind increasing, and we had got into a position that brought the wind directly against us in beating out of this *cul-de-sac*. The weather was very cold, and the sailors came frequently to ask for liquor, which the captain had not the fortitude to refuse them. I told him repeatedly that his men would all be frozen if he continued to give them spirits; but he said it was cold and hard work,

and they wanted something to warm them. He was himself a very temperate man in all things. I felt convinced that the men could not hold out till morning if they continued to drink, and I went into the cabin and threw all the gin or brandy in the case out of the cabin window. I went on deck and told the captain what I had done; he said he was glad of it; but he had already given them too much. Before the night was half out some of the men began to complain that they could stand the deck no longer, and two of them actually had their feet frozen. I supplied the place of one of them, and did duty as well as the rest; for it was neck or nothing.

In the bustle and darkness of the night, and shifting the boom, I lost my hat overboard, and was obliged to tie a handkerchief about my head after I found I was getting chilled. At daylight we made Boston Light, and ran for it close into the rocks. The pilot came on board, and at the moment he put his foot on the deck our foretopsail blew into a thousand pieces. It was now a severe gale and thick snow-storm; but our pilot brought us up to anchoring-ground somewhere between the Castle and South Boston Point. Farther we could not proceed; and as soon as the crew had got the ship moored, and some food and hot coffee, all hands turned in, exhausted in body and mind. It seems ridiculous to relate what follows, but as you have led me on so far you must excuse the recital: About or a little before daylight, I awoke from a profound sleep, in a state of suffocation. I tried to speak and to call the captain to my aid, but I could not utter a sound; it was with the greatest difficulty I could breathe at all. The cabin was in utter darkness, and I felt as if I should not survive a minute. My throat was entirely closed up by what appeared to me a blister, that stopped the passage of the air. It was tight, but yielded to the touch when I introduced my finger, but filled the whole space of the gullet, so that nothing could pass into or out of it. I thought it was very hard that after escaping the blacks at St. Domingo, the pirates at sea, and the rocks at Cohasset, I should arrive as it were in safety within sight of my home and my friends and die like a dog at last. I had in my pocket a sharp-pointed penknife, that I had placed great confidence in the night I expected a visit from O'Brian; this I seized, and without delay turned it against myself. I thrust it into my throat, and at once found myself covered with blood. I attempted to rise. It was blowing a gale from the northwest, and so cold that I could not dress myself. At this moment the pilot turned out to see how the weather was, and soon struck a light; I had got some relief from the wound I had given myself, but I could not speak. I made signs to him to come to me, and when he saw me covered with blood, the fellow was as much frightened as I was at seeing O'Brian. He, however, called the captain, whom I begged, by writing on a slate, to put me on shore at Dorchester Point, but this he said was impossi-

ble as the wind blew a gale directly off shore ; besides, what could I do when I got there ? " True enough," thought I ; and I threw myself down in despair. A fire was, however, soon made, and a flannel dipped in hot water was applied to my throat ; but I thought of the brandy I had thrown overboard the night before, and wished for a portion of it back again, as I believed it would have answered better than the water. After breakfast we got the anchor up, and beat up to town, and I was landed on the end of Long Wharf about noon, and accommodated with a hat by one of the Custom House boatmen.

Thus closed my year's labors ; beginning with earthquakes, followed up by revolutions, loss of property, capture by pirates, and hazard of shipwreck, and ending by being gagged (the palate or roof of my mouth, which had become inflamed and swollen to a great extent from having taken a severe cold during the preceding night, was the cause of my suffering). I have frequently thought that the easy life I have been allowed to live through the blessing and mercy of Providence since that period has been in some measure permitted to me as an offset for the sufferings that I had then to endure ; and as my lot, taken altogether, has been not only a favorable, but a happy one through life, and a much better one than I deserved, I have never ceased, and I trust and hope I shall never fail, to acknowledge my gratitude and to offer up my thanks to the Author of all good.

Before closing this letter I must mention a circumstance that took place some fifteen or twenty years after the events I have recorded. I was sitting in my counting-room on India Wharf writing, when Mr. John Turner Sargent, whom you doubtless recollect, came in accompanied by another gentleman, to whom he introduced me in pretty much the following manner :—

" Permit me, Mr. Perkins, to introduce an old shipmate of yours, Captain Stevens, of Philadelphia." I looked at Captain Stevens, and called up my recollection as far as I could at the moment, but did not remember to have sailed with any Captain Stevens in the course of my various voyages ; and I of course observed that it must have been my brother, as I did not recollect to have ever seen Captain Stevens before. The captain smiled, and with an arch look asked me if I had forgotten him as an old shipmate on board the " William." I replied that I had entirely (for the pirate business never occurred to me). " Well," said he, " if you have forgotten *me*, I shall never forget *you*. Don't you remember the pirate, off Gonaarve, and Jack Stevens who was before the mast on board the brig ' William,' Captain P—— ?" You may be assured that we were not long in renewing our acquaintance. Captain Stevens had come from Philadelphia with letters of introduction to Mr. Sargent, and, as the latter told me, one of his first inquiries was whether I was living and where he could find me.

When I began this relation I expected to make a shorter story of it; but when one is writing of events long since gone by, the concatenation of our ideas is maintained by association. Thus one event leads to the recollection of another; and if this chain is broken, it is difficult to reunite the facts in the due course of events.

Very truly yours, etc.,

SAMUEL G. PERKINS.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and the following reports were presented: —

Report of the Council.

The Annual Report of the Council of the Society, embracing a statement of its changes and progress during the past year of its history, must necessarily, in the present instance, be brief. The condition of the Society is for the most part satisfactory and encouraging. The record of the literary and historical activity of our members during the year will be stated in detail below. Under the efficient management of our Treasurer, the mortgage on our estate has been still further reduced by the payment of six thousand dollars, leaving only four thousand dollars of the principal to be paid during the present year, — and thereby extinguishing the debt, and leaving the property of the Society free from all incumbrance. We have lost from our membership, by death, five of our members, — the Hon. James M. Robbins, of Milton; the Rev. John Langdon Sibley, of Cambridge; the Hon. Francis E. Parker, of Boston; the Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, of Cambridge; and the Hon. John J. Babson, of Gloucester. Three new members have been enrolled during the year, — the Hon. Lincoln F. Brigham, of Salem; Edward Bangs, Esq., of Boston; and Samuel F. McCleary, Esq., of Boston. Only one Corresponding Member has been elected in the past year, — Horatio Hale, Esq., of Clinton, Ontario, Canada. The deceased Honorary and Corresponding Members, not before reported, were Frederic Griffin, Esq., of Montreal, Canada, who died April 3, 1878; the Hon. Horatio Seymour, of Utica, New York, died Feb. 12, 1886; John Winthrop,¹ Esq., of Newport, Rhode Island, died March

¹ The following notice of Mr. Winthrop has been prepared by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr.: —

"John Winthrop, Esq., better known as Colonel John Winthrop, long the senior Corresponding Member of this Society, to which he was elected so far

12, 1886; and Henry Stevens, of London, England, died Feb. 28, 1886.

Of the Society work, we may report that the volume of the Sewall Letters will be ready for distribution in May. The collection of the Washington letters in the Trumbull Papers will be issued at an early date. The Index of the first twenty volumes of the Proceedings of the Society is now passing through the press.

The literary and historical work printed by individual members indicates a large variety of activity and of value. It comprises:—

Oration delivered at the Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of the Boston Latin School, April 23, 1885. By the Rev. Phillips Brooks.

The Narragansett Planters. 1886. (See Johns Hopkins University Studies.) By Edward Channing.

The History of a Title. 1885. By Uriel F. Crocker.

Address at the Memorial Services of the Rev. Rufus Ellis. Oct. 11, 1885. By William Everett.

The Isthmus Ship Railway. By Robert Bennett Forbes.

Notes on Ships of the Past. By Robert Bennett Forbes.

The New England Royalls. 1885. By Edward D. Harris.

Groton Historical Series, Nos. 8, 9, 10. By Samuel A. Green.

The Boundary Lines of Old Groton. 1885. By Samuel A. Green.

A Larger History of the United States. 1886. By Thomas W. Higginson.

The First Napoleon. 1885. By John C. Ropes.

A Memorial of Stephen Salisbury. 1885. By Stephen Salisbury.

Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University. Vol. III. 1885. By John Langdon Sibley.

back as Oct. 25, 1838, died at Newport, Rhode Island, March 12, 1886, aged seventy-seven. A great-grandson of the distinguished Professor John Winthrop, of Harvard College, he was a native of Boston and a graduate of Brown University; but his early life was passed in New Orleans, where he was a member of the bar and a colonel of Louisiana militia, serving in the latter capacity on the staff of General Taylor during a portion of the Mexican War. He subsequently resided many years in Europe, in Cuba, and in Rhode Island.

"A man of convivial habits and great personal popularity, he was warmly interested in this Society, of which his great-uncle Judge James Winthrop had been one of the founders. Besides occasional gifts to the Library, he communicated, at different periods, some interesting correspondence between Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and his ancestor Professor Winthrop, which is to be found in our printed volumes. He has left a widow, but no children; and the male line of this branch of the Winthrop family is now extinct."—*Eds.*

Narrative and Critical History of America. Vols. II., III., IV. Edited by Justin Winsor.

Samuel Adams. (American Statesman Series.) 1885. Edited by John T. Morse, Jr.

Reports of the Record Commissioners of Boston. By William H. Whitmore and William S. Appleton.

Twelfth Report. Boston Records, 1729 to 1742. 1885.

Thirteenth Report. Records of Boston Selectmen, 1716-1736. 1885.

Fourteenth Report. Boston Records, 1742-1757. 1885.

Every-Day Religion. 1886. By James Freeman Clarke.

Remarks on Life and Character of James Freeman, D.D. 1886. By James Freeman Clarke.

Ten Great Religions. New edition. Parts I. and II. 1886. By James Freeman Clarke.

Stories of Invention. 1886. By Edward Everett Hale.

Boys' Heroes. 1886. By Edward Everett Hale.

Easter: a Collection of Sermons. 1886. By Edward Everett Hale.

Translation of Plutarch on the Delay of the Divine Justice. 1885. By Andrew P. Peabody.

Eulogy on Stephen Salisbury. 1885. By Andrew P. Peabody.

A Commemorative Sermon on the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D. 1885. By Andrew P. Peabody.

The Fallacies of History. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. 1885. By Andrew P. Peabody.

In reference to the work yet within the scope of the Society, it is respectfully suggested that a catalogue of the manuscripts belonging to the Library should be prepared and printed at as early a day as is practicable. So rich a collection of historical material has its only key in an incomplete written list in the rooms of the institution. It is possibly feasible, in cataloguing each manuscript, that it should be accompanied by a statement of the dates which it covers, and, in general, briefly of the subject matter. Experience has shown that a manuscript is more easily buried out of sight, in a large library, than any printed and bound book, especially if the written document is not placed in some permanent form for use. The Council would recommend that this question be referred to the special committee already in existence for investigating the condition of the manuscripts belonging to the Society, to report at an early date upon a proper plan for the proposed catalogue, and of its estimated extent and cost.

The fine and truthful portrait of our late President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop (one of the best of Huntington's productions, the gift of individual members of the Society), has been placed in the rooms during the year, — a year in which we have witnessed the administration of a new President, peculiarly fitted for his position by his long membership, his learned and efficient historical labors, and his wide and general culture.

WILLIAM W. GREENOUGH, *Chairman.*

Report of the Librarian.

During the year there have been added to the Library: —

| | |
|---|-------|
| Books | 1,020 |
| Pamphlets | 4,251 |
| Unbound volumes of newspapers | 13 |
| Broadsides | 196 |
| Maps | 16 |
| Volumes of manuscripts | 6 |
| Manuscripts | 186 |
| In all | 5,688 |

Of the books added, 861 have been given, 61 bought, and 98 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 3,957 have been given, 190 bought, and 104 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 61 volumes and 184 pamphlets; and 41 volumes have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the fund left by the late William Winthrop for binding, 116 volumes have been bound.

There have been received 3 volumes and 96 pamphlets from the widow of our late Recording Secretary, Mrs. George Dexter; also 9 volumes, 211 pamphlets, and 14 manuscripts, from Mrs. Emma Rogers, the daughter of our former President, Mr. Savage; and 126 volumes, 196 pamphlets, and 2 maps from the family of the late George Ticknor.

Mr. Amos A. Lawrence has continued his gift of works connected with the Civil War, having added 10 volumes and 100 pamphlets.

Of the books added to the Rebellion department, 43 have been given, and 13 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 215

have been given, and 25 bought. There are now in this collection 1,445 volumes, 3,692 pamphlets, 739 broadsides, and 71 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 668 volumes, 156 unbound volumes, 73 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 5,275 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 31,000 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse collection. The number of pamphlets is about 74,000.

During the year there have been taken out 65 books and 13 pamphlets, and all have been returned; though with the statement of this fact it should be said that the Library is used more for reference than for circulation.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

Boston, April 15, 1886.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

During the past year numerous engravings, photographs, heliotypes, medals, and miscellaneous articles have been added to the Cabinet, a list of which, with the names of the donors, is herewith given.

A silver medal struck to commemorate the dedication of the Washington Monument, 1885. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

An engraving of Moses Gill, after a painting by Copley, and an engraving of the North Battery. Given by J. H. Daniels.

An electrotype fac-simile of the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America. Given by Dr. Thomas E. Pickett.

Miscellaneous engravings. Given by Mrs. George Dexter.

An engraving of Chester A. Arthur, and engravings of Benjamin F. Butler, James G. Blaine, and Grover Cleveland. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A photograph of an oil painting of Lion Gardiner, by Marichal.

Miscellaneous engravings. Given by A. O. Crane.

Miscellaneous engravings. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

A heliotype of the old Foxborough Meeting-house, and a photo-electrotype of the Carpenter tavern in Foxborough. Given by Robert W. Carpenter.

An engraving of one of the earliest plans of Memorial Hall, Cambridge, with ground plan. Given by Mrs. George Dexter.

A badge worn at the New England Convention, Bunker Hill, September, 1840. Given by Eben N. Hewins.

A photograph of the flag borne by Ensign John Page, April 19, 1775, now owned by the town of Bedford. Given by J. F. Gleason.

An engraving of Abbott Lawrence, after a painting by Alonzo Chappel. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A farthing of William IV. Given by George W. Robinson.

Thirty-three coins and four medals from the collection of the late James Savage. Given by Mrs. Emma Rogers.

A lithograph of three Connecticut bills of the year 1709. Dr. Samuel A. Green.

An engraved view of Boston. Given by Charles C. Smith.

A photographic view, in 1885, of the Susquehanna River at Bald Friar, Maryland, crossed by General Lafayette in April, 1781; and

A photographic view, in 1885, of the house of Colonel James Rigby, Harford County, Maryland, in which General Lafayette lodged, April, 1781. Given by F. W. Baker.

A photograph of a crayon portrait of Daniel Webster, made by Eastman Johnson, in the Capitol at Washington. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

A piece of Shakspeare's mulberry tree, which once belonged to David Garrick, and has attached to it the affidavit of Robert Balmanno. Given by Josiah P. Quincy.

An engraving of the attack on Bunker Hill, with the burning of Charlestown, June 17, 1775, by Lodge after a drawing by Millar. Given by Charles W. Gaddess.

An engraving of George L. Balcom, by A. H. Ritchie. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

An engraving entitled "Centennial Memorial of American Independence," by the American Bank Note Company of New York. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

An engraving of John Blake, by H. B. McLellan, after a painting by M. C. Richardson. Given by H. B. McLellan.

A remarkably good portrait of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, painted by D. Huntington, of New York, given by several gentlemen of the Society, has also been added to our collection. Four paintings have been repaired,—one, a marine painting (that of the ship "Bethel"), the artist at present unknown; and the portraits of George Washington, Dr. Shurtleff, and Dr. Cooper. The portrait of the Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop has also been carefully cleansed, and its frame repaired, through the generosity of our associate, R. C. Winthrop, Jr.

The model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited here a few years since, has, with the consent of the committee who have it in charge, been loaned for a limited time to the Bostonian Society.

The Cabinet is at present in tolerable order and condition. The battle flags have been hung in the upper hall; and in the general arrangement the most has been made of our limited space.

Respectfully submitted,

F. E. OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Report of the Treasurer.

IN compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII. Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1886.

The special funds held by him are nine in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers." The unexpended income on hand (\$2,305.56) is sufficient for the publication of the volume of Pickering Papers now in preparation.

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. The cost of publishing the first volume of the Trumbull Papers was charged to the income of this fund; and some small payments have also been made toward the cost of publishing a second volume.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now amounts to \$22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., payable in 1892, and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank; and the income is only available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$5,295. It is invested in the six per cent bonds of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Co., payable in April, 1887, and in the stock of the Boston Gas-Light Co. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at \$1,346.95. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. In accordance with a vote of the

Society passed March 12, 1885, the cost of publishing a Catalogue of the Society's Cabinet was charged to the income of this fund.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$5,200. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

2. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

3. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

4. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

5. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

6. Four commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

The fund is invested in an eight per cent bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., for one thousand dollars, payable in 1892, and five shares of stock in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., of the par value of five hundred dollars. Thirty-seven hundred dollars have been paid from it toward the reduction of the mortgage debt.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

| | | | |
|-----------|--|--------------------|--|
| 1885. | | | |
| March 31. | To balance on hand | \$1,331.20 | |
| 1886. | | | |
| March 31. | To receipts as follows:— | | |
| | General Account | 10,913.03 | |
| | Income of Peabody Fund | 1,470.00 | |
| | Income of Savage Fund | 350.00 | |
| | Income of Richard Frothingham Fund | 210.80 | |
| | | <u>\$14,275.12</u> | |
| March 31. | To balance brought down | \$1,845.34 | |

CREDITS.

1886.

March 31. By payments as follows:—

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Reduction of mortgage debt | \$6,000.00 |
| Income of Peabody Fund | 1,890.22 |
| Income of Savage Fund | 262.12 |
| Income of William Winthrop Fund | 106.05 |
| Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 27.36 |
| Income of Richard Frothingham Fund | 40.90 |
| Income of Appleton Fund | 163.62 |
| General Account | 8,872.91 |
| By balance on hand | 1,845.34 |
| | <u>\$14,275.12</u> |

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1886.

March 31. To sundry payments:—

| | |
|---|------------|
| J. H. Tuttle, salary | \$1,400.00 |
| A. B. Page, salary | 400.00 |
| Interest on mortgage | 600.00 |
| Printing Sewall's Letter Book | 450.00 |
| Printing, stationery, binding, and postage | 227.25 |
| Fuel and light | 175.80 |
| Care of fire, etc. | 363.35 |
| Miscellaneous expenses and repairs | 156.51 |
| H. F. Waters, for researches in England | 100.00 |
| Income of Appleton Fund | 732.18 |
| Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 600.00 |
| Income of Dowse Fund | 600.00 |
| Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund | 74.36 |
| Income of William Winthrop Fund | 180.00 |
| Sinking Fund | 2,000.00 |
| Building account | 4,000.00 |
| To balance to new account | 4,631.99 |

\$16,691.44

CREDITS.

1885.

March 31. By balance on hand \$5,178.41

1886.

March 31. By sundry receipts:—

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Rent of Building | 9,000.00 |
| Income of General Fund | 128.48 |
| Interest | 87.50 |
| Income of Dowse Fund | 600.00 |
| Admission Fees | 75.00 |
| Assessments | 970.00 |
| Sales of publications | 651.99 |

\$16,691.44

March 31. By balance brought down \$4,831.99

Income of Appleton Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid on account of Pickering Papers | \$163.62 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 2,305.56 |
| | | <u>\$2,469.18</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By balance brought forward | \$1,737.00 |
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | „ one year's interest on \$12,203 principal | 732.18 |
| | | <u>\$2,469.18</u> |
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$2,305.56 |

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To balance brought forward | \$12.15 |
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | „ amount paid for binding | 106.65 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 1.20 |
| | | <u>\$180.00</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|----------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | By interest on \$3,000 principal | \$180.00 |
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$1.20 |

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid on account of Trumbull Papers | \$27.36 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 705.73 |
| | | <u>\$733.09</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By amount brought forward | \$133.09 |
| 1886. | | |
| Sept. 1. | „ one year's interest on \$10,000 principal | 600.00 |
| | | <u>\$733.09</u> |
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$705.73 |

1886.]

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

401

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To balance brought forward | \$12.20 |
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | „ amount paid on account of Catalogue of Cabinet . . | 46.90 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 151.70 |
| | | <u>\$210.80</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | By dividends received | \$180.00 |
| | „ copyright received | 30.80 |
| | | <u>\$210.80</u> |
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$151.70 |

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|----------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | To amount placed to credit of General Account | \$600.00 |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|----------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | By one year's interest on \$10,000 principal | \$600.00 |

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|------------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | To amount paid for printing, binding, preservation of historical portraits, etc. | \$1,800.22 |
| March 31. | To balance brought down | \$301.27 |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | By balance brought forward | \$118.95 |
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | „ one year's interest on railroad bonds | 1,470.00 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 801.27 |
| | | <u>\$1,890.22</u> |

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1885. | | |
| March 31. | To balance brought forward | \$84.40 |
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | „ amount paid for books | 262.12 |
| | „ balance carried forward | 3.48 |
| | | <u>\$350.00</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 31. | By dividends on gas stock | \$50.00 |
| | „ interest on railroad bonds | 300.00 |
| | | <u>\$350.00</u> |
| March 31. | By balance brought down | \$3.48 |

Sinking Fund.

DEBITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------|
| 1886. | | |
| March 17. | To amount applied to reduction of mortgage | <u>\$2,000.00</u> |

CREDITS.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------|
| 1885. | | |
| Sept. 30. | By amount transferred from the General Account | <u>\$2,000.00</u> |

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Cash | \$1,845.34 |
| Real Estate | 103,280.19 |
| Investments | 52,618.00 |
| Income of Peabody Fund | 301.27 |
| | <u>\$158,044.80</u> |

CREDITS.

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Notes Payable | \$4,000.00 |
| Building Account | 74,077.19 |
| Appleton Fund | 12,203.00 |
| Dowse Fund | 10,000.00 |
| Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 10,000.00 |
| Peabody Fund | 22,123.00 |
| Savage Fund | 5,295.00 |
| Erastus B. Bigelow Fund | 1,346.95 |
| William Winthrop Fund | 3,000.00 |
| Richard Frothingham Fund | 3,000.00 |
| General Fund | 5,200.00 |
| Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund | 705.73 |
| Income of Appleton Fund | 2,305.56 |
| Income of Savage Fund | 3.48 |
| Income of William Winthrop Fund | 1.20 |
| Income of Richard Frothingham Fund | 151.70 |
| General Account | 4,631.99 |
| | <u>\$158,044.80</u> |

The real estate is subject to the following incumbrances, — the balance of the mortgage note (\$4,000), the principal of the Appleton Fund (\$12,203), of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$10,000), of the Dowse Fund (\$10,000), of the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund (\$1,346.95), and of the William Winthrop Fund (\$3,000) and a part of the principal of the General Fund (\$3,700), making in the aggregate, \$44,249.95, against \$50,175.59 last year.

During the year a further payment of \$6,000 has been made toward the extinction of the mortgage debt; and it is the expectation of the Treasurer that the balance of this debt will be paid in the course of the current year, and that some progress will be made in re-investing the funds which are now an incumbrance on the real estate. Heretofore the income of these funds has been credited at the rate of six per cent per annum; but it cannot be expected that so large an income can be obtained from any investments made at the present time.

CHARLES C. SMITH,

Treasurer.

Boston, March 31, 1886.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1886, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

EDWARD BANGS, }
EDWARD J. LOWELL, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 9, 1886.

Mr. GREENOUGH, from the Committee to nominate officers, reported the following for the ensuing year; and, a ballot having been taken, they were unanimously elected: —

President.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES DEANE LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. EDWARD J. YOUNG, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR, A.B. CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. BOSTON.

Librarian.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. BOSTON.

Executive Committee of the Council.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE A.M. BOSTON.

ABNER C. GOODELL, A.M. SALEM.

HON. Mellen CHAMBERLAIN, LL.D. BOSTON.

WILLIAM EVERETT, Ph.D. QUINCY.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., A.M. BOSTON.

On motion of Dr. PEABODY, the thanks of the Society were voted to the retiring members of the Council.

A new serial containing the Proceedings of the Society from December to February, inclusive, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary.

The PRESIDENT invited the members of the Society to his house in the afternoon, where a large number assembled and an entertainment was provided.

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MEMOIR
OF THE
HON. DAVID SEARS, A.M.

BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr.

It is due both to the Massachusetts Historical Society and to the memory of a venerable man who was alike one of its Vice-Presidents and one of its benefactors, to explain why a memoir of him should not long since, in accordance with the usages of the Society, have found a place in one of its published volumes.

More than fifteen years ago, at the February meeting of 1871, the recent death of Mr. Sears was announced in fitting language by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, then President; an eloquent tribute to him was uttered by the Rev. Dr. Lothrop; the customary resolution was passed; and the duty of preparing a sketch of his life was assigned to the practised pen of the Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins, a personal friend of the deceased. The Society, however, wisely allows a certain interval to elapse before printing such memorials, and in the mean time the eyesight of Dr. Robbins became seriously impaired, obliging him continually to postpone his literary occupations. Thus it happened that although he fully intended to write this memoir, he died, eleven years later, without having found it convenient to do so, nor has any material for it been discovered among his papers. The matter would seem to have then passed, for the time being, into oblivion; and it was not till recently that the Council of the Society observed with concern that several important gaps remained to be filled in its series of contemporary biographies, and that the task of supplying these deficiencies must now be intrusted to writers who had not enjoyed the advantage of any intimate personal association with their respective subjects.

The family of SEARS (anciently Sayer, or Sayres) appears to have been one of respectability at Colchester, in the English county of Essex, at least as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. John Sayer, Alderman of Colchester, died there in 1509, and was buried in St. Peter's Church, where the memorial brasses of himself and wife may still be seen, together with a marble tablet to his grandson George, in the quaint rhythmical inscription upon which the name is first spelled "Seares." Richard, elder brother of this George, and distinguished from other Richards on the family pedigree as "Richard the Exile," is stated to have married Anne Bouchier, daughter of Edmund Knyvet, of Ashwellthorpe in Norfolk, Serjeant-Porter to King Henry VIII., but, becoming involved in the political dissensions of the period, to have been obliged, in 1537, to fly to Holland. By tradition an ardent papist, he is supposed so to have offended his father and father-in-law, who were both adherents to the Reformed Faith, that the former proceeded to disinherit and the latter to disown him. He died, three years later, in Amsterdam, leaving an only son, John Bouchier Sayer, who is said to have married a daughter of Sir John Hawkins the navigator, and to have resided some time at Plymouth in Devonshire, but chiefly in Holland, where his eldest son, John Bouchier Sayer the younger, is stated to have married a Dutch lady of fortune, of the family of Egmond.

Richard Sayer, or Sears, distinguished on the family pedigree as "Richard the Pilgrim," was eldest son of the last-mentioned marriage; and while nothing is known of his early life save that he is believed to have been born in Holland in 1590, his supposed portrait, long preserved by his mother's kindred in that country, would indicate a man of much amiability and refinement. His father is thought to have been at Leyden in 1614, and it is not unlikely that the son may have fallen under the influence of John Robinson and William Brewster, who were then residing there; but, be this as it may, it is clear that at some time or other the descendants of the exile had exchanged the dogmas of the Church of Rome for the doctrines of the Separatists, since, about 1630, Richard Sears turned up in Plymouth Colony in New England, where he took to himself a wife, became a magistrate, and acquired an estate at Yarmouth on Cape Cod. His eldest son, Knyvet, is stated to have visited England on a fruitless errand to recover the alleged inheritance of his great-great-grandfather, Richard the Exile, after which the family

quietly settled down upon the Cape, where they became an astonishingly prolific race, gradually spreading not merely over New England, but into many other parts of the country. There were, it is true, several distinct persons of the same name among the early colonists; but they do not seem to have multiplied in like proportion, and it may not unfairly be assumed that more than half the families of the name of Sears now scattered throughout the United States are descended from Richard the Pilgrim and some one of his three sons, Knyvet, Paul, and Silas.

In the middle of the last century the eldest branch of these descendants was represented by Squire Daniel Sears, a great-grandson of the Pilgrim, and a substantial farmer and selectman of Chatham on the Cape. He died in 1761, leaving by his wife, Fear Freeman, two sons, of whom the elder, Richard, afterwards a member of the Massachusetts State Senate, maintained throughout a long life the family connection with the town of Chatham; while the younger, David, developed when still a youth an exceptional capacity for business, and came to Boston, in or before 1770, to seek his fortune. His application was so unrelenting, and his investments of his small capital so judicious, that within little more than ten years he had become known as a successful and sagacious merchant, and by the close of the century he was reputed to have accumulated one of the largest properties in New England. His unostentatious tastes and quiet habits did not incline him to become a candidate for public station; but his patriotic spirit was evinced by a subscription of three thousand dollars to a fund raised, in 1798, by the merchants of Boston to present a frigate to the General Government at the outbreak of hostilities with France.

His interests were largely in the East India and China trade; but he found time for other speculations, and in 1806 became one of the principal proprietors of a tract of land, thirty miles square, in the northeastern part of what was then known as the District of Maine, embracing all the islands at the mouth of the Penobscot River, as well as the now flourishing towns of Searsport and Searsmont, which were named in his honor.

In 1816, when, at the age of sixty-four and in apparently vigorous health, he was reasonably looking forward to some

years of continued activity, this prosperous career came to a hurried close. A too copious indulgence in that favorite repast of the olden time, a "Saturday salt-fish dinner," brought on serious indigestion followed by a congestion which proved fatal. Dr. John Sylvester John Gardiner, then Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, preached and subsequently printed a funeral sermon upon him, as one of the leading members of his congregation, and the founder of the Widows' Fund of that parish. This production, which may still be met with in collections of early pamphlets, consists not merely of an impressive discourse upon Sudden Death, but is an illustration of the taste of an old-fashioned Churchman for Biblical puns, Dr. Gardiner having taken for his text that well-known passage in the first book of Samuel, "There is but a *step* between me and death," in allusion to the fact that Mr. Sears had fallen on the step of his carriage in a fit of apoplexy.

He had married, in 1785, Miss Anne Winthrop, — one of the daughters of John Still Winthrop by his first wife, Jane Borland, — a lady who had the misfortune in early life to lose both her parents, and who was fated to follow them to the grave two years after her marriage, having given birth to an only child, the subject of this memoir.

A few aged Bostonians can still recall a large house and terraced garden on the upper corner of Beacon and Somerset Streets, then one of the most attractive quarters of the town. Here David Sears the younger was born, Oct. 8, 1787, and here he chiefly resided more than thirty years, until he built, opposite the Common, the stately stone mansion which younger generations so long associated with his name. Beyond the fact that he was naturally all-in-all to his surviving parent, the existing records of his youth are little better than a blank. I have, however, stumbled upon a reminiscence of the late Lucius Manlius Sargent, who recalls a fancy-ball given by Mrs. Perez Morton, at her house in State Street, on the site of which is now the Union Bank, and on which occasion a *pas de deux*, arranged by Duport, a fashionable French dancing-master of the close of the last century, was danced by young Sargent and his friend David Sears in the characters of Cupid and Zephyr. Mr. Sargent does not particularize which was which; but to those of us who subsequently became familiar with the lives and lineaments of these two prominent citizens,

either one of the winged mythological characters would seem better suited to the graceful figure and benignant countenance of Mr. Sears than to the stalwart form and rugged aspect of his partner.

In default of brothers and sisters, his constant playmates were a son of one of his father's sisters, who had married in Boston, and the elder children of his maternal uncle, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts and President of this Society. In after years he was fond of recalling how, as a lad, he was occasionally permitted to assist at the famous Sunday evening suppers of his Aunt Winthrop's mother, Elizabeth Bowdoin, Dowager Lady Temple, who had returned in her old age to be a conspicuous figure in that Boston society of which in her youth she had been one of the greatest ornaments.

No one at all intimately acquainted with Mr. Sears in later life would find it easy to believe that he ever failed to be exemplary as a school-boy or decorous as an undergraduate; but I am only able to state with certainty that after a course of preparatory study at the Boston Latin School, he entered Harvard in 1803, and took his bachelor's degree in 1807, in a class of forty-one members, no less than six of whom subsequently became members of this Society; the others being the Hon. Henry A. Bullard, Mr. Nathaniel Appleton Haven, the Hon. John Glen King, the Rev. Ezra Shaw Goodwin, and the Hon. James C. Merrill. A respectable degree of proficiency in his studies is evidenced by his having taken part, at the August Exhibition of 1806, in an English Conference on "A Seafaring, Itinerary, City, and Country Life, as Objects of Choice," and by his having figured, at his own Commencement a year later, in a Latin dialogue on "The Patriotism of the Romans."

The particular crony of his college days was his cousin and classmate, Thomas L. Winthrop, Jr.;¹ and after leaving the University, the two young men entered upon the study of law together, becoming marked favorites in society. But their fraternal intimacy was suddenly embarrassed by the discovery that they had both fallen deeply in love with a reigning belle, Miss Miriam Mason, a daughter of the Hon. Jonathan Mason,

¹ Afterwards Secretary to his kinsman George William Erving, U. S. Minister to Denmark and Spain, but whose early death cut short a career of promise now completely forgotten.

sometime Senator in Congress from Massachusetts, and a young lady equally remarkable for her beauty, her vivacity, and her decision of character.

The greatest proof of good sense within the power of any man—and, more particularly, of any rich young man—to exhibit, lies unquestionably in the judicious choice of a wife. It is a momentous thought that the whole history of mankind from the Creation might have been considerably ameliorated if, by a merciful dispensation, our first progenitor had not, at the very outset, been closely restricted to a single opportunity of forming a domestic tie; while the subsequent experience of all countries and all ages is fraught with pregnant examples of how the wisest of his descendants have repeatedly fallen victims to the insidious allurements or the hidden pitfalls which strew the pathway of this distracting process of selection.

It was, however, the enviable lot of Mr. Sears not merely to have fixed his young affections upon an object so in every way worthy of them as was Miss Mason, but to have enjoyed the supreme satisfaction of distancing all competitors and leading her in triumph to the altar on the 13th of June, 1809. They were an exceptionally handsome couple, entering upon wedded life with everything that youth and health and wealth and social position and cultivated taste could give to make the world enjoyable, but, better than all this, destined to share each other's love and confidence for more than sixty years, and afford throughout this protracted union a never-failing example of conjugal affection and domestic virtue.

For some time after his marriage Mr. Sears resided with his father, and devoted himself to mastering the details of business under the latter's supervision; but in 1811 he and his wife sailed for Europe, and passed several years in foreign travel at a most interesting period, during much of which they enjoyed peculiar advantages for seeing something of the best society of England and the Continent. They were particularly fortunate in being in Paris at a time when the first Napoleon, then at the acme of his power, was celebrating the birth of his son by brilliant pageants, and was busy with active preparations for his ill-fated Russian campaign. But more than in all the splendor of the Tuileries was Mr. Sears interested in being privileged to make the acquaintance of the Empress Josephine, a still fascinating woman of nearly fifty, whose dignified bear-

ing in misfortune appealed to the chivalry of his nature, and in memory of whom he long after ornamented the original doorway of his new house in Beacon Street with a pair of beautiful white marble vases saved from the wreck of Malmaison.

Returning to America in 1814, he found the legal studies he had never completed to be of considerable advantage to him in assisting his father in the management of that great inheritance which, two years later, so suddenly became his own. He was too conscientious not to realize that such an inheritance, rightly understood, meant something more than his own personal gratification, or the opportunity of accumulation for the children growing up about him, but that it brought with it the duties and responsibilities of public spirit and the furtherance of religion and philanthropy.

St. Paul's Church, in Tremont Street, Boston, was one of the earliest of such objects with which he became identified; and not merely was the erection of this edifice, in 1820, largely due to the time and money he devoted to it, but the Sears Fund, still enjoyed by that parish and now amounting in value to nearly forty thousand dollars, was wholly his gift.

At the same early period he began to contemplate the first of that long series of endowments for the benefit of his native city, which have, since his death, been united under the comprehensive title of the "DAVID SEARS CHARITY," the income of which is expended by the Overseers of the Poor of Boston, to use his own words, —

"in aid, or for the support, of citizens or families who may have seen better days, and for charity in all its forms, in such a manner as may best tend to alleviate the sufferings of human life and render the condition of the poor more comfortable."

This fund, now amounting, with its accumulations, to nearly two hundred and eighty thousand dollars, and likely to be materially increased by the rise in value of the real estate attached to it, is the largest of the private charitable foundations belonging to the city of Boston, and constitutes a truly noble monument of individual benevolence.

The elevation of the character and the promotion of the efficiency of the Massachusetts State Militia was another of the objects of his early interest, justly regarding it, as he did,

not merely as a bulwark of social order, but also as a most desirable field of discipline for young men. Some few surviving school-boys of 1818 may still remember an exceptional parade of the Independent Corps of Cadets in that year, on which occasion Mr. Sears presented a new standard to, and provided a hospitable entertainment for, the members of that select organization, in which he then held the rank of ensign, of which he subsequently became commander, and for which he continued throughout life to manifest repeated proofs of attachment.

It was at the same period (1820-21) that his pecuniary interest in what were then the "Back Bay flats," now the fashionable West End of Boston, induced the purchase, on the adjacent confines of Brookline, of an estate of some two hundred acres, which during the next half-century he gradually developed from a small farm in a sparsely settled neighborhood into that picturesque residential district since known as Longwood. The principal portion of this attractive suburb was not merely laid out and improved, but largely built up, at Mr. Sears's expense; and his taste, liberality, and foresight are alike evinced in the numerous villas and pleasure-grounds which lend to the vicinity an especial charm, as well as in the wise provisions which have thus far entirely protected them from unsightly and inconvenient neighbors. It would probably not have been difficult for him to procure a quicker return for so important an investment; but he had the satisfaction of having materially contributed to embellish the immediate surroundings of his native city, and it was a source of peculiar pleasure to him, in assigning designations to a score or more of streets and squares on this estate, to associate them with the names of persons and places and families, whether in England, Holland, Cape Cod, or Boston, with which his own or his mother's or his wife's kindred had been intimately connected. It was a dignified and appropriate example, worthy of imitation in these latter days, when the prevailing custom is to discard such associations as too homely, and to provide what are technically called "pretty" names for our public thoroughfares and apartment houses, by ransacking all the euphonious nouns of Worcester's Dictionary and the sonorous surnames and titles of Burke's Peerage.

In this connection it may be added that the various plans which at different times Mr. Sears caused to be prepared and printed, for partially filling the Back Bay and connecting Longwood and Brookline by avenues bordering upon an ornamental sheet of water, lose nothing in point of taste, convenience, and sanitary considerations by comparison with the scheme subsequently adopted by the city, and they had the advantage of involving a less costly outlay.¹

The management of the great tract of land he had inherited in Maine was a much less congenial occupation for him than the development of Longwood, and the absence of railroads rendered such personal supervision as he had leisure to give at his annual visits both arduous and protracted. Our institutions do not readily lend themselves to the maintenance of the authority of a great absentee proprietor in remote parts of the country. It was not an easy matter to secure a competent agent, and still less to deal with refractory tenants, or with that numerous class of settlers who persuade themselves that they ought to be allowed to occupy, rent free, the soil they have begun by appropriating. It is not therefore to be wondered at that he gradually availed himself of opportunities for selling this estate, retaining only the well-known Brigadier's Island off Belfast, since pleasantly associated to many minds with the occasional summer residence of his eldest son, and still the property of his grandson, the fourth David Sears.

The occasional delicacy of his own health, or that of different members of his family, resulted in his residing much in foreign countries at repeated intervals. The winter of 1829-30 he passed in Paris; that of 1832 in Cuba; that of 1834 in Italy, where his wife and daughters were long remembered as favorites in the cosmopolitan society of the Eternal City, and where he himself was enabled to gratify that intelligent love of art which long before had made him an early friend and patron of the rising genius of the poet-painter Allston.²

¹ For an illustration of one of the most elaborate of these plans, the "Silver Lake" project of 1850, see the introduction to Drake's History of Boston, p. viii.

² John Quincy Adams, in his diary of Aug. 12, 1835, mentions a dinner given by Mr. Benjamin Gorham in Boston, where he met, among others, Edward Everett, Abbott Lawrence, Isaac P. Davis, and David Sears, adding that the latter, who had recently returned from Europe, told him he had been much disappointed in foreign schools for his children, and preferred the educational advantages of his own country.

From 1836 to 1838 he was a good deal in England, France, and Switzerland, and again in Paris, after a long absence, in 1852-53. It was thus his peculiar good fortune to have been an interested spectator of some of the most exciting scenes in French history, — to have been able not merely to compare his personal reminiscences of the splendid courts of the first and third Napoleons, but to contrast both of them with the severer ceremonial of the Restoration, and the somewhat frugal entertainments which characterized the homespun reign of Louis Philippe, — to have witnessed rioting and barricades in the streets of Paris, and to have been privileged to assist with unfeigned emotion at the obsequies of that venerable soldier and statesman who, whatever later services he may have rendered to his own country, will always best be remembered by Americans as one who in his youth was known as the friend of Washington and the benefactor of our then so recently United States.

It was on his return from his final visit to Europe, in 1853, that Mr. Sears was elected by the Legislature an Overseer of Harvard College, in which capacity he served five years, giving scrupulous attention to the general well-being of his Alma Mater, but with an especial interest in the department of astronomical research. The great fortunes which have been accumulated in this vicinity since the civil war, and the munificent endowments which have flowed in upon the University as a consequence of these fortunes, have not unnaturally tended to cast into the shade much of the liberality of its earlier friends in the days of small things. The "Sears Tower," however, still fitly commemorates the timely gifts received by the Observatory from Mr. Sears, beginning as far back as 1843, and aggregating some twelve thousand dollars.

To Amherst College, a name then rarely inscribed in either the cheque-books or the wills of rich men, he gave more largely, not that he had any personal or family association with a place he had never even visited, but because he sympathized with the struggles for existence of a deserving institution, and believed that a small, God-fearing, carefully conducted college often affords a safer training for young men than a great, fashionable caravansary of free-thought and advanced learning.

The bent of his mind was essentially a conservative one. Brought up amid the traditions of New England Federalism, a firm believer in the principles of the Revolution, and profoundly grateful to the illustrious statesmen who so wisely shaped the foundations of the Republic, he had yet an instinctive distrust of pure Democracy; and though ready to recognize as a fundamental political doctrine the maxim (now become a favorite catchword of demagogues) "the greatest good of the greatest number," he was at the same time too clear-sighted and too honest to disguise his belief that the credulity and the ignorance and the prejudices of the "greatest number" often unfit them for any intelligent distinction between good and evil.

His health, tastes, and habits alike unsuited him to the fatigue and hurly-burly of public station; but he was in active sympathy with the various organizations which sprang, more or less directly, from the loins of the original Federalists, and, in particular, with the Whig party during the entire period of its existence, — consenting with alacrity when called upon, at different periods, to render service in the Massachusetts Legislature. From 1816 to 1820, from 1824 to 1825 inclusive, and again in 1828, he was a member of its House of Representatives, in 1826 and 1851 of the State Senate, uniformly manifesting in the discharge of his legislative duties an exemplary diligence in expediting necessary business, and a dignified abstention from any participation in the windy and irrelevant debates which have so often characterized the protracted sessions of those two assemblies.

When the Whigs went to pieces upon sectional issues, he cast in his lot with the Republicans; continued until his death an earnest supporter of the moderate wing of that party; was chosen by it, at the general election of 1868, one of the two Electors-at-large for Massachusetts, and gladly made it the last public act of his life to invite his colleagues of the State Electoral College to meet the President-elect, General Grant, at a banquet given by him at his house in Boston.

In earlier years a friend and especial admirer of the great statesman and orator of New England, he never allowed his appreciation of political exigencies to be circumscribed by considerations of purely personal allegiance; and while he would gladly have seen Daniel Webster elevated to the

highest office in the gift of the nation, he was careful never to be reckoned among those thick and thin adherents of that illustrious man, who were content to adjust their convictions to every change in his policy, and who sometimes carried their attachment to him so far as to treat with lukewarm support or open disaffection the chosen standard-bearers of their party.¹

The two presidential candidates in whose support he was most prominently enlisted were, as it happened, soldiers,—but soldiers who in a pre-eminent degree had deserved well of their country,—Scott and Grant. The defeat of the former, in 1852, he considered a national misfortune, believing that if his wise, patriotic, unsectional administration of the government could have been substituted for the ignoble partisanship of his successful competitor, the civil war, which already loomed in the future, might not improbably have been averted.

When that deplorable internecine conflict could no longer be postponed, and while it lasted, the character and conduct of Abraham Lincoln inspired him with a peculiar sympathy. So far back, indeed, as the political campaign of 1848, when the latter, then a comparatively unknown man, appeared on the stump in Massachusetts and did yeoman service in the cause of Zachary Taylor, Mr. Sears had been an interested reader of his effective speeches,² and was prepared to augur well of his career, however little the wisest of us could then have figured the exhibition, under the most trying circum-

¹ Daniel Webster, writing to David Sears, April 16, 1842, says: "It gives me pleasure to hear from you, and to see the interest which you take in public affairs. My early acquaintance with your father, and the steady friendship always evinced towards me by yourself, give me an abiding interest in you and yours; and the oftener I hear from you the more I shall be gratified." A few years later Mr. Sears's name was first on the list of subscribers to an annuity fund for Mrs. Webster, contributed by her husband's friends to enable him to devote himself to his senatorial duties without a constant need of law business to support his family.

² Mr. Lincoln's biographers seem to have lost sight of these addresses, the most brilliant of which was delivered at Worcester, Sept. 13, 1848, when, after taking for his text Mr. Webster's remark that the nomination of Martin Van Buren for the Presidency by a professed anti-slavery party could fitly be regarded only as a trick or a joke, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to declare that, of the three parties then asking the confidence of the country, the new one had less of principle than any other, adding, amid shouts of laughter, that the recently constructed, elastic, Free Soil platform reminded him of nothing so much as the pair of trousers offered for sale by a Yankee pedler, which were "large enough for any man and small enough for any boy."

stances, of those qualities of head and heart which have since contributed to enshrine him in the affections of his countrymen, and which can hardly fail to render him in all succeeding ages a conspicuous figure in the world's history.

In his efforts to maintain national union and enforce lawful authority, President Lincoln possessed no more earnest supporter than David Sears, whose age did not admit of personal service, but whose time, money, and influence were freely and promptly given in aid of the equipment, the comfort, and the alleviation of the sufferings of Massachusetts soldiers; while his personal interest in the struggle was intensified by the fact that no less than three of his grandsons were officers in the Federal army.¹

It was eminently characteristic of him that he did not occupy himself at this period in endeavoring to obtain from the War Department profitable army-contracts for manufacturing corporations in which he happened to be interested, but that he preferred to devote no inconsiderable portion of his time to an inquiry into the modifications which might profitably be introduced into the Constitution, and the methods by which the hands of government might be strengthened in great emergencies. In connection with these projects he prepared and privately communicated to many of his friends an elaborate scheme, which the march of events rendered nugatory, and which might not have proved altogether practicable, but which at least gave evidence of protracted study and anxious patriotic purpose.

Upon the various issues which successively arose out of the institution of slavery, his attitude was ever rational and consistent. That institution was in itself a repugnant one to him; its existence he believed to be a national misfortune; the extension of its area by even a square foot of soil he was in favor of resisting by every constitutional means; and the eventual adoption of some system of emancipation based upon liberal compensation he awaited with patient confidence.² But, it

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Caspar Crowninshield, 2d Mass. Cavalry; Captain F. S. Grand-d'Hauteville, Staff; and Lieutenant C. W. Amory, 2d Mass. Cavalry.

² Shortly before the death of John Quincy Adams, in 1848, Mr. Sears wrote him at length, sketching the outlines of a scheme of emancipation by purchase, under which the sale of the public lands was intended to aid in the gradual extinction of slavery, the rights of property being sacredly respected. The correspondence was printed at the time, and reprinted, in New York, in 1857. The

need hardly be said, he was no believer in a settled policy of deliberate exaggeration and abuse. The gospel of hate preached in so many pulpits, the open outcry of "no union with slaveholders," the covert encouragement of servile insurrection, the sanctimonious, wholesale denunciation as sinners and barbarians of a class many of whom he knew to be among the best and purest of his countrymen,—revolted his well-balanced mind. With all his heart and soul he loved the Union, with all his heart and soul he loved New England, and with all his heart and soul he deprecated the efforts of those wrong-headed men who at different periods publicly threatened or secretly planned to take the Eastern States out of the Union because they could not have their own way, either about the War of 1812 or the Annexation of Texas or the Constitution of Kansas or the Fugitive Slave Bill. A lover of Liberty, he was even more a respecter of Law, believing treason to be equally deserving of reprobation wherever it could be detected, as well in the malignant screech of some Northern Abolitionist as in the bombastic boast of some Southern fire-eater.

It was not so much, however, either with politics or with philanthropy, as with the courageous manifestation of unsectarian religion, that Mr. Sears became intimately associated in many minds during the last quarter of a century of his life. Without ever having been what is now technically called a "Churchman," the Protestant Episcopal communion, to which both his parents had belonged, was naturally the object both of his early attachment and of his earliest liberality, as it always continued to be of his unvarying respect and good-will. On the other hand, in his youth he had been warmly interested in the sermons of Channing; and the train of thought aroused by the spiritual insight of that remarkable man contributed in no small degree to mould, in the far future, his aspirations towards Christian unity. Besides this, he was singularly free from the unreasoning antipathy to the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, then and now so common; and he would undoubtedly have agreed with a famous preacher of two centuries ago, Dr. Robert South, that

plan proposed was substantially embodied in a letter from Mr. Sears to Senator Wilson, in July, 1861, and which subsequently appeared in pamphlet form, under the title of "Contrabands and Vagrants." All three political tracts are now extremely rare.

"the little finger of fanaticism is harder and heavier than the whole loins of Popery."

The older he grew, and the more deeply he reflected upon the subject, the more difficult he found it to reconcile the example and the teachings of a meek and lowly Saviour with the exclusive pretensions and the unworthy jealousies which distinguish so many denominations of his professed followers. The thought continually recurred to him, as it has again and again to so many devout minds, that if without distinction of creed, as Protestants are taught, these followers are destined in another and a happier sphere to pass no inconsiderable portion of their time in joining in the adoration and the praise of their Creator, there would be at once a positive advantage and a beneficial example if they could oftener be persuaded to set aside doctrinal differences and ecclesiastical assumptions in order to unite in the preliminary worship of the same Creator in his earthly tabernacles. To use his own words:—

"It is obvious that men who differ as to the origin of sin or as to the precise nature of the atonement may nevertheless equally love God, and may be alike grateful to him for his mercy, and desire his approval, and seek to know his will, and adore his infinite perfections. They may differ on many theological questions, and yet may have the same sentiments of devout trust and reverential gratitude, and may equally feel the need of divine help. If they may thus agree in what is essential to devotion, why may they not unite in religious worship,—why may they not bow together before that God whom they all adore?"

Profoundly penetrated by this conviction, Mr. Sears began, so far back as 1845, to consider the possibility of founding an association, incorporated, many years later, under the appropriate title of "The Union of Churches in a Spirit of Charity," in connection with which he carefully prepared and printed a Liturgy, embodying his own ideal of religious worship, and subsequently erected, at large expense, upon his suburban estate, a capacious stone chapel, to which he gave the name of "Christ's Church in Longwood." The architectural design of this edifice was taken from his ancestral church at Colchester in England. Near it he built a row of houses for the benefit of deserving persons who had seen better days; beneath it he reverently constructed permanent resting-places for the ashes of his parents and the remains of those who were dear to

him ; and in it, for the last eight years of his life, he maintained stated services, fondly hoping it might prove the nucleus and rallying-point of a gradually increasing body of such of his fellow-Christians as might be content to leave dogmatic interpretation to individual conscience, and unite upon a broad platform of peace, toleration, and good-will.

He was not sanguine enough to believe that such a project could be immediately, if at all, successful. He did not pretend to be a theologian, though he had read a good deal of theology. He was well aware his Liturgy would meet with uncomplimentary criticism ; but he looked upon it only as a means to an end, and did not claim for it perfection.

It may be succinctly described as substantially consisting of the Book of Common Prayer, out of which everything in the way of Calvinism has been carefully weeded, and to which, after a number of minor alterations, has been added a variety of material which is occasionally suggestive of the writings of Channing, but which is oftener redolent of the devotional manuals of the Church of Rome.

The Catholic Bishop of Boston (the late genial Dr. Fitzpatrick) was not, however, to be propitiated by crucifixes, candles, and prayers for the dead ; while a sickly smile, rapidly changing into a frown, overspread the authoritative features of the Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts (the lamented Dr. Eastburn) when he learned that the wealthiest layman in his diocese had actually set up a new form of worship. It was, as might have been expected, principally by ministers and members of the Unitarian persuasion that any active encouragement was given to the undertaking. Aside from the unaffectedly liberal nature of their Christianity, they would hardly have been human if a plan for demolishing the barriers between contending churches had not affected them with something of the same sort of satisfaction with which a knot of homœopathic practitioners might regard an attempted relaxation of the rules of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

For the general public the matter became a subject of comparative indifference or of studied misrepresentation. To that numerous class of complacent persons —

“ Who live a life of virtuous decency ;
Men who can hear the Decalogue and feel
No self-reproach,”

but who are generally ready to depreciate or denounce any movement in which they are not themselves personally interested, and many of whom are conveniently supplied with inexhaustible reasons against giving away money to any object under heaven; and to that still more rapidly increasing class of persons, at both ends of society, who make it their business to sneer covertly at all forms of religion, and whose acquaintance with the house of God is confined to occasional attendance at a wedding or a funeral, — to all such it seemed unreasonable or absurd that a sum large enough to have constituted an important benefaction to art or science should be wasted upon the spread of Utopian Christianity; while, on the other hand, to many poor clergymen it appeared little better than positive robbery to divert so much cash from canonical channels.

Mr. Sears was a man of too much self-reliance and tenacity of purpose not to persevere in a course upon which he had deliberately entered. Had he been young enough to prolong the experiment, or could the services have been transferred from a thinly settled suburb, of inconvenient access, to the heart of a crowded city, it is by no means unlikely that some degree of success might have attended them. Under the actual circumstances of the case, the Sunday sight-seers, who fill everything but the alms-plates of fashionable sanctuaries, contenting themselves with a liberal contribution only to the pride of a pastor and the discomfort of his flock, were conspicuously absent; the regular attendance, never large, grew smaller and smaller, and for many years the doors of Christ's Church in Longwood have rarely opened but for a marriage or an interment in the family of its founder.

Judged by the standard of this world, and from the strictly numerical and commercial point of view from which many pious persons apparently prefer to regulate their estimate of the opportunities of salvation afforded by public worship, the project was certainly, and perhaps inevitably, a failure; but it was one of those inspiring failures which in the great unseen hereafter may count for more than some so-called successes. It carries with it more than one moral lesson; and however differently these may be interpreted, so long as that square, silent tower shall stand up against the western sky, a conspicuous object from the new fashionable promenades of

Boston, so long will the thoughtful observer be reminded of him who gave a generous portion of his wealth to realize an idea, and that idea the noble if seemingly impracticable one of undivided Christendom.¹

Mr. Sears was one of the earliest of his fellow-townsmen to own and occupy a summer residence on the since fashionable peninsula of Nahant, not inaptly described by a local humorist in later years as "cold-roast Boston." This long continued to be the occasional resort of various members of his family; but the climate was too bleak for his own taste, and, tempted by the softer atmosphere of the Gulf Stream, he built, in 1845, a marine villa at Newport, to which he gave the name of "Red Cross." It was characteristic of him, at an early period of his connection with what became his favorite summer-home, to convey to the municipality a fund of five thousand dollars, the income of which is permanently at its disposal for benevolent objects; and though the house itself has disappeared, and its extensive grounds are built over, the immediate neighborhood is still pleasantly associated in many minds with the remembrance of his refined, graceful, and unostentatious hospitality.

The summer of 1869 was the last which he was strong enough to spend at Newport. In the following year his health became seriously impaired; and on the 14th of January, 1871, he died in Boston, at the patriarchal age of eighty-three. Happily too ill to realize that she to whom he owed wellnigh two-and-sixty years of wedded happiness had preceded him to

¹ In an article on Genesis, in "The Nineteenth Century" for January, 1886, the most eminent of living Englishmen delivers himself in this wise:—

"It may be we shall find that Christianity itself is in some sort a scaffolding, and that the final building is a pure and perfect Theism: when the Kingdom shall be 'delivered up to God,' 'that God may be all in all.'"

The faculty of lucid expression has never found its appropriate place among the varied gifts of Mr. Gladstone. It is not often easy to get at his precise meaning, and it is sometimes doubtful whether he really has one. The above passage, however, would seem to imply that while he has hitherto seen fit to allow himself to be called a High Churchman, he is in reality a theologian of the school of Mr. Sears; and the thought cannot fail to occur poignantly to some of us that if, five-and-twenty years ago, he could have been prevailed upon to forego considerations of personal aggrandizement and enter upon a missionary field in connection with Christ Church, Longwood, the "Union of Churches in a Spirit of Charity" would not impossibly have been nearer at hand, and the decline and fall of the British Empire perhaps more distant.

the grave by only a few short months, he was mercifully spared any premonition that within little more than two short years two of his children were destined to follow him thither,—one of them his eldest surviving son, the heir alike of his name and of his virtues.

His exceptionally long life had been one of singular domestic happiness,—not unmarked, as human happiness can hardly fail to be, with some domestic sorrows. Of his ten children, his first-born, David Mason, died, when a child, in England, another son in infancy, and at a later period a grown-up daughter; while in his old age still another, a woman of surpassing beauty and sweetness of disposition, was taken from him.¹ There was no more prominent trait in his character than his liberality to his children, and the affectionate deference exhibited by them towards him was equally remarkable. The one of them now living who knew him best writes:—

“As a parent he was the most affectionate, the most reliable, and the most generous of friends. In recalling the various events of a long life intimately connected with him, and so much of which was passed in his constant society, I cannot remember a reproachful look or word.”

And this gentleness and courtesy were equally conspicuous in his intercourse with the world at large. No natural reserve of manner, no pronounced air of high breeding, no dignity and ceremony of the old school (contrasting sharply, as it often does, with the slipshod familiarity or clumsy indifference of the new), could conceal the innate goodness of heart which shone through every line of his countenance and found expression in his genial and benevolent smile. Avoiding those extravagances of mutual admiration and mutual denunciation which have so often tended to render grotesque the various phases of social and political development in Boston, he never

¹ There are still handsome women in Boston, both in the Sears family and elsewhere; but to those of us who are old enough to recall the late Mrs. d'Hauteville in the zenith of her attractions, the mention of no other name can better suggest those well-known lines of Byron,—

“The light of love, the purity of grace,
The mind, the music breathing from her face,
The heart whose softness harmonized the whole,
And oh! that eye was in itself a soul.”

forgot that the independence of his own character and the confidence he was apt to feel in the correctness of his own judgment, were in no way incompatible with the manifestation of a decent respect for the convictions of others. It could never have been said of him, as George W. Curtis said of Charles Sumner, that "he treated difference of opinion almost as a moral delinquency," nor could he ever have brought himself to say of any one, as Garrison said of Henry Clay, "Death has its uses; and never is this more clearly seen than in the removal of such a man from a world which he has only cursed by his bad example."

Still less, like John Quincy Adams, was it his life-long habit to keep a journal, in which every night, before diligently reading his Bible, he relieved his mind of any bitterness which might have accumulated in the previous twenty-four hours by jotting down such expressions as the "envious temper, ravenous ambition, and rotten heart of Daniel Webster," the "double-dealing hypocrisy" of Judge McLean, the "contemptible trickery" of Jonathan Russell, — or that Philip Barbour was "a shallow-pated wild-cat," Paley's *Moral Philosophy* only fit to be burned "by the hands of the common hangman," and Franklin Dexter "engaged in a dastardly conspiracy against my character."¹

To describe the subject of this memoir as having been, in any sense of the word, great, would be a gross exaggeration, — he was a man neither of extreme sagacity, nor of rare erudition, nor of varied accomplishments, nor of any peculiarly

¹ Nobody supposes that the dear "old man eloquent" really intended that posterity should accept as his deliberate verdict more than half of the pungent allusions to his contemporaries which so amusingly diversify his published diary, and probably not more than a quarter of those which enhance the interest of that portion of it which is not in print. He was a volcanic person, — often a very "flame of fire," — who wrote on the spur of the moment, and who called a spade a spade.

There is something curiously prophetic and even pathetic in his reflection that he had "ever found a light estimate of the study of Greek and Latin and an irreverent estimate of the Bible to be inseparable companions," while his account of his difficulty with Senator Tazewell of Virginia is the most irresistibly comic passage in American political literature. Tazewell, he says, "combines with overbearing arrogance and rancorous temper a never-dying personal hatred of me because I told him I didn't believe he had ever drunk a drop of Tokay in his life. He had provoked this retort by saying he never knew a Unitarian who did not believe in the sea-serpent. . . . My shaft was barbed with truth, and will rankle in his side till his dying hour!"

showy or striking qualities, nor was he one of those exceptionally munificent persons whom absence of offspring or the successful ventures of active business sometimes enable to devote colossal sums to public objects, — but there would be no exaggeration whatever in describing him as having been, in every sense of the word, good. If a computation of the probable number of good men now or recently in this world should be based upon the obituary columns of the contemporary press, the gratulatory optimism of some popular preachers, the glowing but not always disinterested encomiums of some would-be popular speakers and writers, or upon the numerous sincere but indiscriminating tributes of deserved affection, we could not fail to approximate a gratifying total; but, as Cervantes says, “every one is as God made him, oftentimes a great deal worse,” and, in sober fact, a really good man, of what Shakespeare calls “untirable and continue goodness,” is, relatively speaking, about as scarce a product of nineteenth-century civilization as he has been at almost any earlier period of human history.

“Rari quippe boni: numero vix sunt totidem, quot
Thebarum portæ, vel divitis ostia Nili,”¹

or, as Dryden renders other lines of the same author, —

“Look round the habitable globe, how few
Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue!

So much the thirst of honor fires the blood;
So many would be great, so few be good.”

Nature, however, had not been niggard to Mr. Sears in the bestowal of a reasonable share of those little personal peculiarities without which all earthly excellence has a tendency to become insipid. Although the most indulgent of husbands and fathers, he was generally bent on having his own way in matters which immediately concerned himself, and by no means relished any suggestion that his own way was, perhaps, not the most feasible one. There is nothing more annoying to the managers of educational, philanthropic, and religious institutions than a rich man who chooses only to

¹ “Few be the righteous! 't is a race so small
The mouths of Nile shall more than equal all!”

BADHAM'S *Juvenal*, Sat. 13.

give away his own money on his own terms; and the conditions laid down by Mr. Sears were sometimes complex. He was a great believer in cumulative endowments, public and private; he liked to tie up land; he hated to feel that, by any possibility, his descendants could ever come within the reach of want; and he sought, by the most ingenious and elaborate provisions in his leases, to guard against the diminished rentals of a depreciated currency. Had he, in early life, been put to the necessity of earning an income, he would have been less likely to become a great merchant, like his father, than to attain eminence as a conveyancer. The "nice, sharp quilllets of the law" possessed no terrors for him, and he may fairly be said to have revelled in the labyrinths of some of his own complicated trusts.

Another prevailing trait was his unaffected reverence for his forefathers, the remembrance of whose virtues and vicissitudes inspired him with a pervading interest. It was largely due to his advice and assistance that his kinsman, our late associate, the Rev. Edmund H. Sears, was able to publish, many years ago, several editions of a work entitled "Pictures of the Olden Time," in which much genealogical and legendary information concerning the family of Sears is agreeably blended on a canvas of historical romance. It was a pleasure to him to associate himself with his father's ancestral church of St. Peter in English Colchester by the gift of a charitable foundation, a tablet, and a service of communion-plate; with his mother's ancestral church of St. Bartholomew in English Groton by a stained-glass window to the memory of a parent so early lost; and with the great body of persons of his name and blood, many of them total strangers to himself, in all parts of the country, by privately coining and distributing medals commemorative of their common progenitor, Richard Sears the Pilgrim.

Nathaniel Hawthorne once said of Ralph Waldo Emerson that he was "a great searcher after facts, but they seemed to melt away and become unsubstantial in his grasp;" and in one of Emerson's own letters, he says of himself: "I delight in telling what I think; but if you ask me why I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men." Precisely opposite was the quality of Mr. Sears's mind. He had no ambition to enroll himself among those superior persons — "soul-sculptors" they have been admiringly called — whose

mastery of profound thought and transcendental philosophy has found expression, if not in Sibylline inspiration, at least in mysterious and Orphic utterance; but when he had once assimilated a fact, he never lost sight of it,—when he had once formulated an opinion, it rested upon some substantial foundation.

He considered, and he rightly considered, that the position he occupied in this community was an important one; and it was not merely important, but unique. The possessors of the great fortunes of Boston during the first three-quarters of the present century have for the most part been industrious and ambitious natives of other places, attracted hither by the opportunity of trade, and during the earlier portion, sometimes the whole, of their careers engrossed by the absorbing process of accumulation. The famous Billy Gray, for instance, came from Marblehead, Peter C. Brooks from Medford, Colonel Thorndike and his son-in-law, Mr. Francis, from Beverly, the brothers Appleton from New-Ipswich, the brothers Lawrence from Groton, the brothers Thayer from Lancaster, Mr. Hemmenway from Salem. David Sears, on the contrary, was born in Boston and bred in the purple; and he never forgot it. He never forgot that the wealth and social position which were his birthright entailed upon him the duty of a bright example; and from the very outset he set that example before him,—an example of public spirit, of domestic virtue, of religious faith,—an example in preferring his own country to any other, in endowing charities, in promoting education, in displaying urbanity, courtesy, and moderation in all things,—and, last but not least, an example of an elegant but not extravagant mode of life.

It was not with the exhibition of “damnable pomp and outrageous superfluities” (to use the forcible but expressive language of King Henry VIII.), it was not with profuse entertainments or costly furniture or sumptuous equipages that he ever permitted himself to become associated in the public mind; but rather with the maintenance of a dignified and graceful hospitality, and the observance of that luxury which Goldsmith so well defines as the “luxury of doing good.”

In nothing was the refinement of his taste more conspicuous than in the house he built in Beacon Street in 1821. The domestic architecture of Boston had even then begun to

exhibit a tendency towards a style which has become more and more accentuated in recent years, and which, with some rare exceptions, may not unfairly be described as the occasional interjection of the incongruous, the pretentious, or the grotesque upon wide reaches of monotony. Mr. Sears's house, the most expensive of its day, is open to no such criticism; and although, since his death, it has suffered cruel adaptation to the exigencies of a fashionable club, and the unsparing hand of the "decorator" has been allowed to daub and darken its walls and ceilings, enough remains to suggest distinctively, as so few houses do, that it was built by and for a gentleman.

During his lifetime it suggested something more, and was remarkable as the home of a rich man who was too conscientious to betake himself to some rock-bound coast or inclement hillside at the most unpleasant season of the year in order to lessen his share of municipal taxation, and who still less contemplated a removal to Philadelphia for a similar purpose; who never sought to add to his estate by fencing unclaimed lands; who set his face against hazardous speculations; and who even carried his scruples so far as to decline to receive more than the legal rate of interest at periods when other capitalists were eagerly demanding double.¹

The world moves rapidly in fifteen years. The leading taxpayer in Suffolk County is still named Sears, but he is only a remote congener of the tribe of David. Outside of a continually decreasing circle of relatives and friends, the latter is already more than half forgotten. His great property is becoming gradually subdivided; the memory of his good example is becoming slowly effaced; but his portrait still hangs in the hall of the Charity building in Chardon Street as the founder of far the largest endowment for the benefit of the poor of Boston, and who of us could ask a nobler or more enduring monument?

I have not thought it worth while to enumerate the various societies with which Mr. Sears was honorably associated; and, in accordance with our usage, I have left it to the last to speak briefly of his connection with our own. He was elected a

¹ Our venerable associate, Mr. William Amory, — so much missed from his accustomed seat at our meetings during the past winter, but the charm of whose conversation will linger in our memories long after he himself can sit with us no more, — assures me that this last-mentioned trait is the only serious defect he can recall in the character of his revered father-in-law, after nearly forty years of intimate association.

Resident Member in April, 1848, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John Quincy Adams. Nine years later, in April, 1857, he was chosen one of our two Vice-Presidents, and during a long absence of the President in Europe he was repeatedly called upon to preside over our meetings, which he did with characteristic courtesy, besides extending to us his hospitality on more than one occasion. Some older members cannot fail to recall a very memorable evening-meeting at his house in Beacon Street, Dec. 15, 1859, when eloquent and appropriate tributes to the character and writings of Washington Irving, then recently deceased, were successively uttered by Mr. Everett, Professor Longfellow, Colonel Aspinwall, Professor Felton, and Dr. Holmes. On his retirement from the Vice-Presidency, at his own desire, five years later, the Society acknowledged his services by a special vote of thanks, and gladly accepted for its Cabinet a portrait of himself by Pratt, which he modestly preferred to present to us through our late President.

Without making any pretence to be himself a close student of New England history, he was cordially interested in the promotion of historical studies by others; and he practically exhibited that interest, not merely by occasional gifts to our Library, but by repeated subscriptions to objects which we had at heart, and by the important gift of twenty-five hundred dollars to found the "Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund" (now amounting to more than four times that sum, and the income of which is, without restriction, at the disposal of the Society), thereby enrolling himself prominently among our by no means numerous benefactors.

It may be convenient to add that at the present time the family of Mr. Sears is represented by the widow and children of his son David; by his two surviving sons, Frederick Richard and Knyvet Winthrop Sears, and their families; by his two surviving daughters, Mrs. William Amory and Mrs. William C. Rives, and their families; and by the children of Mrs. George Caspar Crowninshield and Mrs. d'Hauteville, his two deceased married daughters.

NOTE. — Since the foregoing memoir was in type, an article in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for July, 1886, has drawn attention to the fact that the earlier portion of the commonly accepted Sears pedigree, like the earlier portions of the commonly accepted pedigrees of many other New England families, rests upon family traditions of doubtful origin, and cannot thus far be proved. Further investigation is clearly necessary to explain certain apparent discrepancies and verify conflicting dates.

MEMOIR
OF THE
REV. WILLIAM STOODLEY BARTLET, A.M.

BY THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, A.M.

THE Rev. William S. Bartlet was born in Newburyport on the 8th day of April, 1809, and died in the city of Chelsea on the 12th day of December, 1883. He was the son of William Bartlet, who graduated at Harvard College in 1801, and grandson of the Hon. William Bartlet, an opulent merchant of Newburyport, and a munificent benefactor of the Theological Seminary at Andover. He received a good academical education in the public schools of his native town and in the incorporated academies of the neighborhood. He served an apprenticeship of about three years in the mercantile house of Benjamin T. Reed, of Boston. He afterward entered into mercantile business in Newburyport, in which he continued for several years. He was confirmed in St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, by Bishop Griswold, in 1820, and under the tuition of its rector, the late Rev. James Morss, D.D., he early became an earnest and enthusiastic churchman.

In 1836 he became a candidate for Holy Orders in the Diocese of New York, and entered the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, where he remained three years, completing the prescribed course of study in 1839. He was admitted to Holy Orders by the Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D.D., on the 30th of June in the same year. On the 15th of November, 1839, he was elected rector of Emmanuel Church, at Little Falls, on the Mohawk, in the State of New York, where he remained nearly three years. On the first day of September, 1842, he took charge of a congrega-

tion newly organized under the title of Mount Zion Church, in Chelsea, Massachusetts. The next year the parish assumed the name of St. Luke's Church, of which Mr. Bartlet was chosen rector, where he continued until Sept. 1, 1849, when he resigned. On Dec. 29, 1850, he became rector of St. Andrew's Church, Providence, Rhode Island, where he continued until July 6, 1851, when he accepted an invitation to return to St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, of which he had previously been rector for the period of seven years. Here he continued until July, 1859, completing a service of fifteen years as rector of that parish.

From this time onward Mr. Bartlet officiated from time to time as occasion offered, but made no permanent engagements. The parish of St. Luke's in its early years contained many discordant elements, which, together with the infirmity of deafness, which came upon Mr. Bartlet at a very early period, rendered his duties difficult and discouraging; and his labors were not attended with that eminent success which he anticipated and desired.

In 1853 Mr. Bartlet published "The Frontier Missionary; a Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, A.M., a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The work was issued by the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, and was the second volume of its publications. A preface accompanied the work, by the accomplished scholar and divine, the Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Maine.

In this memoir Mr. Bartlet traces the career of the Rev. Mr. Bailey from his graduation at Harvard College, in 1755, to his death, in 1808, skilfully introducing large extracts from Mr. Bailey's journal, and many letters of local and historical interest, enriching its pages with learned and elaborate annotations. Mr. Bartlet happily finds occasion to give important historical and personal information, drawn largely from Mr. Bailey's correspondence and journals, in regard to many of the clergy of the English Church settled in New England previous to the American Revolution. As these clergymen were mostly, if not all, loyalists during that protracted struggle, a record of the events in which they were involved, and of the experiences through which they passed, sheds a beneficent light upon their character and integrity, over whose

memory a cloud of misconception and unjust prejudice had hopelessly brooded for nearly a century.

The wisdom, learning, and skill with which Mr. Bartlet conducted this work gave to him at once the position, in this line at least, of a writer of unusual promise; and it has always been regretted by those who knew well his capabilities and tastes, that this, the first, was to be his last work of any commanding historical significance.

The same year, in 1853, he contributed to the Collections of the Maine Historical Society two papers of local interest; one entitled "A Contribution to the History of Bath," and the other, "An Introduction to Strachey's Account," extracts from which were reprinted in the same volume. In the last paper he made some valuable suggestions in relation to the exact location of the fort erected by the Popham colony in 1607. Both articles display careful and accurate investigation.

In 1863 he contributed to the March number of the "National Quarterly Review," published in New York, an article entitled "A Review of Quintilian's Institutes of Eloquence;" of "The Elements of Elocution," by John Walker; and of "The Philosophy of the Human Voice," by Dr. James Rush.

The paper is written with boldness and vivacity, and with a manifest consciousness of a thorough knowledge of the subject. It arraigns Archbishop Whately, and condemns the theory set forth in his treatises on Rhetoric and Logic. It discusses the merits of the authors named at the head of the article, and gives some important and sensible rules for the successful use and management of the human voice.

In 1864, at a tercentenary celebration of the birth of William Shakspeare by the citizens of Lowell, Mr. Bartlet delivered, by invitation, a discourse on the life and character of the great poet, which was printed with the proceedings on the occasion and the speeches made at the dinner that followed. The discourse indicates that he had been a careful and diligent student of the dramatist; and his analysis of his character, as a poet and as a man, is clear and discriminating. The performance gave great satisfaction to those who heard it. It was pronounced a "scholarly and comprehensive production, whose suggestions, most of them novel and striking, would be fully appreciated by its readers."

In 1867 he contributed an article to the "Church Monthly" on the Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D.D., Bishop of Maine, who had then recently died. It is brief, and merely a sketch; but nevertheless it sets forth very clearly and skilfully the fine qualities of the noble bishop, whom he had known intimately and to whom he had become endeared by many years of friendly intercourse.

In 1875 he edited and carried through the press a volume entitled "A List of Persons admitted to the Order of Deacons in the Protestant Episcopal Church from 1785 to 1857," which had been prepared with almost incredible labor by Bishop Burgess, of Maine. He supplied many dates and other defects in the list, and added likewise a numerical index to the whole. As thus completed, the work assumed at once a place of permanent historical value and importance.

In 1865 Mr. Bartlet was appointed Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts, and by yearly election continued such till his death. This officer is the custodian of the manuscripts and printed documents which belong to the diocese, which have been accumulating from the time of its organization in 1784 down to the present. He is also charged with the duty of adding such historical volumes and papers, whether in manuscript or print, as may be of value in the history of the diocese. Mr. Bartlet held this office eighteen years, and gave all necessary care for the preservation of the historical material in the archives, together with that which naturally came into his official keeping. With the limited means at his control, and the want of a proper depository, he did not attempt to promote the enlargement and enrichment of the historical collections belonging to the diocese.

Soon after he entered upon this office, he began the preparation of a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Massachusetts. To this work he directed his efforts for several years, and advanced so far as to leave several chapters in manuscript. It is to be feared, and greatly regretted, that these preparations were not left in such a state of forwardness as to furnish much valuable and important assistance to future historians of the church.

As a writer, Mr. Bartlet was painstaking, and almost morbidly conscientious in his endeavor to rest his conclusions on clearly established facts. His style was simple, perspicuous,

and direct. He held his views with firmness, and with so much strength and tenacity that it gave him too often the appearance of a partisan. He never engaged in public discussions, but in private he was always equipped with barbed arrows, which he hurled skilfully and with vigor upon all in opposition. On theological questions he was conservative, and he did not apparently swerve in the minutest degree from the views in which he was instructed, and which he had accepted when he was a student in the Theological Seminary. In institutional religion his conservatism was equally apparent. No canon or rubric could be changed without challenging his profoundest scrutiny; and unless in the change it approached something still older, it was likely to be accepted with a protest. In his intercourse with society he was modest but eminently social. His memory was richly stored with anecdotes and maxims, in his own and other languages, gathered from every department of knowledge. He acted on the theory of Bacon that apothegms serve not only for ornament and delight, but are the edge-tools of speech, which cut and penetrate the knots of business and affairs. These, with a gravity of manner and a fine sense of humor, he applied freely in conversation, and with great pungency and effect. He was always an interesting and entertaining companion.

Mr. Bartlet received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1849. He became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1858. He was twice married: first, to Miss Hannah M. Stevens, of Pittston, Maine, who died in 1870; second, on the 22d of February, 1873, to Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips Somerby, of Chelsea, who survives him. He left no children.

MAY MEETING, 1886.

The Society met, as usual, on Thursday, the 13th instant, with the Rev. Dr. ELLIS in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read by the Secretary.

The books and pamphlets given to the Library since the last report were mentioned by the Librarian.

The PRESIDENT's introductory remarks were as follows : —

Some of our members were privileged, a fortnight since, to attend and to take part in the meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington. This was the third assembling of the Association, which was organized at Saratoga, New York, Sept. 10, 1884. Its objects and its compass of membership are as broad and comprehensive as the continent. It has already some four hundred enrolled members. "The promotion of historical studies" is the large and inclusive aim which it sets for itself. The way in which specialists are to do it service, even in monographs upon a single place, incident, event, or person, is in so dealing with their themes as to make them tributary, like the most modest and hidden streamlet, to the vast current of our national history. The annalist of a town, the biographer of a man or a woman, the narrator of an adventure, an enterprise, or a scheme that has contributed anything to our national development and fortunes, may here come into full fellowship with those who are digesting in voluminous pages the history of the nation or the epoch. Professors and instructors in history in our colleges and universities are glad to serve and to be served by this Association. Sessions of the Association were held, on the forenoon and evening of three successive days, in the large and convenient lecture-hall of the Columbian University, which was courteously granted for the purpose. The venerable George Bancroft occupied the chair as President; himself offering a philosophical contribution, vigorous in its substance and in his own reading of it. He also communicated a letter from the

veteran nonagenarian historian Leopold von Ranke, whom he called his master, and who is the single honorary member of the Association.

Our Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Justin Winsor, was elected President of the Association, in succession to Mr. Bancroft.

Mr. WINSOR drew the attention of the Society to a copy of the manuscript journal of William McKendry, kept in large part during the expedition conducted by General Sullivan in 1779, which copy was made under the direction of the late Ellis Ames for the Society; and he recommended for publication with it in the Proceedings a letter from Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, of Cambridge, which gives a full and accurate account of all other existing journals of that expedition.

CAMBRIDGE, May 10, 1886.

JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq.,

Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR, — In the second volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society the presentation to the Society by Ellis Ames of a copy of a journal kept by William McKendry, a lieutenant in a Massachusetts regiment in active service during the years 1777–1780 inclusive, is duly recorded. I have glanced over this manuscript and find that it throws new light upon some points. The writer of the journal was at Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre. He was with Clinton's column in Sullivan's expedition. He describes the damming up of Lake Otsego, and says the water was raised one foot only. He states positively that Colonel Pauling did not join Clinton at Oquaga, — a statement in which other journals concur, but which directly contradicts Stone. He also contributes some valuable and interesting testimony as to the houses of the Indian towns.

There still remain unpublished several interesting journals which cover this campaign, and which would form a valuable contribution to the history of that time. Among them I rank the McKendry journal.

I have examined twenty-three published diaries, journals, or narratives of the Sullivan expedition. The names of the writers and the periods covered by the journals, together with the titles of the publications which contain them, are as follows: —

1. Barton, William, a lieutenant in the First New Jersey Regiment in Maxwell's Brigade. A diary or journal which extends from June 8 to Oct. 9, 1779, covering the whole campaign. It was published in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," vol. ii. pp. 22–43.

2. Beatty, Erkuries, a lieutenant and paymaster in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. An account of Van Schaick's expedition against the Onondaga towns is included in this journal. It also includes the Sullivan campaign. Beatty accompanied General Clinton. A portion of the journal was published in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879. The original manuscript is in the archives of the New York Historical Society, and has never been published as a whole.

3. Blake, Thomas, a lieutenant in the First New Hampshire Regiment. The journal extends from May 13, 1777, to Oct. 25, 1779, thus including the whole campaign. It was published in Kidder's "History of the First New Hampshire Regiment."

4. Campfield, Jabez, a surgeon in Spencer's New Jersey Regiment. The journal extends from May 23 to Oct. 2, 1779, covering the whole campaign. It was published in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," 2d series, vol. iii. pp. 117-136, and was printed in the "Wyoming County Democrat," Dec. 31, 1873, to Jan. 28, 1874.

5. Davis, Nathan, a private in the First New Hampshire Regiment. This was communicated to the "Historical Magazine" for April, 1868, by the Rev. Pliny H. White, President of the Vermont Historical Society. The article was entitled "History of the Expedition against the Five Nations commanded by General Sullivan in 1779," by Nathan Davis.

6. Dearborn, Henry, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the Third New Hampshire Regiment. The journal extends from June 16 to Oct. 15, 1779. A portion of it was published in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879. Mr. Charles P. Greenough, of Boston, is the present owner of this journal; and through his courtesy I have been able to examine it.

7. Elmer, Ebenezer, a surgeon in Maxwell's New Jersey Brigade. Extracts from Elmer's journal, covering Sullivan's campaign to August 13, were printed in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," vol. ii. pp. 43-50.

8. Fogg, Jeremiah, a staff-officer in Colonel Poor's Regiment. He held the position on the roster as captain in the Second New Hampshire Regiment. Poor was at that time a brigadier-general. One hundred and fifty copies of the journal were issued in pamphlet form, the type being in newspaper column. The pamphlet was entitled "Journal of Major Jeremiah Fogg, during the Expedition of General Sullivan in 1779, against the Western Indians;" the imprint being "Exeter, N. H., The Newsletter press, 1879."

9. Gano, Rev. John, a chaplain in Clinton's Brigade. This narrative is to be found in the "Historical Magazine" for November, 1861. The article is entitled "A Chaplain of the Revolution," and was extracted from the Memoirs of the Rev. John Gano.

10. Gookin, Daniel, an ensign in the Second New Hampshire Regiment. The journal was published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for the year 1862, vol. xvi. p. 27, and was entitled "Revolutionary Journal of Daniel Gookin." It ends September 5, 1779.

11. Grant, George, a sergeant-major in the Third New Jersey Regiment. The journal was reprinted from the "Wyoming Republican" in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," vol. xiv. pp. 72-76. Extracts were printed in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879. The journal extends from May 17 to Nov. 3, 1779.

12. Grant, Thomas, supposed to have been one of the surveyors who accompanied Sullivan, surveyed the road travelled by the expedition, and measured the distances from camp to camp. This account, which was published in the "Historical Magazine" for 1862, vol. vi. p. 233 and p. 273, ends abruptly Sept. 25, 1779. Extracts were printed in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879.

13. Hardenburgh, John L., a lieutenant in Colonel Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment. The journal extends from May 1 to Oct. 23, 1779, and was published in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879.

14. Hubley, Adam, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. The journal extends from July 30 to Oct. 7, 1779. It was published in the Appendix to Miner's "History of Wyoming," and also in the "Pennsylvania Archives," 2d series, vol. xi.

15. Livermore, Daniel, a captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. This journal extends from May 17 to Dec. 7, 1779. It was published in the "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society," vol. vi. p. 308.

16. Maxwell, Thompson. A narrative, published in the "Historical Collections of the Essex Institute," vol. vii. No. 3. It was communicated by Robert S. Rantoul, and is entitled "The Narrative of Major Thompson Maxwell."

17. Nukerck, Charles, a captain in the Second New York Regiment. The name is sometimes spelt Newkirk. In Hammersly's Register Nukerck's name is given as Mukirk, and his rank as captain-lieutenant. The journal extends from May 1, 1779, to Dec. 11, 1780. It was quoted by Campbell as the "Journal of an Officer," and referred to as such by O'Reilly. Stone spoke of it as the "Journal of Captain Theodosius Fowler." According to General Clark, extracts have also appeared in the writings of Thomas Maxwell, of Elmira, as from the journal of Colonel Gansevoort. The manuscript is in possession of Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wisconsin.

18. Norris, James, a captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment, according to an endorsement on the journal itself; but he was at this

time, according to the roster, a major. This journal is generally spoken of as the "Journal of Major Norris," and is so called in the "Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society," vol. i. pp. 217-252. Extracts are published in Jones's "History of New York," vol. ii. note 1, p. 613. The journal extends from June 18 to Oct. 25, 1779.

19. Rogers, William, D.D., chaplain in Hand's Brigade. The journal extends from June 15, to and including August 28. At the latter date Rogers left Sullivan's army. It was printed in "Rhode Island Tracts," No. 7, with an introduction and notes by Sidney S. Rider. It is there credited to the "Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal of Providence," in which it appeared in 1823. It was copied into that paper from the "Philadelphia Gazette." A portion had already been printed at Philadelphia in the "American Universal Magazine" in 1797, vol. i. pp. 390-399; vol. ii. pp. 86-91, 200-206.

20. Salmon, John, orderly sergeant in Captain Simpson's Company. Salmon's account was printed in the first edition of Seaver's "Life of Mary Jemison." It was also printed in O'Reilly's "Sketches of Rochester." Captain Simpson's company formed part of a detachment from Morgan's Riflemen, which accompanied this expedition.

21. Shreve, John, a lieutenant in the Second New Jersey Regiment. A personal narrative, published in the "Magazine of American History," vol. iii. pp. 571, 572.

22. Van Campen, Moses. This account is often referred to as contained in a memorial presented to Congress. Van Campen's name frequently appears in the index to the Congressional Documents, but I have not been able to lay my hands on the Government publication containing this memorial. It was, however, reproduced in Pritt's "Border Life," etc.; and the substance of Van Campen's account of the campaign appears in "Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Major Moses Van Campen," etc., by John N. Hubbard (Bath, N. Y., 1842).

23. Van Cortlandt, Philip, colonel commanding the Second New York Regiment. Van Cortlandt's account appears in the form of an autobiography, communicated to the "Magazine of American History" by Pierre C. Van Wyck, vol. ii. p. 278. According to Dr. Craft, it was originally published in the "Elmira Daily Advertiser," Feb. 17, 1879.

There remains one published diary, of which I have information, but which I have not seen, namely, —

24. Webb, Nathaniel, an officer said to have been in the Second New York Regiment. This diary was published in full in the "Elmira Daily Republican," Sept. 11 and 12, 1855.

Lists of the published and unpublished diaries and journals of the Sullivan campaign have been printed. The Rev. David Craft communicated such a list, May 9, 1779, to the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," vol. iii. pp. 348, 349, and at the same time appealed

to the public for information. Another list was furnished by him to the "Magazine of American History," vol. iii. p. 673. In the latter the titles of nineteen journals, narratives, etc., which had at that time been published, were given, with information as to the places of deposit of the manuscripts and with statements as to the newspapers, magazines, or books in which they had been published. Mr. Craft also gave the titles and what is known about the places of deposit of a number of journals which had not at that time been published. Of these last, three, or portions of three, were used by General John S. Clark in working out the account of the Sullivan campaign, contributed by him and published in the "Collections of the Cayuga Historical Society," No. 1, 1879. In the same volume General Clark printed a list similar to that of Dr. Craft. Dr. Craft's No. 1 in the list in the "Magazine of American History" is identified by him as an imperfect copy of Norris's journal, and is so given in his list in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History."

Beside the published journals of this campaign which I have seen, I have also examined the following manuscript copies:—

25. Burrows, John, a major in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment. His rank on the roster is given as captain. It is an interesting journal, with observations upon the character of the country, etc., at the end of many of the daily entries. It extends from Aug. 23 to Oct. 13, 1779. The original manuscript is in possession of Mrs. Elizabeth Breese Stevens, Oneida, New York. For an opportunity to examine a copy of this journal I am indebted to Mr. Charles P. Greenough, of Boston.

26. McKendry, William, a lieutenant and quartermaster in Colonel Alden's Sixth Massachusetts Regiment. The journal begins October, 1777, and includes the Sullivan campaign. An opportunity to examine the copy in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society was kindly afforded me at the rooms of that Society.

27. Rogers, William. According to Craft, a quartermaster sergeant in Malcom's New York Regiment, but in 1779, according to General Clark, in the Second New York. This diary gives but an outline sketch of the campaign, the entries being merely of dates and distances travelled, with bare references to the principal events. The original is in the hands of B. L. Rogers, of Newark, New Jersey. Mr. Charles P. Greenough has a copy.

28. Shute, Samuel Moore, a lieutenant in the Second New Jersey Regiment. This journal covers from May 29 to Nov. 9, 1779, with the exception that a few leaves are gone. From what we know of the expedition, it is safe to say that nothing of importance is missing. General Clark states that the original is in possession of William E. Potter, of Bridgeton, New Jersey. Through the courtesy of William S. Stryker, Adjutant-General of New Jersey, I have had an opportunity to examine a copy.

The publishers of Chapman's "History of Wyoming" stated in the preface that the "Journal of Colonel John Jenkins" had been in their possession. This is probably the same as the following:—

29. Jenkins, John, a lieutenant in Captain Spaulding's Independent Wyoming Company and guide in the expedition. The journal covers from June 5, 1778, to March 17, 1781. The original manuscript is said to be in possession of the Hon. Steuben Jenkins, of Wyoming, Pennsylvania.

The following manuscript journals are stated by Dr. Craft and General Clark to be in existence:—

30. Fellows, Moses, a sergeant in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. The journal covers from July 22 to Sept. 20, 1779. The original manuscript is in possession of A. Tiffany Norton, of Lima, New York.

31. Van Hovenburgh, Rudolph, said to have been a lieutenant in the Fifth New York Regiment. The name of Rand. Van Hovenburgh appears as a lieutenant on the roster of the Fourth New York. No similar name in the Fifth Regiment. He was with General Clinton. The journal covers from June 16, 1779, to Nov. 24, 1780.

I have been informed by General Clark that the New York Historical Society was presented, Feb. 10, 1886, with the journal of—

32. Roberts, Thomas, a sergeant in Captain Burrowes' Company, Spencer's New Jersey Regiment. The journal is incomplete. The portion in possession of the Society covers from May 29 to Sept. 10, 1779, with the exception that the leaves covering September 6 and 7 are missing.

Beside these there were once several other journals which are known to have been in existence, but which have disappeared. Miner speaks of one by Newman, and regrets that he has not room to print it. A list of these missing journals is given by General Clark.

Nos. 8, 21, 25, and 26 in my list do not appear in the lists of Dr. Craft and General Clark. No. 1 of the lists furnished by those gentlemen is totally rejected. Although published without name in the "New Hampshire Patriot," at Portsmouth, Sept. 16, 1843, it has since been identified as an imperfect fragment of Norris's journal, and is not entitled to separate enumeration. The journal of Thomas Machin, also included in the published lists, relates exclusively to the campaign against the Onondagas.

I remain very respectfully yours,

A. MCF. DAVIS.

P. S. Mr. Charles P. Greenough has compiled a roster of the officers who actually went on the Sullivan expedition. He was kind enough to permit me to compare it with this list of journals. Certain differences in the rating of officers and in their regiments, discovered by this comparison and by a separate comparison with Hammersly's Register, are noted above.

Copy of the Journal of William McKendry, a Lieutenant in the Army of the Revolution and an Original Member of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts, who died at Canton, Massachusetts, A. D. 1798.

Ditto 25 [*i. e.* October]. Col^d. Alden drew some cloathing for y^e Reg^t.
A cold storm.

Ditto 26 & 27th A cold storm.

Ditto 28th Stormy and obliged to leave y^e camp, and go to y^e Town for shelter in y^e rain.

Ditto 29th Stormy, cold and Muddy.

Ditto 30th Albany Committee Set to Provide Barracks for Gen^l Nixon's Brigade.

Ditto 31st The Brigade Moved into the Town and Billited in the houses myself Quartered at M^r Phillip Van Vaiters at y^e Mill.

1777. Nov^r 1st Fair and Pleasant Weather.

Ditto 2nd 3rd 4 & 5 Nothing worth notice.

Ditto 6th Rainy weather.

Ditto 7th 8 & 9th Nothing worth notice.

Ditto 10th Stormy and cleared off cold the Pay Master got the money for y^e Reg^t.

Nov^r 11th Nothing worth notice.

Ditto 12th Storm of Snow.

Ditto 13th 14th 15 & 16. Nothing new.

Ditto 17th Col^d. Alden Reg^t Muster'd some Squalls of Snow and very Cold.

Ditto 18th 19th 20 & 21st Nothing New.

Ditto 22^d Bought a horse at Publick Vendue in Albany Gave £13^{..} 7^{..} 0 £ Money.

Ditto 23rd 24th 25 & 26. Nothing new.

Ditto 27th Lie^t Steel Died and was Buried 28th Ditto.

Ditto 29th A cold Storm hail Snow & Rain.

Ditto 30th Nothing New.

December 1st 1777. I mov'd to M^r Henrick R. Lansing near y^e City Hall.

Ditto 2nd 3rd 4 & 5 Cold.

December 6th Ensign Dewey Died of the Small Pox, very cold.

Ditto 7th Gen^l Gates order'd one half Gill of Rum to Be Deliver'd p^r man p^r Day until farther Orders.

Ditto 8th Nothing New.

Ditto 9th Some Soldiers Ordered to Schenactide to have the Small Pox.

Ditto 10th Sent y^e horses into y^e Country to be Kept by Gen^l Orders.

Ditto 11th 12th 13th 14th 15th 16 & 17th Nothing New.

Ditto 18th Thanksgiving at Albany.

Ditto 19 .. 20 .. 22^d Nothing New.

Ditto 23^d Rec^d two Waggoners to Ride wood for Col^o Alden's Reg^t

Ditto 24 .. 25 .. 26 .. Nothing New.

Ditto 27th Lie^t Buffinton arriv'd at Albany from home.

Ditto 28 .. 29th Nothing New.

Ditto 30th Gen^l Gates left Albany for y^e Southard very cold weather.

Ditto 31st Lie^t Larry Try^d at a Gen^l Court Marshall for selling Soldier's Clothing and was Broke.

January 1st 1778 Adj^t White left Albany on furlow for Springfield.

Ditto 2^d A man was taken up and put into y^e City Hall on suspicion of Killing a man for his money, after found Guilty and was Hanged — a thaw.

Ditto 3^d Col^o Aldens Reg^t Musterd, Enaⁿ Pike Arrived in Camp from furlow.

Ditto 4th Nothing new.

Ditto 5 Cap^t Ballard left Albany on furlow for home.

Ditto 6 .. 7 .. 8 .. 9th Nothing New.

Ditto 10th M^r Elijah Tolman was appointed to command Cap^t Lanes' Compy.

Ditto 11th 1778. Moderate Snow storm.

Ditto 12th T. Taylor Rec^d 400 Lashes for striking Cap^t TooGood with his Gun; he belongs to Col^o Putmans Reg^t

Ditto 13 .. 14 .. 15 .. 16 .. 17 .. 18 .. 19 .. 20th Nothing new.

Ditto 21st Col^o Alden Drew one Weeks forrage for his horse in Albany.

Ditto 22^d 23^d Nothing new.

Ditto 24th Col^o Stacy Arriv'd in Camp from furlow.

Ditto 25th 26 .. 27 Nothing new.

Ditto 28th Maj^r Whitting left Albany on furlow for New England.

Ditto 29th Nothing new.

Ditto 30th Cap^t Day & Cap^t Warren Arriv'd in Camp in Albany with y^e Clothing for y^e officers; Sarj^t Dickerman and Corp^t Pettingill arriv'd ditto.

Ditto 31 Col^o Greateon and Quarter Master M^rMish left Albany for New England Col^o Alden took y^e command . . . a Snow Storm.

February 1st 1778. Ensign Parker arrived from furlow at Albany.

Ditto 2^d Nothing new.

Ditto 3^d Cap^t Coburn left Albany on furlow for New England.

Ditto 4th Nothing New.

Ditto 5th Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster^d

Ditto 6th A Brittish Soldier Rec^d 30 Lashes at y^e City Hall in Albany Put on by an Indian.

Ditto 7th A Smart Snow Storm.

Ditto 8th Nothing New.

Ditto 9th Col^o Alden left Albany on furlow for New England.

Ditto 10th Nothing new.

Ditto 11th Snow Storm Clear'd of with Rain.

Ditto 12th 13th 14th 15th 16th 17th Nothing new.

Ditto 18th Rec^d a Letter from New England from Cap^t Crane.

Ditto 19th The Troops Review'd By Gen^l De la fyatt from france.

Ditto 20th 22^d 23^d 24th Nothing New.

Ditto 25th Cap^t Partrick arriv'd at Albany from furlow.

Ditto 26th 27th Nothing New.

Ditto 28th Gen^l Arnold Left Albany for y^e Southard to his home he not Being able for y^e field by reason of his Late wound in his Leg — Lie^t Buffinton left Albany on furlow for New England.

March 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 1778 Nothing New.

Ditto 5th I left Albany on furlow for New England after going by the way of Hartford Arriv'd y^e 10th at Stoughton. Left Stoughton 18th April 1778 after going by y^e way of Hartford, Newhaven Fish Kills arriv'd at Albany 23^d Instant 6. O Clock P. M. at M^r Lansing — Nothing in this time worth Entering.

April 24th 25th 26th 1778 Nothing New.

Ditto 27th March'd from Albany for y^e Northward Col^o Greatons Reg^t & Col^o Aldens Arrived at half-moon Gen^l Conway commanded.

Ditto 28th 29th 30th Quarter'd at half moon the alarm from the Northward was false.

May 1st 1778. March'd from half-moon back for Albany and arrived 4th O Clock P. M.

From the 2^d to y^e 13th Nothing new.

Ditto 14th Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster'd, a great Day of rejoicing at Albany for the News recieved from France fired 52 Cannon 3 Vollies from Small arms Gen^l Conway had the Command.

Ditto 15th There was two men hang'd at Albany One for Murder the Other for Robbery the Troops was under Arms.

Ditto 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th Nothing New.

Ditto 21st Col^o Greateon Arrived at Albany from furlow.

Ditto 22^d Col^o Greateons Reg^t Imbark'd for the high Lands and left Albany.

Ditto 23rd 24th 25th 26th 27th 28th 29th Nothing new.

Ditto 30th Saturday Cap^t Partrick and Lie^t Maynard with a N^o of Troops from Col^o Aldens Reg^t Attack'd a N^o of Indians Command'd By one Brant at Covers Kill 59 miles S. West from Albany 12 O'Clock A. M. with Cap^t Partrick 1 Lie^t 1 Serj^t 1 Drum 1 fife 29 Soldiers — 6 Militia was Kill'd One Cap^t 15 Continental — 2 Militia — 3 Wounded — Lie^t Maynard and 3 more were taken.

June 1st 1778. Nothing new.

Ditto 2^d Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster^d Albany the Militia were ordered under Arms at this place for fear of the Tories Rising.

Ditto 3^d Cap^t Partrick and y^e men Killed with him were Buried By y^e Militia.

Ditto 4th Nothing new.

Ditto .. 5th Seven Men were hang^d at Albany all for Robbery One Rogers & in y^e N^o.

Ditto 6th Cap^t Partrick's Cloathing was sold at Vendue in Albany Am^t £64 .. 15 .. 0: £ Money Lie^t Maynard sold Ditto.

Ditto 7th 8 .. 9 .. 10th Nothing new.

Ditto 11th 1778 Col^o Alden's Reg^t under marching orders left y^e Barracks and was order^d to be search^d for Indian Silver, ordered to return into y^e Barracks again.

Ditto 12 .. 13 .. 14 .. 15 .. 16 .. 17 .. 18 .. 19 .. 20 .. 21 Nothing new.

Ditto 22^d Cap^t Day left Albany on Command.

Ditto 23^d Nothing new.

Ditto 24th Cap^t Ballard Lie^t Buffinton left Albany for Cognawagna and with them 2 Serj^t 2 D^m & Fife 42 Rank and file. — Proceeded as far as Cherry Valley 70 Miles West from Albany with them Comy Woodman. Capt Reed arriv^d from furlow at this place.

Ditto .. 25 .. 26 .. 27 .. 28 .. 29 .. 30th Very warm weather.

July .. 1 .. 2 .. 3 .. 4 .. 5 .. 6 .. 7 .. 8th Warm Thunder & Showers.

Ditto .. 9th Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster^d, Turned out and took Col^o Weelocks Reg^t for refusing their duty.

Ditto .. 10th Col^o Aldens Reg^t rec^d orders to march for fort Stannix according to orders proceeded as far as Jacob Truaxes cripple Bush 11 Miles from Albany.

Ditto 11th arriv^d at Schenactida 9 . O'Clock A. M. 5 miles from Truaxes, Lodg^d at John .. Bab .. tist. Van Eps Jun^t 26 miles from Albany 10 miles from Schenactida lost the horses of y^e Reg^t and found them 10 O'Clock A. M.

Ditto 12th Din^d at Sir John Johnstons on Mohawk River Lodg^d at Major Fundays in Cognawagna had a Dutch Preist to pray with us and was much scar^d. — 17 miles from Van .. Eps.

Ditto .. 13th Dined at M^r McKennys Lodg^d at Major Yates 12 miles from Major Fundays in Conny Joharrow Mohawk river.

Ditto 14th Din^d at Maj^r Yates Set off from Maj^r Yates 4 O'Clock P. M. Cap^t Ballard join^d y^e Reg^t from Cherry Valley Lodg^d at Peter Wormwoods Palatina 4 miles from Maj^r Yates.

Ditto 15th March^d & Cross^d y^e ferry 4 miles from said Wormwood's 8 .. O'Clock A. M. Breakfast at Col^o Clocks 11 . O'clock A. M. Ariv^d at King Henricks Fort drink^d some grog in his pallace went into the Block Houses March^d from s^d pallace and stop^t at Peter digerts and drinkt some Grog $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from Gen^t Hercamons farm din^d at M^r Walter

Digerts 9 miles from Col^o Clocks. Cross^d y^e Ferry 2 miles from Walter Digerts at the Little Falls Lodg^d at John Petries opposite Col^o Bellens at said little carrying place, 15 miles from Wormwoods.

Ditto 16th March^d from said Petries and forded y^e River arriv^d at y^e German flatts 8 O'Clock A. M. at Fort Dayton 7 miles from said petries. Drew provisions at said Fort for one day. Din^d in the Woods one mile from said Fort — March^d and made a small halt at Germin-town Fort Lodg^d at M^r Thompsons 10 miles from Fort Dayton — 17 Miles from Little falls — no Inhabitants Living at s^d Thompsons Cap^t Ballards Cow Broke her leg.

Ditto 17th March^d from said Thompsons, and cross^d y^e river at Fort Schyler made a halt, and, eat some dinner march^d to Aresco¹ fields an Indian Town and Incampt by y^e River 12 miles from Thompsons.

Ditto 18th March^d from Aresco fields 6. O'Clock A. M. and arriv^d at Fort Stannix 9^o O'clock A. M. : Encampt below y^e fort, set up our huts with boards din^d with the Maj^r on Fresh Sammon — 8 miles from Aresco fields :

Ditto 19th Raised my Tent. Col^o Stacy mov^d out of y^e Fort into his Markee.

Ditto 20th Drew two days Provision a large Quantity of fresh Sammon brought to this fort by the Indians Six Shillings per Sammon L money — An Express arriv^d from the Southard another from Albany with orders from Gen^l Starks for Col^o Stacy to march his Reg^t to Cherry Valley.

Ditto 21st March^d from Fort Stannix 10 O'clock A. M. arriv^d at Aresco Fields, 12, O A. M. march^d On and cross^d y^e Creek near Fort scyler and waited some hours for the Batteau Lodg^d at said Thompsons mentioned going up.

Ditto 22^d March^d from said Thompsons & lodg^d at John Petries at y^e Little carrying place mentioned in my going up.

Ditto 23 March^d from said Petries took 12 Indians which had ben plundering y^e Inhabitants brought them by Col^o Stacy's. Order to Col^o Clocks din^d at said Clocks lodg^d at Maj^r Yates palatina went to Stone Robby for a Bullock to kill for y^e Reg^t to Cap^t Tigerts.

Ditto 24th March^d from Maj^r Yates & arriv^d at Cherry Valley 4.. O Clock P. M. had some [blank] Had a heavy rain the Reg^t was rec^d with much joy with firing a Blunderbuss and one round from the Militia and Inhabitants which were Posted at Cherry Valley the first friend that offer^d to me was John Woodman afs^d at said Post.

Ditto 25th Drew two days provisions & went to the Rev^d M^r Dunlaps and drank Sillabub with discoursing the old Gentleman about Sundries affairs.

¹ The original seems to be thus; but the name is Aresco or Aresca, usually given Oreska or Oreske. — J. W.

Ditto 26th Sunday went to Church — Text 1st Sam^l 12 verse M^r Johnston Chaplain — Col^o Stacy rec^d a letter from Gen^l Starks — Great encouragement that his Reg^t should not want for any thing that lay in his power to help them to.

Ditto 27th Mow^d and rak^d one hour for Rob^t Wills, Col^o Stacy, Adj^t White Ditto — Began to board with M^r James Richey twenty rods from Fort Alden.

Ditto 28th Heavy rain.

Ditto 29th Cap^t Lane arriv^d at Cherry Valley.

Ditto 30th Col^o Alden arriv^d at this place Paymaster Hickling ditto — Com^d Smith of Bay stores ditto — two pieces of cannon.

Ditto 31st Had a high corus Stamp^t hats fir^d a Cannon made an alarm.

August 1st 1778 Brought my horse from M^r Richey's Pasture.

Ditto 2^d Sunday, Attended Publick worship in Fort Alden.

Ditto 3^d Went to John Campbells and view^d some horses Drank some Cyder Supt with Lie^t Lunt and lodg^d at M^r Dunlaps.

Ditto 4th M^r Aaron Thompson lik^d to ben kill^d breaking a colt.

Ditto 5th Lost my horse — Capt Ballard Arriv^d from Scout the troops mov^d from Col^o Campbell's to the Fort.

Ditto 6th M^r Richey mov^d from Cherry Valley for Albany for fear of the Enemy.

Ditto 7th Began to build the Redout at Fort Alden.

Ditto 8th Went to the beaver dam to M^r Harper's Saw Mill for boards — Sent my horse to y^e beaver dam to pasture to M^r Hammells.

Ditto 9th Cap^t Lane joined y^e comp^d Mess at M^r Richeys.

Ditto 10 Pleasant Weather.

Ditto 11th Cap^t Ballard arriv^d at Lie^t Campbells from y^e Butter-nuts went to M^r Ramsies and drank milk Punch with Cap^t Parker and Com^y Woodman.

Ditto 12th Cap^t Ballard arriv^d from a Scout at Cherry Valley brought in with him from y^e Butter Nuts 73 head of horn Cattle 40 Sheep 14 Horses 14 Tories.

Ditto 13th Cap^t Ballard Set out for Albany with a guard and y^e Tories.

Ditto 14th Rode to y^e beaver dam and Saw Mill with Col^o Stacy.

Augst 15th Fort Alden was named by Cap^t Hickling went in y^e evening to Col^o Aldens Quarters and drank Milk Punch.

Ditto 16th Col^o Whelock arriv^d from a Scout from Unadilla.

Ditto 17th Lie^t Holden and Lie^t Carter arriv^d at Cherry Valley.

Ditto 18th Lie^t Holden began to board at M^r Richeys.

Ditto 19th Commissary Smith left Cherry Valley after more stores.

Ditto 20 .. 21 .. 22^d Nothing New.

Ditto 23^d Col^o Stacy Arriv^d from Scout inform^d us that one of our men kill^d an Indian, which prov^d true.

Ditto 24th Lie^t Trowbridge arriv^d at Cherry Valley.

Ditto 25th Went to Col. Campbells and se y^e Dominies bee Wool breaking.

Ditto 26th Went to harmony Hall and drank some Grog.

Ditto 27th Went to the beavers dam on horse back with all the field Officers, had a high Corus running horses.

Ditto 28 .. 29 .. 30th Some rain.

Ditto 31st Went to Maj^r Clydes.

September 1st 1778 Nothing new.

Ditto 2^d Commissary Woodman went to Stone Robby Cap^t Lane went to the Salt Spring.

Ditto 3^d Nothing new.

Ditto 4th Cap^t Ballard arriv^d from Albany, Lie^t Bratt wounded an Indian.

Ditto 5th Com^r Woodman arriv^d from the river.

Ditto 6th Nothing new.

Ditto 7th Went to harmony hall.

Ditto 8th Sent to Albany for y^e Baggage of the Reg^t

Ditto 9th Capt M^oKeen Arriv^d from Scout fir^d some Gun's at the Beaver Dam, alarm^d the Camp detach^t a party from the fort march^d one mile and found it to be a false Alarm — returned to the Fort again — Cap^t M^oKeen brought in three prisoners from Unadilla.

Ditto 10 .. 11th Nothing new.

Ditto 12th Rain and Cold for y^e Season.

Ditto 13th Nothing new.

Ditto 14th Cap^t Ballard's Tory stock Sold at Vendue.

Ditto 15th The Baggage Arriv^d from Albany for the Reg^t

Ditto 16th Nothing new.

Ditto 17th Alarm Brant with a party of Indians and Tories burnt German flats 44 houses 44 barns Kill^d three men, drove off 90 head of Continental Fat Cattle besides those took from the Inhabitants a large N^o burnt grane without measure, a detachment from Col^o Aldens Reg^t under the command of Maj^r Dan^l Whitting pursu^d them but without much success being detained by one Cowardly Col^o Clock — The Major brought in three of their men prisoners which were taken under Arms.

Ditto 18th Col. Clock arriv^d at M^o moore 4 miles from this Garrison and returned back by reason of and false alarm made by the Tories at Mohawk River.

Ditto 19 .. 20th Nothing new.

Ditto 21st Maj^r Whitting returnd from Scout with 3 prisoners Mentioned above.

Ditto 22^d 23^d Nothing New.

Ditto 24th Com^r Smith Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with Bay Stores.

Sep^r 25th Col Aldens Reg^t Muster^d at Cherry Valley the Reg^t was arang^d.

Ditto 26th Lie^t Holden Mov^d from M^r Richeys to Col. Campbell's.

Ditto .. 27th Lie^t Benjⁿ Billing left Cherry Valley for home by reason of dissatisfaction in the Rank of y^e Reg^t.

Ditto 28th Nothing new.

Ditto 29th Rode towards Springfield with the Com^r Stop^t at M^r Culleys heavy rain.

Ditto 30th Cap^t Hickling left Cherry valley after Money for the Reg^t—Brought my horse from y^e beaver dam.

October 1778.. 1.. 2^d 3.. 4th Nothing new.

Ditto 5th M^r Richey arriv^d at Cherry Valley from Albany.

Ditto 6th Col Stacy & Cap^t Ballard had a horse race Col Stacy won the bet.

Ditto. 7th 8.. 9.. 10.. 11.. 12.. 13.. 14th Nothing new.

Ditto 15th Went to the Salt springs in y^e Evening wet my appointment wine .. 28 .. Dollars.

Ditto 16th Lie^t W^m White wet his appointment in M^r Richeys with wine Am^t 36 dollars.

Ditto 17.. 18.. 19.. 20th Nothing new.

Ditto 21st Rode out to Springfield with the Com^r and M^r Witter Johnston 6 miles from Cherry Valley.

Ditto 22^d Rode to Dominies Johnston's in Company with Cap^t Reed & Com^r Woodman to the wedding of Cap^t M^cKeen and M^{rs} Jenny Campbell.

Ditto 23^d Serj^t Elijah Dickerman & Letty Gibbens was Married at the house of Jam^s Richey ; in Cherry Valley. By the Rev^d M^r Johnston late of Tunadilla drank seven Gall .. wine.

Ditto 24th Nothing new.

Ditto 25 Com^r Smith left Cherry Valley.

Ditto 26th Had a field day fir^d six rounds per man.

Ditto 27th Col Alden left Cherry Valley for Albany.

Ditto .. 28.. 29.. 30.. 31st Nothing New.

November 1st 1778 Some snow at this place.

Ditto 2^d.. 3^d. Nothing new.

Ditto 4th Cap^t Hickling Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with money for y^e Reg^t.

Ditto 5th 6.. 7.. 8.. 9.. 10th Nothing new.

Ditto 11th Alarm 11. O'Clock A. M. M^r Hammell coming from the Beaver Dam, was fir^d uppon by y^e Indians and was wounded he being on horse rode off and got clear it being half a mile from the fort : he rode to Col. Alden's Quarters and informed him of the matter—Immediately came on 442 Indians from the five Nations 200 Tories under the command of one Col Butler and Cap^t Brant, attack^d head Quarters

Kill^d Col. Alden took Col. Stacy prisoner attacked fort Alden after three hours retreated without success of taking the fort kill^d of the Reg^t 14 men Names (Viz.)

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ichabod Alden | Thomas Holden |
| Rob ^t Henderson | Daniel Dudley |
| Thomas Sheldon | Enos Blakeley |
| Gideon Day | Thomas Noles |
| Benj ⁿ Worsley | Oliver Deball |
| Pet. Adams | Simeon Hopkins |
| Thoma Mires | Rob ^t Bray. ¹ |

Nov^r 11th Took prisoners from y^e Reg^t W^m Stacy, Lie^t Col. Aaron Holden Lie^t, Andrew Garret Ensⁿ Suzer De Beaver Surgⁿ Mate 11 Soldiers their Names not mentioned.

Kill^d of y^e Inhabitants 30 persons
 took of „ Ditto 34 Ditto
 Wounded 2 Ditto one of the Reg^t
 Burnt — 20 houses 25 Barns 2 Mills

N. B. a rainy day.

Ditto 12th Sent out and fetch^d in Col Alden and Buried him under Arms with firing three vollies over his Grave — Brant came with 100 Indians 8.. O'Clock A. M. to attack y^e fort y^e Second time but receiving two or three Shots from the Cannon gave Back left y^e Fort 3 'O'clock P. M. Brought in a N^o of the Dead Bodies.

Ditto 13th Col^o Clock arriv^d at fort Alden 12 O'Clock A. M. after a long cowardly March of 12 miles with 400 men left y^e fort in about one hour and march^d back for Mohawk River — Brought in Huew Mitchal's wife and four Children all Dead & Scalpt with a N^o of other Dead bodies.

Ditto 14th An Express arriv^d from Col. Butler Commanding at Schoharrow that he was advancing with 500 men to y^e relief of fort Alden — Snow Rain.

Ditto 15th A heavy Snow storm fell two feet deep.

Ditto 16th found Cap^t Scott's Wife dead and was buried.

Ditto 17th An Express arriv^d from Schoharrow.

Ditto 18th Nothing new.

Ditto 19th Very cold and blustering.

„ 20th Lie^t Trowbridge Set out for Albany Cap^t Ballard found two Bar's of Cyder.

Ditto 21st Nothing new.

Ditto 22^d Alarm said that the Indians was discover'd at M^r Culleys detach^t out a party from Col. Alden's Reg^t and March^d to Said Culleys and the Indians turn^d out to be our own men.

¹ The name of James Parmineter is erased.

Ditto 23^d 24th 25th Nothing new.

Ditto 26th Thanksgiving at this place, found one of our men dead & was buried kill^d by y^e Indians in the 11th

Ditto 27th Nothing new.

Ditto 28th The Muster Master and pay Master Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with the Cloathing for the Reg^t, it was very good.

Ditto 29th The Late Col Alden's Reg^t Muster^d by Cap^t Lush in Fort Alden, one man died of his wound Rec^d in the Action of y^e 11th Instant.

Ditto 30th Cold and Blustering.

December 1st 2^d Nothing new.

Ditto 3^d Cap^t Warren, Lie^t Thorp, Lie^t Curtis, Left Cherry Valley on furrow for New England.

Ditto 4th Lie^t Trowbridge left camp for Albany.

" 5th John Stacy began to live with me.

Ditto 6..7..8..9 Nothing New.

Ditto 10th Snow Storm 12 inches deep.

" 11th Rec^d three letters from Stoughton by y^{rs} hand of Corp^l Hewins.

Ditto 12th 13th Nothing new.

" 14 Cap^t Reed, Lie^t Lunt, Lie^t Givins, left camp in cherry valley on furrow for New England.

Ditto 15..16..17..18th Nothing new.

" 19th Pay Master Tucker arriv^d at Cherry Valley with 2 months pay.

Ditto 20th Very warm for the Season.

" 21st Began to Snow.

December 22^d 23..24 Nothing new.

Ditto 25th Maj^r Daniel Whitting and Paymaster Tucker, left cherry Valley for Boston after clothing for y^e officers.

Ditto 26..27..28..29..30..31st Nothing new.

1779. Jan^y 1..2..3..4..5..6th Nothing new.

Ditto 7th The late Col^o Aldens Reg^t was muster^d by Col. Varrack at cherry Valley.

Ditto 8th W^m Hancock rec^d 100 lashes for theft — Cap^t Lane arrested for affronting Cap^t Ballard.

Ditto 9th Began to Snow. Com^y Woodman arriv^d from y^e River.

Ditto 10th 11..12..13..14th Nothing new.

Ditto 15th Cap^t Lane M^r Johnston and M^r Richey left cherry Valley for Albany.

Ditto 16..17th Nothing new.

Ditto 18th Went to Newtown Martin and bought two stacks of hay from James Bradshaw y^e weather very cold.

Ditto 19th 20..21st Nothing new.

Ditto 22^d Serj^t Dickerman with his wife left Cherry Valley for Stoughton, had leave of absence for 30 days.

Ditto 23^d 24th 25th Nothing new.

Ditto 26th Set out with 11 officers of the late Col. Alden's Reg^t for Fort Plank for the tryal of Cap^t Lane din^d at Fort Plank lodg^d at Goshen Van alstines on Mohawk River.

Ditto 27th Waited on the Court Marshall at M^r Severs in pallatina din^d ditto — Arriv^d at Fort Alden 9 . . O Clock P. M.

Ditto 28th 29th Nothing new.

Ditto 30th Rec^d a Quantity of Camp Equipage from Col Lewin [Lewis?] in Albany.

Ditto 31st Cold and blustering.

Feb^r 1st 1779 Cold.

Ditto 2^d Found Simeon Hopkins dead in y^e woods who was kill^d in the Action of the 11th Nov^r last and was buried at this garrison.

Ditto 3^d Heavy rain and Thaw.

„ 4th Very cold and froze hard.

„ 5th Very cold & blustering with Snow and wind.

Ditto 6th Cap^t Ballard sent out a Scout consisting of 17 men command^d by Lie^t Day to proceed as far as Lake Otsago 15 miles.

Ditto 7th Lie^t Day return^d without making any discoveries of y^e enemy.

Ditto 8th Nothing new.

Ditto 9th Maj^r Whitting arriv^d from furlow at cherry Valley.

February 10th Le^t Trowbridge arriv^d from Albany the weather warm.

Ditto 11th Cold and froze hard Lie^t Carter began to bile Sugar at cherry Valley.

Ditto 12th Left Fort Alden with Doc^r Brown 2 O'Clock P. M. & Rode to Bowman's Creek 5 miles, drank tea at M^r Wills — Serj^t Hunter arriv^d at said Wills from Schoharrow. lately deserted from y^e Indians 60 miles below Ocquaugo. — Gave us an account that he left them 25th Jan^r . . 1779, and another man with him said Hunter was taken on a Scout 10th Nov^r 1778. y^e day before y^e destruction of Cherry Valley — Informs that he was 7 days in the woods with little or no provisions — Informs that the last he knew of Col. Stacy he was well and in Good spirits; and told him not to mind it for it was only the fortune of war — Col. Stacy was in the hands of Col. Butler, and that the French Doctor was not very well — Says that only one of his party was Kill^d when he was taken, one Robert Bray when he ran from the Indian he brought off one brass Kettle and axe which he supposed much affronted y^e Indians as they Set much by them, further says not. I Bought 25 Skipples of pees from M^r Lyon afterward returned to fort Alden 9 . O'Clock P. M.: two Small Scout sent from fort Alden, return^d without making any discoveries.

Ditto 13th Went into y^e woods with Cap^t Lane to tap Sugar trees, Katch^d 8 Palefulls — a Small Scout went out this day from fort Alden returned without making any discoveries.

Ditto 14th Sunday. — Rainy weather Orders came from Gen^l Clinton for two Companies to be detach^d from fort Alden & Sent to fort Hercamin.

Ditto 15th Rode to Bowman's Creek for Waggon's to carry y^e baggage — Cap^t Lanes Sentence Read on y^e parade and clear^d from his Arrest.

Ditto 16th 11. O'Clock A. M. Cap^t Coburn march^d from Fort Alden for Fort Hercamin; with 1 Cap^t Lie^t 2 Subs: 6 Serj^t 6 Corp^t 4. D^t & fife Rank and file.

Ditto 17th An Express arriv^d from fort Plank to fort Alden Informs with two Letters from Onida that y^e Indians were On their march, but to what part they could not say.

Ditto 18th The inhabitants began to move into Fort Alden for fear of the Indians — Some snow and rain.

Ditto 19th Some rain pay M^r Tucker wrote to Maj^r Whitting and Inform^d him that he was at Mohawk river, with the money for the Reg^t & wanted orders to proceed which were Granted.

Ditto 20th Paymaster Tucker Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with two Months pay for the Reg^t.

Ditto 21st Paid the Reg^t &c.

„ 22^d Paymaster left Fort Alden for fort Hercamin.

„ 23 The Weather cool — was inform^d that Col^o Gansworth's Reg^t was on their march up Mohawk River.

Ditto 24th Cold & Blustering.

„ 25th Adj^t White left Fort Alden for Albany for a furlow.

Ditto 26th Snow and Rain mov^d from the meeting house into y^e Block house West-end of the Fort with Cap^t Lane and the Com^y — M^r Culley's familey mov^d from Fort Alden to y^e Mohawk River.

Ditto 27th Lie^t Curtis and Lie^t Thorp arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow rec^d 3 letters from Stoughton.

Ditto 28th An Express arriv^d from fort plank & informs that two Scout of the Indians were out 18 days and where destin^d they could not tell one of 30 the other 100 men.

March 1st 1779. Capt. B. Warren, Arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow.

Ditto 2^d Pleasant weather &c.

„ 3^d Made Sugar Troughs and katch^d some Sap.

„ 4th An Express arriv^d from Fort plank at Fort Alden Informs, that the enemy was on their move and was supposed that the Mohawk River was their object the intelligence came by two Indians from Niangary Sent an Express from Fort Alden to Schoharrow to Inform them of the matter.

Ditto 5th Snow^d very fast this day.

" 6th Some snow — W^m Hancock Rec^d 100 Lashes for theft — The late Col. Alden's Reg^t Muster^d in Fort Alden by M^r Lush D. M. master.

March 7th Sunday. Some Snow.

Ditto 8th Dull weather went to W^m Shanklins & brought in some oats.

Ditto 9th Some Snow — brought some hay from Newtown martin.

Ditto 10th Rode to Bowman's Creek with Doc^t Brown to purchase Oats & purchas^d 40 Skippl^s — Din^d at M^r Hickeys return^d to Fort Alden.

Ditto 11th Thunder and lightening some snow.

" 12th Snowy day — Sent to Bowman's Creek for Oats.

" 13th Col. Clyde & Doc^t Younglove arriv^d at Fort Alden.

" 14th Sunday — Snow^d this day — Eleven nine-months men discharg^d from fort Alden.

Ditto 15th Cold & Clear for the season.

Ditto 16th Nothing new.

" 17th Cap^t Tilman arriv^d at Fort Alden from Albany.

" 18th Clear and cool &c.

" 19th Some Snow — Cap^t Day arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow.

Ditto 20th Left Fort Alden with Com^d Woodman — crossed Mohawk River at Goshen Van Alstines din^d five miles West from Maj^r Fundars lodged at Sir W^m Castle.

Ditto 21st Sunday. Left Sir W^m Castle and din^d at Schenectady at M^r Johnstons — Snow^d in the after-noon Arriv^d at Albany at M^r Henry R. Lansings 5 . O'Clock, P. M.

Ditto 22^d Snow^d in the morning — saw Lie^t Lunt — arriv^d from furlow.

Ditto 23^d Lie^t Peebody left Albany on furlow — drank some punch at Cap^t Bogerts with Col^o Lewis & M^r Lansing.

March 24th Snowy day. A man was found dead between Albany and Schenectady in the highway.

Ditto 25th Snow^d day and dull weather.

" 26th & 27 Nothing New.

" 28th Sunday — Pleasant weather went to Church to hear M^r Livingston.

Ditto 29th Left . Albany with Com^d Woodman 9 . O'Clock A. M. Din^d at Schenectidy & Lodg^d at Sir W^m Castle.

Ditto 30th Left Sir W^m Castle 8 . O'Clock A. M. — din^d at mart. Van Alstines — Arriv^d at Fort Alden 6 . O'clock P . . M . . Snow 3 feet deep.

Ditto 31st Pleasant weather bil^d 16 lb Sugar.

April 1st 1779. Pleasant warm.. Snow two feet deep in Cherry Valley.

Ditto 2^d Pleasant weather snow went off fast.

„ 3^d Sultry hot Thunder and showers.

„ 4 Sunday. Cap^t Day left Fort Alden, for Fort Hercamin to take the com^d there; Snow all gone.

Ditto 5th Fort Alden alarm^d fir^d two Cannon it was said that some Indians was discover^d at the Beaver dam but turn^d out to be a false Alarm — one of the soldiers kill^d a wolf.

Ditto 6th Some snow and rain, cool weather Serj^t Smith arriv^d from furlow in fort Alden.

Ditto 7th Pleasant Weather.

„ 8th This day orders came to fort Alden for a detachment to March to fort Schyler.

Ditto 9th Cap^t Lane march^d from fort Alden for Fort Schyler with 2 subs 3 Serj^t 3 Corps, 52 rank and file.

Ditto 10th Pleasant and warm.

Ditto 11th Sunday — The Guard mounted with Serj^t & Corp^{ls} only in fort Alden to spell the men duty so hard.

Ditto 12th Weather cool & some Rain.

Ditto 13th This day Fort plank Alarm^d fir^d three cannon some Indians seen back of Johnston and took six prisoners by waylaying y^e Road one of them escap^d

Ditto 14.. 15.. 16.. & 17th Nothing remarkable — some snow fell.

„ 18th Sunday — cool & Snow Storm.

„ 19th Some snow fell Serj^t Wright return^d from Albany.

„ 20th Pleasant weather — made in my mess this spring 168 pounds of Maple Sugar in Cherry Valley.

Ditto 21st This day was Inform^d that one man was kill^d in Stone Arabia by the Indians & 5 prisoners taken above Fort plank.

Ditto 22^d This day was inform^d that a Cap^t of Militia in Tille Barrack back of Stone Arabia with 6 men fought y^e Indians y^e Cap^t lost 2 men & kill^d 4 Indians y^e Cap^t's wife was wounded — his son kill^d

Three Indians discov^d On brimstone hill by one of the inhabitants.

Ditto 23^d This day Ira Johnston arriv^d in Fort Alden, ran from the Indians he was taken 11th Nov^r last in Cherry Valley the way he left them was, he had been 150 miles twice last winter for corn for the Indians and carried one bushel on his back s^d way — the 3^d time came for corn within 20 miles of the Onida Castle where Continental troops were stationed — in the night ran from the Indian that he was with and reach^d Onida Castle was follow^d by y^e Indian but not overtaken — from said Castle came to Fort Schyler, from that to Fort Alden — inform^d us that Col Stacy Lie^t Holden & Ensign Garrett was all well the

last he had heard from them the rest of the prisoners were scattered among y^e Indians.

Ditto 24th Serj^t Merrill return^d from furlow at Fort Alden.

April 25th Sunday. Pleasant weather.

„ 26th Bought a horse in Cherry Valley Gave 105 Dollars for him.

Ditto 27th Pleasant weather.

„ 28. Some showers, Froze hard in the night.

„ 29th This day Cap^t Lane arriv^d in fort Alden from his Scout — Informs that he had been with a party under the command of Col. Van Scoik and cut of three Indian Castles at Onidauga [kill^d] 60 took 33 prisoners, burnt 47 houses and large quantities of corn — not one of the party kill^d.

Ditto 30th Some rain and some snow — cold for the season &c.

May 1st Pleasant weather — Nothing new.

„ 2^d (Sunday) This day a man arriv^d at Fort Alden — ran from the Indians was taken about a month ago, above fort Plank near Mohawk river he informs that Butler is out with a party of Indians, the late Prisoner has ben 8 days without any food excepting roots that he gather^d on his way.

Ditto 3^d Pleasant weather — This day sent our horses to pasture — some showers in the afternoon.

Ditto 4th The late Col Alden's Reg^t muster^d by Cap^t Lush — Cap^t Reed arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow Lie^t Buffinton L^t Givins, gone to Fort Hercamin.

Ditto 5th Cap^t Ballard & Cap^t Bogert from Albany went to the foot of Lake Otsago, to look out a good landing for the stores to be sent to that place — some squalls of snow to day.

Ditto 6th Cool weather for the season.

„ 7 Doctor Brown and Pay M^r Tucker arriv^d from Albany at Fort Alden.

May 8th Pay-Master . . began to pay the Reg^t.

„ 9th Sunday. Pleasant weather John Tolman arriv^d at Fort Alden from Stoughton.

Ditto 10th Pleasant weather &c.

„ 11th P. M. left Fort Alden for Fort Herciman.

„ 12th This day was Inform^d, that at the great flatts a few days agone was kill^d and Scalpt two men & three women one woman taken prisoner, two women more were scalp^d and are yet alive all done by the Indians.

Ditto 13. Some Rain and Cool.

„ 14th This day was inform^d that a large N^o of Indians was discover^d not far from fort Plank — a scout Ordered with 4 days provisions from Fort Alden — tomorrow to make discoveries — the people left Bowman's Creek — two families mov^d to fort Alden.

Ditto 15th Ensⁿ Parker arriv^d at Fort Alden from Fort Herkiman from his Command.

Ditto 16th (Sunday) Lie^t Carter left Fort Alden with the Regemental return for Albany — Some of the enemy discoverd near this garrison this evening.

Ditto 17th 3. O'clock this morning the centry discharg^d his piece at a man that was making towards him the garrison was alarm'd and man'd the lines, the Enemy was discover^d no more at this time — Lie^t Lunt was appointed to do the duty of an Adjutant.

Ditto 18th Some rain and cloudy dark weather.

May 19th This morning 9. O'Clock. I left Fort Alden with Lie^t Day and com^r Woodman for Mohawk river after flour for the Garrison — din^d at Goshen Van. Alstines. Some rain this day.

May 20th Left the River 2. O'Clock P. M. Rain^d very hard. Arrived at Fort Alden 6 O'clock P. M. was very wet.

Ditto 21st Some Rain this morning.

„ 22^d Cap^t Lane and Lie^t Curtis ran a race Cap^t Lane was beat.

Ditto 23^d (Sunday) Very pleasant this day.

Ditto 24th Pinkster day among the Dutch.

Ditto 25th Col Clyde arriv^d at Fort Alden — Informs that Col. Gansworts Reg^t was on their march up Mohawk River.

Ditto 26th Some rain this day, sold my two horses for 750 dollars L^t Carter arriv^d from Albany.

Ditto 27th This afternoon about 7 O'Clock three men was discover^d within musket shot of this Garrison the centry fir^d on them they made to the bush and were seen no more the lines were man^d we supposed them to be spies.

Ditto 28th This day three men were discoverd again near the garrison, Serj^t Clerk fir^d his Rifle at them they made off — sent a party of men after them, but could not over take them.

Ditto 29th Adj^t White arriv^d in Fort Alden from Boston with the Gratuity money for some of y^e men.

Ditto 30 (Sunday) Went out as far as M^r Larklins with Doctor Brown and Com^r Woodman to view that part of the Town.

Ditto 31st Sent the baggage of the Reg^t to Albany agreeable to the generals orders — Serj^t Cutting, Serj^t Connant with two french Recruits arriv^d in Fort Alden — A man was shot in Albany this day. — Adj^t set out for Fort Herkimen.

June 1st Lie^t Day left Fort Alden for Albany on command, adj^t White return^d from Fort Herkimin.

Ditto 2^d Cool weather for the season — This day was inform^d not many days ago 6 Indians took two men prisoners from turlough [*sic*] (12 miles from Fort Alden) carried them as far as Ocquaugo where two of the indians left the party to go on to inform their brothers of their

success, when the 4 that was left got asleep the two prisoners took their hatchets and kill^d 2 of the Indians the other 2 awoke and started the white men being two ready for them wounded them both and the 2 Indians fled, the two late prisoners took the Indian's Arms of the dead & those that had fled with only their lives, and made their escape — the Indians soon were alarm^d in that quarter and came to the ground, Set the woods all on fire, so that they might discover their tracks that had made their escape, but to no purpose the 2 late English prisoners escap^d clear — I have had the pleasure since to see the man that kill^d the two Indians it was M^r Sawyer.

Ditto 3^d A very hard frost last night which kill^d the blossoms at this place.

Ditto 4th This morning 2 O Clock this garrison was alarm^d the centry had fir^d on a man that was creeping towards him but soon ran off and was discoverd no more the lines were man^d.

Ditto 5th P. master Tucker arriv^d in Fort Alden with clothing for the Reg^t — Informs that the British Troops has got to the highlands above N. York — Lie^t Peebody arriv^d in Fort Alden from Furlow.

June 6th (Sunday) L^t Day arriv^d in Fort Alden from Albany.

Ditto 7th P master Tucker gave out the cloathing to the Reg^t in this garrison.

Ditto 8th . . P master Tucker left Fort Alden with cloathing for the men at Fort Herkiman.

Ditto 9th Warm and showry.

Ditto 10th This day the Centry discov^d a man creeping towards the wood choppers centry fir^d on him he was seen no more.

Ditto 11th Cold weather for the season.

„ 12th A Scout was ordered from Fort Alden, return^d without making any discoveries of the enemy.

Ditto 13 (Sunday) Heavy rain, — this day was informed — that some days ago the Indians took 6 prisoners from Germantown above German-Flatts and let one of them return which was an old woman.

Ditto 14th This day Orders came to Maj^r Whiting from Gen^l Clinton, for the Reg^t to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hours warning and Gen^l Clinton was to make his Head quarters in Cennago-harry for a few days.

Ditto 15th The Provisions in Fort Alden all condem^d. Com^r Woodman went to Mohawk River after provisions for the Garrison.

Ditto 16th Maj^r Whiting rec^d a letter from Gen^l Clinton to wait on him at the River Com^r Woodman Arriv^d from s^d River.

Ditto 17th Maj^r Whiting and adj^t White went to the river and return^d with orders for the Reg^t to march tomorrow for lake Otsago.

Ditto 18th The Reg^t march^d from Fort Alden (in Cherry Valley) 11 . O'Clock . A. M. encamp^d this night in Springfield 6 miles from the

Fort Maj: Whiting ordered a fatiguing party on to mend the Roads towards the Lake it was command^d by Cap^t Ballards.

Ditto 19th The Reg^t march^d from Springfield with 8 waggons carrying the baggage 12 . O'Clock A. M. Arriv^d at Lake Otsago 3 . O'Clock P. M: Cap^t Lane had gone forward to clear the encampment — Encamp^t on the heights 5 miles march this day.

Ditto 20th (Sunday) Clear^d the passage for the waggons to unload the stores — 60 Batteaus arriv^d at this lake & a Quantity of provisions from the River.

Ditto 21st The Light Infantry company & late Col. Aldens join the Reg^t at this place from Fort Herkamin — a party of men was order^d By Col. Butler to the foot of the lake to dam the same that the water might be raised to carry the boats currant down Susquehanna-River — Cap^t Warren 6 Mas^a Reg^t commanded the party — This day a man was hang^d at Mohawk river taken up for a spy that was viewing the stores as they pass^d up the River he Inform^d Gen^l Clinton that he was a Lic^t in butler service which is now with the Indians also Informs that another Tory & 9 Indians came off with him.

Ditto 22^d The late Col Aldens Reg^t muster^d by Cap^t Lush at this Lake Col. Butler and Maj: Whiting went to the foot of the lake to view that Post.

Ditto 23^d A N^o of boats Provisions arriv^d at the Lake this day.

Ditto 24th Boats & provisions arrives at this Lake very fast 500 waggons going steady — A soldier shot at the River this day for desertion.

Ditto 25th A committee began to inspect the provisions at this Lake found but little of the same damaged.

June 26th Col Duboises Reg^t Arriv^d at this Lake and proceeded in Boats to Lows Mills.

Ditto 27th (Sunday) One of the Rifle men was fir^d upon by the Indians in Springfield, was wounded but made his escape with the loss of his fire arms.

Ditto 28th Went to camp Liberty at Lows Mills (and din^d at that place) Gen^l Clinton gave Each officer on the ground at this post one cag of Rum containing two Gall. — one man hang^d at Mohawk River taken up for a spy from Butler's camp thats with the Indians.

June 29th The camp was Alarm^d by the firing some Guns by officers going to camp Liberty.

Ditto 30th Nothing new this day.

July 1st 1779. Nothing new.

Ditto 2^d Gen^l Clinton arriv^d at Lake Sago from Mohawk river, Col. Butlers Reg^t & Col. Ganseworts arriv^d and crossed the Lake with the Gen^l and encamp^t at the foot of s^d Lake, Col Wisenfields Reg^t Arriv^d at the Lake but did not cross, the Gen^l order^d all the Provisions to be mov^d immediately to the foot of the Lake.

Ditto 3^d Col. Wisenfields Reg^t & Col. Dubois cross^d the Lake and encamp^t with the other troops at that place, the Gen^l left Maj^r Whiting with his Reg^t to bring up the rear of the Army.

Ditto 4th (Sunday) P. M. Gen^l & com^r Gen^l arriv^d at this Lake with the rear of the Stores, 30 Indians arriv^d at this Lake to go the expedition with Gen^l Clinton, they were commanded by Col^l Hunyary.

Ditto 5th The 6th Mass^{ts} Reg^t cross^d the Lake with the rear of the Stores and encamp^t with the rest of the troops at that place.

July 6th Rainy and very windy Col Rignier began to review the troops.

Ditto 7th The 6th Mass^{ts} Reg^t review^d by Col. Regnier.

„ 8th Two of our centries fired on two men in the bush, suppos^d them to be spies — the officers drew each one Cag more of Rum.

Ditto 9th Pleasant weather.

„ 10th Nothing new.

„ 11th (Sunday) Heavy storm of Rain.

„ 12th cool weather for the season.

„ 13 Solomon Steel soldier in 6 Mass^{ts} Reg^t drop^t down dead as he was roling provisions to the Store.

Ditto 14th Alarm this night by the centries, firing some Guns, suppos^d the saw men advancing to them but soon disappear^d.

Ditto 15th Took a tour on the Lake fishing.

„ 16th The weather cool for the season very unholosome at this place some days warm and the next after cool — a N^o of the troops sick with the dissentary.

Ditto 17th Doct^r Younglove arriv^d in camp from Mohawk river.

Ditto 18th (Sunday) I attended publick service at this Lake M^r Greno deliver^d the sermon Chaplain to Gen^l Clinton's Brig^d, his text was taken from 22nd Job. 21. V.

Ditto 19th Nothing new.

„ 20th Major Dow arriv^d from Albany, (Cap^t Parker arriv^d from furlow in this camp) two deserters were brought to the 6th Mass^{ts} Reg^t that had left it a few days Agone, (Serj^t Spears & Johnathan Peirce.)

Ditto 21st Three deserters brought into this camp (that had not left it many days) one belonging to the 4th Pensylvania Reg^t was tied up immediately and rec^d 500 lashes it being back allowance due to him some days before he deserted and was forgave by his Col.

Ditto 22^d Began to build an Oven for the Reg^t

„ 23 An Indian arriv^d in this camp from Fort Schyler, Informs that 1400 Indians and Tories were collected to intercept our march down the river.

Ditto 24th Serj^t Spears whip^t 100 lashes one soldier more 100 lashes with him — three men sentenc^d to be shot by the same Gen^l Court Martial Monday next.

Ditto 25th (Sunday) Rainy weather.

„ 26th The three Prisoners reprieved until Wednesday next.

„ 27th An express arrived in this Camp this day Informs, that Genl Wane has taken a small Fort from the enemy at Stonny Point on North River and Captured 550 Men — also informs that Majr Hopkins with a N^o of officers from Col Warners Regt are killed at Sabbath Days point, below Crown point they were out on a Party of pleasure, and were surprised . . by a N^o of Indians. Also informs that thirty two men and one Lieut are killed and taken at the Areseo Fields near Fort Schyler, they were out making hay.

Ditto 28th This morning 9 O Clock in Camp Lake Otsago Jonathan Peirce soldier in 6th Mass^{ts} Regt Frederick Snyder 4 Pennsylvania Regt Anthony Dunnavan 3^d New York Regt were all brought on the grand Parade to be shot to death for desertion the two former were reprieved and the latter Shot to death — he deserted from Saint John's last winter and enlisted in Albany in y^e 4th N-York Regt

Ditto 29th An Express arrived this day informs that a body of the enemy has been discovered near fort Schyler including some British troops.

July 30th Very pleasant weather which is something remarkable at this place.

Ditto 31st Lieut Peebody Arrived from Mohawk river with fat cattle for the use of the troops at this post.

August 1st Mr Greno, Deliverd a Sermon.

„ 2^d Pleasant weather eat a rarity Apples and Cucumbers the first I have eat this year.

Ditto 3^d Pleasant weather, an Indian arrived from Onida in this camp Informs by a letter from Col. Lewe that two Indians from the enemy brought in the account that 50 men had been killed lately at the Minisinks by Indians.

Ditto 4th An Express Arrived from Genl Sullivan to Genl Clinton in this camp — informs that Genl Clinton's division will march in a few days.

Ditto 5th Warm days & cool Nights at this place.

„ 6 Nothing new.

„ 7 This day all the light infantry Paraded, belonging to the several Regts was inspected by Col. Wm Butler 4th Pensy^a Regt who is to have the command of them together with the Rifle corps.

Ditto 8th (Sunday) All the boats loaded ready to proceed down the river to morrow — this Evening 6 O'Clock the sluice way was broke up and the water filled the river immediately where a boat could pass, which was almost dry before — this Lake is 8 Miles long and very level was raised in the upper part of it by this dike one foot perpendicular.

Aug^t 9th The Troops embarked on board the boats 9, O Clock this morning excepting those that went by land at 10 proceeded down

Susquehannah River, 4th Pensy^a Reg^t in front 3^d N. York in Rear and arriv^d at M^r Culleys farm without much trouble by the crooks and turns in this River which are very plenty the land on the sides of this River very Good and rich soil — Kill^d a large N^o of rattle Snakes which were very plenty at this place, and very large came 30 Miles by water and 16 by land this day.

Ditto 10th Rainy in the morning 2 O'Clock P. M. embark^d, and proceeded as far as Yokeums farm and encamp^t which is 8 Miles by water and 5 by land, the form of our March is as follows — Rifle men and light infantry in front Com^d by Col. W^m Butler, detach^d from each Reg^t to march opposite the boats with a strong rear Guard cattle in centre.

Ditto 11th Embark^d 7 O'clock A. M. proceeded without much trouble as far as Ogden's Farm and encamp^t on the right of the River 25 Miles by water and 15 by land this day — the land very fine at this place, the land in Gen^l by the sides of this River when one side is good the other is barren — The Gen^l order^d each officer one Quart of Rum and one Gill to each other man.

Ditto 12th Embark^d 7 O'clock AM arriv^d at the Scotch Settlement 2 O'Clock P. M. 15 Miles Ogdens where I went on shore and gather^d a quantity of berrys and made a Bowl of Punch — Our troops burnt two houses, Arriv^d at Unadilla 3 O'clock P. M. and encamp^t half a mile above Demini Johnston's Farm — the land very good at this place the houses are all destroy^d by the Indians last summer — Some Indian tracks discover^d by the front Guard this day. — This is the place where Gen^l Hercamin held the first Council with Brant and the Indians after this war commenc^d.

Ditto 13th Embark^d 6 O'clock A. M. proceeded half a mile and halted by reason of the Rapids proceeded on and encamp^t 4 O'clock P. M. on an Indian Island which had ben improv^d by them left hand River 25 Miles by water 10 by land this day.

Ditto 14. Embark^d 9 O'clock A. M. proceeded on and Arrived at Ocquaugo and encamp^t 5 O'clock P. M. the land very fine at this place 10 Miles by land 15 by water this day — Some Apple-trees at this place this is the Indian Settlement that Colonel W^m Butler burnt last fall.

Ditto 15th (Sunday) M^r Greno deliver^d a sermon this day, a soldier of the 4th Pensy^a Reg^t died of a putrid fever and was buried under Arms with three vollies fir^d over his Grave Gen^l Clinton is waiting for some Militia to join him from the North river.

Ditto 16th This Onnaquaugo is pleasantly situated on both sides of the river and on Island in the center the Ruins of about 60 houses which appears by the cellars and wells that it was a fine Settlement before it was destroy^d considering they were Indians One English

family lived with them 4th Pensy^a Reg^t went out to escort the Militia into this place but return^d without seeing them.

Ditto 17th Fir^d a cannon this morning to inform the Militia that the troops were not gone. embark^d 10 O Clock A. M. proceeded on 6 Miles and then made a halt to let the troops ford the River. — Burnt a N^o of Indians houses at the lower end of Onnaquango, some fine Orchards with plenty of Apples in them on the banks of this River, but the troops were not allow^d to stop and get any of them — pass^d a large rapid and made a halt, this river is very crooked and you will run all points in the day — it divides in some places into 6 different Streams — leaves one sufficient to carry a large boat. Arriv^d at Tiscarora village about sunset and encamp^t right hand of the river — The Rifle men found some Sides of tan^d leather in a fat [*sic*] in the woods — made other discoveries found a dead man put under the roots of a wind fall (which was suppos^d him to be a prisoner that they had lately taken) found a war post which the Indians had put up with marks cut in the same in token of their Scalps, and prisoners, destroy^d two houses. discover^d a batteau painted on a ledge of Rocks left hand of the river which was a token that the Indians knew of their enemy's coming as the kept runners constantly before our Army — came 25 miles by water and 15 by land this day.

Ditto 18th Embarked 7 O Clock A. M. proceeded one Mile and burnt one house right hand of the river went a little further and burnt two more, Arriv^d half a mile below Cheningo Creek and turn^d back to said creek and encamp^t the Gen^l detach^d a party of men to go up said Creek and destroy^d Cheningo town which was don — Two men from Gen^l Poor arriv^d to Gen^l Clinton and informs that Gen^l Poor will be within 8 miles of this camp this Night to escort Gen^l Clintons Troops to Gen^l Sullivan — came 25 Miles by water and 16 by land this day — Encamp^t right hand of the river.

Ditto 19th Embark^d 8 O Clock A. M. and proceeded on one mile and burnt 7 houses, left hand of the river, went a few miles and burnt 2 more same side of the river. Arriv^d at Chukkanut, 9 O Clock A. M. where Gen^l Poor's Division were encamp^t — About 11 hundred men, burnt 5 houses at this place 5 miles By water and 4 by land from our last Encampment to this place this is a fine large Flatt chiefly on the right hand of the River going down the army proceeded on and arriv^d, at Owago about sunset this is a large Indian Settlement and fine land — Encamp^t at this place, this is the Indian town that Serj^t hunter was Carried to that was taken 10th Nov^r last below Cherry Valley on this same River as he was returning with his Scout — heavy rain this night, the Gen^l detach^d a party and sent them and burnt the town at this place About two Miles up a little Creek — 18 Miles by water and 14 by land this day.

Ditto 20th heavy Rain this day which detained the troops from marching — There was but one Barrel of rum in the Store which the Gen^l ordered to be equally divided between the officers which was one Point each — The Land which I have pass^d in gen^l down this river is very good but when the flats are good on the one side the other is mountany and the flats narrow from the river.

Ditto 21st Embarked 7 O'clock A. M. proceeded on our way and encampt 3 O clock P. M. opposite an old Indian field about 500 Acres clear^d and very good — left hand of the river — saw some fine land on the sides of the river this day some pleasant mountains clear^d by fire — discover^d in the camp two Indian's bodies, lately buried only cover^d with turf, and the bones of one man that had ben burnt to death, saw the tree that they took the pitch splinters from, supposed him (that was burnt) to be an English Prisoner they had taken, and this was done in revenge for one of their Brothers that had been kill^d — Two of our boats ran on the rapids one of which was stove, both loaded with Ordinance Stores — 14 Boxes ruin^d 27,000 Cartri^{es} in the Same 3 barrels of Powder We are now 6 Miles from Gen^l Sullivans camp — One Fitch Jerritt had lived at this place and is now with Gen^l Sullivan as a Pilate — 20 Miles by water 14 by land this day.

Ditto 22^d (Sunday) Embarked 7 O'clock A. M. Arriv^d at Gen^l Hands detachment of light troops 9. O'clock A. M. where our troops were saluted from the land with 13 Cannon proceeded on one Mile further and arriv^d at Tioga where Gen^l Sullivan's troops were campt on the West side of the river — Encampt $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 O Clock A M in an Old Indian Field a large quantity of land clear^d at this place — which is very good the Field officers all din^d with Gen^l Sullivan this day — All Mountains on the East side of this River at this place — Tioga Branch Leads from this into the Cinnaku [Seneca?] nation — 6 miles By water & 5 by land this day.

Ditto 23^d Cap^t Kimbal P. master to Col. Cilley's Reg^t this day was accidentally shot to death, and two soldiers wounded by the same gun that was carelessly discharged by a soldier of said Reg^t — New Hampshire Forces — Fine pleasant weather.

Ditto 24th Struck tents in the afternoon and proceeded on to our line of March. 6 Mass^{us} Reg^t join^d Gen^l Poor's brigade.

Augst 25th The troops all ordered to March and leave the ground at 8 O clock A. M. but were detain^d by a heavy rain.

Ditto 26th 11 O clock A. M. the army march^d and left the ground proceeded on about 5 miles and encampt on a pine plain by the side of a Large flatt about 500 Acres in the same well cover^d with grass — one deer ran through the camp.

Ditto 27th, Cap^t Day and Lie^t Carter with 25 men from the 6th Mass^{us} Reg^t are left in Fort Sullivan with the baggage the Army

proceeded on this morning 8 O clock over hills and mountains, made a halt for the Pack horses and waggons to pass a large defile some men detach^d to get them over about sunset march^d forward and arrived at a large Indian settlement 11 . O clock P. M. a large quantity of corn beans and other sauce at this place — the land very good, large flats — much trouble this day with the Pack horses their loads often falling off. — came 7 miles this day.

Ditto 28th Pleasant weather — the troops lay on this ground until 3 O clock P. M. waiting for Gen^l Clinton's Brigade to come on and to destroy the corn. After a signal of three cannon the Army mov^d on the first for striking tents 2^d for Loading the baggage 3^d for Marching &c and proceeded over a large mountain about 2 miles high — arriv^d at Chemung about Sunset and Encampt near the river — came 4 Miles this day.

Ditto 29th (Sunday) This morning the camp was alarm^d by the firing some guns, but turn^d out to be the Riflemen clearing out their Arms — the Army mov^d on. 8 O Clock A. M. — at 1 . P. M. our front guard discovered the enemy's breast-works at Newtown — the army made a halt, and was ordered in line of Battle — the Artillery under the command of Col. Procter soon began to cannonade their works with Ball and Shells — Gen^l Poor's Brig^{ad} were Posted on their left and had to climb a large mountain while the savages kept a smart fire on them from the top of said mountain, but Gen^l Poor's Brig^{ad} soon gain^d the enemy's ground which were oblig^d to take to their heels for safety and leave a good deal of their baggage behind them — such as blankets, packs &c. — the enemy was soon attack^d from right to left in one hour they left their works and fled before the brave continental troops leaving behind them, one of their Chiefs and a N^o of others dead in the field — making in the whole 14 Indians — one Negro. and one white man, fell prisoner into our hands — their breastwork was made of pine Logs cover^d with green skrub bushes that no one might discover the same until they were quite on it — it extended near half a mile in length and from their right to their left one mile and half — the loss of Gen^l Sullivan's army is one Lie^t 3 Soldiers kill^d 34 wounded — including 1 Maj^r 1 Cap^t — in the 6th Mass^a Reg^t one man kill^d 6 wounded included in the above N^o Came 5 miles this day the name of the Lie^t that was kill^d was McColley — Encampt — large quantities of corn and sauce at this place.

Ditto 30th The army employ^d this day in destroying the corn.

Gen^l Sullivan requested the troops to take half allowance for the present which was agreed to by the Army as the corn and other sauce is very plenty at this place — the wounded with the waggons and part of the cannon, were sent down this night to Fort Sullivan.

Augst 31st 1779. The Army mov^d on 11 O Clock, A. M. march^d chiefly

on plains & flats, had very fine marching this day — Encampt on a pine plain.

Our Riflemen discov^d some Indians — 12 miles march to-day.

Sept. 1st The Army mov^d on 10. O Clock A. M. marched 5 Miles on this plain and came to a defile a large marsh on the left hand — The Pack horses were detained some time by passing a narrow passage close under the mountain — soon arriv^d at a long-swamp, where the Artillery and Pack horses by reason of large gully's and miry sloughs found it very difficult to pass — this swamp is 9 miles through the Army arriv^d at Queen Catherine's Castle 9. O'clock P. M. Excepting Genl Clintons Brigade campt in the swamp as it brought up the rear of the Army could not get through — Some of the Pack-horses Died in this swamp and a N^o of them left with their drivers all night, as they could not reach through — the Indians had left this place but a few hours, when our front guard arriv^d, as their fires were burning — there was a creek ran through this town, there was five houses one side of said Creek and six the other — the Queens Pallace was a gambril ruft house about 30 feet long and 18 wide — I campt by the side of a log on a piece of bark that came off one of their houses, by a fire the Indians had left, without any blanket, as my baggage tarried all night in the Swamp (I was very cold) the worst rout this day I have seen on the march — came 14 Miles this day.

Sept 2^d This day the troops were employ^d in wash^g their cloathing (and lay still to recruit the horses) and let the rear of the Army come up &c the Genl detach^d a party of Volunteers to pursue the enemy, but return^d without discovering any of them — Our troops found an old Indian squaw at this place that the Indians had left by reason of her being so old that she could not travel with them — the land is very good at this place, own^d all by this Queen — there was one Dutch family liv^d here, and are gone off with the rest; there was a N^o of feather beds found in his house and two horses found in his fields.

Ditto 3^d The army mov^d on at 8 O'clock A. M. march^d in the Indian path, the roads very good this day — pass^d some fine land timber^d with Oak and Walnut — march^d by a creek, which ran through a large meadow — Our front guard discov^d some Indians in a corn field, which fled and left their Kettles on the fire — Encampt on a heighth about 6 miles from an Indian Village — the horses had only bushes for forrage this night — came 12 miles this day.

Ditto 4th This morning the troops were ordered to march at sunrise, but were detain^d by reason of the rain — the Army mov^d on 9. O clock A. M. arriv^d at an Indian Settlement 11: O clock A. M. where we burnt 6 houses and destroy^d some fields of corn, joining the Cinnaka Lake — where I had a full view of s^d Lake, and appear^d to me like a small Ocean — the Land the Army march^d over this day, is very fine and not

mountany — some of the Pack-horses gave out and died under their Loads partly for want of forrage — Gen^l Sullivan sent off two Indians as Expresses one to Col. Broadhead the other to Onida (those two Indians were from Onida) Encampt on a piece of fine Land, little or no under brush, wooded chiefly with white oak — the horses had bushes for fodder this night — I gathered a quantity of wild Oranges this day as large as common limes — the Enemy had wrote on several trees that Gen^l Sullivan might pursue, but would soon meet with trouble.

Sept 5th (Sunday) The Army mov^d on, 9 O. clock A. M. the land our army march^d over this day is very good and level. Pass^d two large Gulleys which made it very difficult for the Pack horses to pass — the Army arriv^d at appletown or Saint Coy. 2. O'clock P. M. where we found 13 houses and a large old orchard and some peach trees — Three grand tombs where it is supposed they buried some of their chiefs, they were all painted very fine, and cover^d with a frame and bark, on the top of the whole — some of the houses were made of hew^d timber and one of them had a chimney in it. 11 of those houses stood on a ridge about 60 rods long and 20 rods wide; on this place stood the Orchard which appear^d to be planted many years — Near this Town was all bushes the piece I have mentioned, only excepted, which is a custom with them to have no land cleared near their houses: their corn fields were about half a mile from the town but the corn was chiefly gone before the Army arriv^d — The Army encampt at this place — A prisoner came to our army inform^d Gen^l Sullivan that he left the Indians last friday and made his escape — he was taken by them last summer at Wyoming and brought to this place — says that the Enemy left this town last Thursday & Friday, and that their strength Now with Butler is about seven hundred Indians and Tories and that Butler means to fight us again — the Gen^l order^d the apple trees all girdled or cut down which was done — the houses burnt — came 6 miles this day.

Sept 6th This morning the army was detain^d from marching, by reason of the guards losing 60 or 70 head of fat Cattle last Night — A party of men were sent out in quest of them, and found about half of them — the Army march^d on at 2. O'clock P. M. proceeded on about four miles and Encampt near the Lake which is at this place, about 8 miles acrost the water very clear and gravelly bottom — came over fine land this day and level — came 4 miles this day.

Sept 7th The Army mov^d on at 8. O'Clock A. M. proceeded on 8 miles and came to the foot of the Great Cinnakee Lake about 12, O'clock A. M. the army forded the outlet of this Lake which was two rods acrost about two feet deep the water, with a swift currant — the Army march^d on the beach at the foot of this lake, from one side to the other, which was about three miles — Swamp on the right hand and water on the left, this Lake is 40 miles long and 8 miles wide at the

widest part — the land on the west side is very level, and not mountany — 80 miles from Tioga, to the foot of this lake — The army burnt two houses at the foot of this lake, was said they belonged to the Cinnakee King and made use of one of them as a summer seat — the Army proceeded on two miles and arriv^d at Cannondesago the chief Cinnakee castle about dusk, where we found about 80 houses something large — some of them built with hew^d timber & part with round timber and part with bark. Large quantities of corn and beans with all sorts of sauce, at this place a fine Young Orchard, which was soon all girdled by the pioneers — this town lays very compact not more than 100 rods from outside to outside. came 10 miles this day — the foot of this Lake lays exact East.

Sep^r 8th This day the Army lay at this place to recruit — The Gen^l sent a detachment to destroy some houses and corn, on the sides of this Lake, which was done — at our first arrival at this place, there was found a man child about 4 years old naked, left by the Savages. Must be the child of some white prisoner they had taken.

Sep^r 9th The Troops were ordered to march at 6 O'clock this morning, but were detained by reason of a heavy rain — Cap^t Reed set out for Fort Sullivan with the invalids from this place — The troops mov^d on 11. O'clock A. M. and march^d the Artillery in an Indian path — the Indian fields continued near 5 miles on our way from this Castle. very good road this day — excepting one small swamp but pass^d the same without much trouble — After marching 7 miles came to a brook, the first water the Army pass^d this day — three brigades cross^d the brook half a mile and encamp^t — Gen^l Clinton's brigade did not cross — came 7 miles and half this day.

Sep^r 10th The Army mov^d on 8 O'clock A. M. proceeded on 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles through swampy ground, and then arriv^d at an Indian Field, which continued for some miles — Came to a large Lake forded the Outlet, which was two feet deep about, four rods acrost. proceeded half a mile and arriv^d at Cannonowago — a Ginnacee Castle where was 19 houses about 1. O'clock P. M. fire was set to then soon which consumed them to Ashes in a short time — the Army proceeded on $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile and encamp^t near their Corn, which was in great plenty, near a mile in length. Came 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles to day.

Sep^r 11th The Army mov^d on 6 O'clock A. M. (as the corn was destroy^d Yesterday) had very good roads this day the land very good and level pass^d a N^o of Indian fields which were all covered with large quantities of Indian grass — Arriv^d 3. O'clock P. M. to a Ginnacee Castle of 8 houses, Great plenty of corn and beans at this place, the Army encamp^t (this Castle call^d Onnayayon) this town is on a fine piece of intervale land and well water^d by fine springs and a small brook running through the same, which is very rare to be found in this

country and in general the Towns I have pass^d stand on poor land. — Came 13 miles this day.

Sept. 12th 1779 (Sunday) The troops were ordered to march this morning at 6 O'clock. but were detain^d by the rain, the Army mov^d on 1 O'clock P. M. and proceeded 4 miles and came to a lake which was on our left hand, forded the out-let which was one rod acrost and one foot deep with water, (myself cross^d on a tree that was fell acrost the same) went 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles further and the Army encamp^t on the side of a large hill — where was but little or no under brush — The Gen^l left part of the Stores with one of the field pieces and a strong guard at the place the troops left this day — The rout very good this day — came 11 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Sept. 13th The Army mov^d on 6 O'clock A. M. proceeded on one and half miles and arriv^d at Yoxsaw, a Ginnasee Town, where was 10 houses that were soon burnt — great plenty of corn, and all sorts of sauce at this place, Great N^o of Peach trees which our troops soon cut down. — The Army made a halt at this place for breakfast and to distroy the corn — About 12. O'clock A. M. the Indians attack^d a party of our men that were sent out Yesterday as a discovering party command^d by Lie^t Boy^d, they were returning to camp and were about one mile from the same, when the Indians discover^d them, with the Lie^t was a N^o of the Riflemen some Musket men, and one Onida Chief making in the whole 27 men 11. of the N^o made their escape, the rest were kill^d and taken. Our troops were making a bridge acrost a Miry River at this place (Whenden), our Army mov^d on and arriv^d at, Costeroholly, (a Ginnacee Castle) about sunset, where some of the Enemy were discover^d but soon fled — Where was 12 houses which were soon Burnt, by the men that escaped in the late Action, we are inform^d that a N^o of the Indians were kill^d and that their N^o in Said Battle were 200 — the Onida Chief was kill^d and cut to Pieces — came 8 miles this day.

Sept. 14th I should mention that the Riflemen Yesterday took 100 Pack that the Indians had left in their flight — together with their ket-tles and blankets. — The army was employ^d this forenoon in distroying the corn at this place, which was done by throwing part of it into the River and part was burnt — The army mov^d on at 1. O Clock P. M. and forded a deep creek, cross^d the large Ginnacee flats two miles — Forded the Ginnacee River 8 rods acrost. and knee deep, swift current, which made it very difficult to pass — came on a height the other side of this flatt, where I had a full view of the same and suppose there is 10,000 acres in it of clear^d land level and all cover^d with grass as high as a man's head — proceeded on over hills and swamps and arriv^d sun one hour high at night; — at the grand Ginnacee Castle where was 120 houses the most of them compact together — where at our arrival we found the body of the brave Lie^t Boy^d and the body of one of the Serj^{ts} that was

with him both of their heads cut off. the Lie^t was all skinned, his back much bruised, his nails burnt out, and many stabs in his body; his brother sufferer was in the like condition, with a knife sticking in his back — their bodies much eat by dogs — The Army encamp^t at this place — came 6 miles this day.

Sep^r 15th. This morning the whole army was ordered out to distroy the corn at this place $\frac{2}{3}$ at work while $\frac{1}{3}$ guarded them; — this was done by carrying part into the houses, which were sav'd for that purpose, the biggest part was burnt in the fields, there was the largest quantity of corn. beans and all sorts of sauce at this Castle that I have seen in one place on my march, as it was their head castle It was suppos^d by the army that there was 1000 acres at this place, and the land very fine and rich — The land from Yoxsaw to this appears to be the best in this country that I have seen though in general all very good, but not well watered — A woman and little child came into our camp this day, that the enemy had left behind them, she informs Gen^l Sullivan, that she was taken from Wyoming by the Indians last summer, and had ben with them ever since; likewise informs that the enemy are much distress^d with hunger and frighted at the approach of the Gen^l's Army, and thinks he is bound for Niagara — 1 . O'clock P. M. the army left this place and began their march back for Tioga as they are now 150 miles from the same. — Set this Town all in flames as there has not one house ben burnt since our arrival, but as I mentioned before were referr^d to distroy the corn in — Cross^d the large River (I mentioned before) about sun-set and Encamp^t on this large flatt near Casteroholly.

Sept. 16th This morning the army was employ^d in distroying Corn that was left when the Army mov^d up, which was in great plenty on this flatt. The Army moved on at 9 O'clock A. M. and arriv^d at Yoxsaw 3. O'clock P. M. where the Army halted and encamp^t to distroy corn that was left at this place — Our dead was Gathered together and buried, that was kill^d y^e 13th Instant, 13 white men and one Indian was found dead in a small compass of ground, they were all Scalpt and hak^d with Tommahawks, the Indian was cut almost all to pieces (it was Cap^t Hunyost from Onida) in the whole 16 kill^d 11 escap^d making 27 in the party — Hard frost this night.

Sep^r 17th. The Army mov^d on this morning 6 . O.Clock and arrived at Onnayauyan — 12 O'clock A. M. where we found our Stores in good order, the troops that were left with them had made an Abbertee [abatis?] fort for their Security against the enemy.

Sep^r 18th This morning the Army mov^d on at 7. O'clock Arriv^d at Cannonowago 4 . O'Clock P. M. forded the Out-let of the Lake and encamp^t — a N^o of Onida Indians with one of their Cheifs met us this day.

Sept 19th Sunday . . the Army mov^d on this morning 7 . O'clock arrived at the half way brook 12 . O'Clock A. M. and made a halt for

the troops to refresh themselves 3, men as Express from Newtown, met Genl Sullivan this day informs that there is 6 days provisions for the Army at that Post .. proceeded on and arriv^d at Cannondesago, sun half an hour high at night, and encamp^t on our old camping ground.

Sep^t 20th. This forenoon the Army lay at this place the Genl detach^d a party under the command of Col. Gansewort to proceed for Albany after the baggage that was left at that place — another party up the side of the Cinnakee Lake to distroy corn — the Army mov^d on 3 . O'Clock P. M. forded the out-let of the Lake and march^d about one mile and encamp^t.

Sep^t 21st. The Genl detach^d a party this morning command^d by Col. Durbin to go to the other Lake to burn some houses and distroy the Corn &c. at that place — The army mov^d on this morning at 7. O'Clock proceeded on and arriv^d at Appletown 2 . O'Clock P. M. proceeded on a few miles farther and encamp^t near the lake where had ben an old Indian Settlement — 4 . O'Clock P. M.

Sep^t 22^d. The army mov^d on this morning 8 . O'Clock proceeded on our march camp^t 8 miles from Queen Catharines Castle on a pine plain near a brook — a large buck ran through the camp this evening.

Sep^t. 23^d. This morning the Army mov^d on at 7. O'clock Arriv^d at the Queens Castle 12 O'clock A. M. where the Army made a halt found the same old Indian Squaw that was left at this place when the Army went up — the army proceed^d on 4 miles and encamp^t in the long Swamp.

Sep^t 24th. This morning the army mov^d on at 8. O'clock proceeded on and arrived at Newtown 4 O'Clock P. M. where we found the stores under the Command of Capl John Reed 6 Mass.st Reg^t. The army was saluted from the fort with 13 Cannon which were return^d from Col. . Proctors Artillery — the troops drew one Gill of Whiskey each man, and one pound and quarter of beef the first allowance the troops drew this month more than $\frac{1}{2}$ pound beef per day Per man and ditto of flour — there has not been one storm to detain this army one day since they left Tioga which is 30 days.

Sep^t 25th. Those forks of the River at this place are called the one Tioga branch the other Keugah branch, both empty into Susquehannah River. The Army lay at this place this day and the future joy [*feu de joie* ?] was fir^d in this camp at 5 O'Clock P. M. The Genl made a present of an Ox to the officers of each brigade and Likewise to the core of Artillery — each officer half a Point of Rum and each other man one Gill of Whiskey.

Sep^t 26th Sunday. This day Col. Derbin arrived with his detachment from his command and brought two Indian squaws prisoners with him — he informs that he has burnt a N^o of houses and distroyed a large quantity of corn.

Sep^t 27th Col. Cortland was sent with a detachment up Tioga branch to distroy corn which was in great plenty up this River.

Sep^t 28th This morning about 9. O'clock Col. Butler arriv^d in this camp with his detachment that had ben on the Frontiers of Keugo [Cayuga?] Lake. informs that he has distroyed a large quantity of corn and burnt a N^o of Indian Towns—The sick were sent off this day from this place to Tioga, part by water and part by land, the Artillery and Ordinant stores, were all sent in boats down the river to Tioga. excepting the Cowhorn [cohorn?].

Sep^t 29th The Army mov^d this morning at 8. O'clock arriv^d at Chemung 12. O'clock. A. M. where the troops made a short halt, and then mov^d on, arriv^d at the camping ground, where we found the first corn going up. Encampt 4 O'clock P. M. 8 miles from fort Sullivan.

Sep^t 30th I would inform the reader that Fort Sullivan and Tioga is one place. The Army mov^d on this morning at 8. O'Clock pass^d the large defile which was 200 rods between the brink of the mountains and the river—The army arriv^d at Fort Sullivan 2. O Clock P. M. and was saluted with 13 cannon from the fort—which was returned with 13 from Col. Proctors Artillery, the troops pass^d by the Fort and march^d on to their old Camping ground; and encampt—The officers all din^d in the Fort on a dinner order^d by Col. Shreefe who commanded said fort while the Army were gone on the Expedition—The officers drew $\frac{1}{2}$ a pint of rum each, the other troops one Gill of Whiskey each—This day completes 36 days since the army left this grownd, and has not ben detained one day by storms or any other Accident.

October 1st 1779. Pleasant weather this day.

„ 2nd The Gen^l gave orders for the troops to march monday Next at 6 oclock—Fort Sullivan to be evacuated to morrow morning at 7. O'Clock.

October 3^d Sunday. This day the troops were employed in distroying the Fort and throwing the pickets into the River which was near on both sides of the Fort.

Oct^r 4th This morning the Army March^d and left the ground at 9 O Clock for Wyoming—came over skrub land this day—Pass^d a defile on the brink of the river where was a narrow path on the steep side of a large mountain about 200 feet perpendicular which made it very dangerous to pass; and was a sollid rock three horses with their loads fell off and dashed to pieces in the River—Procee^d on and encampt on the point of the river—Some rain this day and very hard this night—Came 25 miles this day—Part of the troops came in the boats.

October 5th This morning 11 O Clock the troops all embark^d on board the boats, excepting a N^o to drive the Cattle, and take down the pack-horses Proceeded down the river and encampt 7 miles below

Wylucee the boats came on very well, this day pass^d some bad rapids — This river on the sides is very mountany and opposite on the other side some small flatts — Some of these mountains 300 feet perpendicular — Came 21 miles this day.

October 6th This morning the troops mov^d on at 6 O Clock proceeded down this river and encampt west side of the same on a piece of land that was cleared by girdling the trees and was cover^d with English grass — Came 30 Miles.

October 7th This morning the Army mov^d on and arriv^d at Wyoming 12. O'Clock A. M. and encampt on a pine plain — the troops drew half a pint of Whiskey each — This river is very mountany, on the sides of it and opposite these mountains on the other side, some small flatts which are very rich and good land, those flatts from Tioga to Wyoming have all ben improv^d and clear^d by girdling, but the houses are all burnt by the Indians — This Wyoming is pleasantly situated on both sides of the river and the land near the same very good — Came 15 miles, making in the whole 91 miles from Tigo to this place by water.

October 8th pleasant weather orders this day for the Army to March Sunday next for Easton.

Oct: 9th Commissary Woodman left this place for Albany.

October 10th (Sunday) The Army march^d and left the ground 3. O'clock P. M. for Easton — Came over a large mountain very rocky and some muddy sloughs, Arriv^d at Bullocks-Farm at a long meadow 11. O'clock at night where the troops Encampt — Came 7 miles this day.

October 11th This morning the Army mov^d on at 8. O Clock very bad roads this day — Cross^d the School-kill River Encamp^t about sunset on a pine hill. — Came 14 miles this day — Enter^d the Pennsylvania Line.

October 12th This morning the army, mov^d on at 7. O'clock and came into the bad swamp 3. O Clock P. M. Met a N^o of Waggon from Easton to help on with the baggage — Rained very hard this afternoon. got through the Swamp 4. O'clock P. M., the rout very stony and muddy this day Cross^d the Lehi River. Encamp^t about dusk on a pine plain — Came 16 miles this day.

October 13th This morning the Army mov^d on at 7. O'clock proceeded on 5 Miles and arriv^d at Larnards Tavern, where was forrage for the use of the Army — proceeded on and arriv^d at Brinkers Mills 5 O'clock P. M. where the army encampt and drew provisions, as there is a Continental Store kept at this place — Came 7 miles this day — This place is west side the Blue Mountains.

October 14th This morning the army mov^d on 10 O'clock and crossed the Blue Mountains at the wind gate — Encampt East side of the

mountains — The Dilleware and Lehi Rivers runs through this Mountain — large fields of buck wheat in this place, which the men and women thresh in the Fields the Land very Poor in general only some valleys improv^d — Came 7 miles this day.

October 15th This morning the troops march^d at 6 O'clock. proceeded on and arriv^d at Easton 1. O'clock P. M. — The land the Army came by this day is very poor, chiefly skrub oak plains — The army encampt on the bank of the Dilleware River — The Officers of the 6th Mass^a. Reg^t din^d in town this day, that was prepared by Cap^t Ballard as he has ben here some days — This Easton is situated between two mountains, and lays on Dilleware and Lehi River opposite the Gersies, the houses are chiefly built with stone and lime some of them very elegant — Came 12 miles this day, which makes 63 miles from Wyoming to this Town.

Oct^r 16th This day I went into the Gersies after some Markee cordage — A very poor place and the land very stony.

Oct 17th Sunday. The 6th Mass^a. Reg^t muster^d this day by M^r Nehemiah Wade M^r Master — the troops attended public service in the new church in this town, the sermon deliver^d by M^r Evius Chaplin to Gen^l Poor's Brigade.

Oct^r 18th This day the troops were ordered to be Barrack^d in town, those that had no tents to cover them — Capt. Daniel Lane this day was discharg^d from the Continental Army By Gen^l Sullivan at Easton.

Oct^r 19th This day I rode with Cap^t Reed and some more gentlemen of the Army to Bethlehem a Town 12 Miles from Easton Inhabited by Moravians. Arriv^d there 12 O'clock A. M. and din^d at the great Tavern as there is but one in the town, which is kept by the whole place as all their stores are put in public stock — after Dinner was piloted through the town by a squire, went to the Nunnery where was many Curiosities carried on by the Nuns, this house is very large and many rooms in the same which are filled with women of all Ages, not mixed, but every class by themselves, in short all sort of work ever done by a woman carried on in this place, went into their place of worship, where were many Grand Pictures amongst the rest a near Emblem of the sufferings of our Saviour — went into their Bed Chamber where were as many beds as Nuns in the house, as no two of them sleeps together they are exceeding neat and clean with every thing that concerns them. — their custom at night is to keep one of themselves as a Centry at the door of their Chamber, which is relieved every hour, so that they may discover any man coming near them, they see no man but every Sunday, excepting those strangers that go to see their curiosities, which is the time that they expose of the works that supports them — From this I went to the brother's house, where are many things worth seeing, but not equal to the Sisters, those Brothers all live in one house, but dont work in the same — Went to see the Smiths, Tanners, Cloathiers, and

all sorts of trades, which are carried on in the easiest manner all by water — the water is carried through this town to every house, after this manner, it is taken out of a spring by three Pumps, which never stop carried by water, conveyed through a brass Pipe up a steep hill into a Cistern then taken 20 feet into the air perpendicular and from that conveyed through small pipes to all parts of the town, and is drew from a brass Cock that stands in the street in a pump — this town is very pleasantly situated on Lehi River the buildings very elegant all Stone and Lime. These people put all into a common Stock and from that draws their subsistence — left this town about sunset. Arrived at Nazereth 7 O clock this evening, where we tarried this night. 7 miles from Bethleham.

Oct. 20th This morning went through this town, to see the situation of it, which is very pleasant but is a new place settled but 6 years — All stone houses, the water is carried through this town, in like manner as in the other only it comes naturally from a spring of a heighth without the help of pumps and is carried under ground in large wooden pipes.

Left this town 10 O Clock A. M. Arrived at Easton 1 O Clock P. M. the land between this place and Bethleham is very poor and sandy, they raise chiefly buck-wheat.

October 21 and 22^d. Nothing new.

„ 23^d This day Gen^l Poor's Brigade cross^d Dilleware-river 10 Oclock A. M. marched 5 miles in the Gersies and, Encampt in the woods — Cap^t Lane set off for New Winsor on North river.

Oct: 24th Sunday. Pleasant weather.

„ 25 This day I cross^d the Lehi River and rode 10 miles in Pennsylvania to Col. Larricks for horses for the Reg^t and returned to camp in the evening, the land in this rout is very stony and rough.

October 26th Rode into Greenig town with Major Whiting and Adj^t White, & P. Master, Tucker arrived at the Reg^t with money for the same.

October 27th The Army march^d on this day and Encampt in Oxford, about 8 miles from the ground we left, there was wood and straw provided at this place for the Army this place is in the Gersies.

October 28th The army mov^d on this morning at 7 O'clock, proceeded on and arriv^d at Hardwick and encampt, near the Log Goal — came 15 miles.

Oct: 29th The Army mov^d on this morning at 7 O'clock and arrived at Sussex Court House in Newtown 12 O'clock A. M. in the Gersies 39 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

October 30th This day the army mov^d on and arrived at Charcole Town 12 miles from the Court House, and Encampt.

Oct: 31st Sunday. The Army moved on this morning and Arrived at Warrick in the afternoon in the State of New York and Encampt — Came 15 miles this day.

Nov: 1st The army moved on this morning and march^d over Sterling Mountains a very rocky, bad rout this day — Arrived at Sterling town and Encamp^t near the furnace, which is built at the mouth of a small Lake the land very rocky and mountany at this place — Came 10 miles this day.

Nov: 2nd The Army moved on this morning, and arrived at Ram-messau in the Clove — 18 miles from Kings ferry — this mountain is 17 miles very rough rout, and difficult for Waggons to pass — Encamp^t in the woods — Came 11 miles this day — Lord Sterlings division has left this two days and gone to Kings ferry.

Nov: 3^d Blustering and Cool some squalls of Snow.

Nov: 4th Maj: Whiting and Capt Reed rode into the Country for a party of pleasure.

Nov: 5th The maj: and Cap^t Reed returned to camp this afternoon, the officers baggage arriv^d from New Winsor with their Portmanteaus — Orders to march tomorrow morning 8 O clock for Pumpton in the Gersies.

Nov: 6th Gen^l Hands brigade and the Artillery march^d this day for Pumpton — the other two brigades were detained for want of waggons — I rode into the country to see a satyr which was 24 inches high drest in coat Jacket and trowsers resembled a small Negro, would handle the fire-lock very well and go through any Manoeuver that his master bid him.

Nov: 7th Sunday, Gen^l Clinton's brigade march^d this day for Pompton.

Nov: 8th Gen^l Poor's brigade march^d this morning and arrived at Pumpton 3. O'Clock P. M. and encamp^t in the woods, Gen^l Washington arrived at Gen^l Sullivan's Quarters this afternoon, about 2 miles from this Camp. March^d 12 miles this day.

Nov: 9th This day Gen^l Washington rode through this Camp.

Nov: 10th This day the 6th Mass: Reg^t and Rifle Corps were ordered to march tomorrow for Westpoint.

Nov: 11th Were detained for want of waggons.

Nov: 12th 6th Mass: Reg^t march^d from Pumpton and arrived at Rammepo in New York State.

Nov: 13th March^d from Rammepo this morning and arriv^d two miles from King's ferry on the North river, and Encamp^t — Came 17 miles this day.

Nov: 14th Sunday, This morning crossed the North river — Arrived at Peekskill and encamp^t about dusk — Came 7 miles this day.

Nov: 15th This morning the Reg^t march^d on and cross^d the river and arrived in Westpoint 2. O Clock P. M. and encamp^t in the bush one mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ down the River — came 8 miles.

Nov: 16th Some snow this night.

„ 17th Cold and blustering Weather.

Nov: 18th This day the 6th Mass.^{ts} Reg^t march^d and joined Gen^l Paterson's Brigade very cold and blustering.

Nov: 19th Pleasant weather.

" 20th This day sent the horses into the country to be kept as there was no forrage on the Point.

Nov: 21st Sunday, Rainy weather this day — Maj: M^cKinster and Cap^t Bussey came to see me.

Nov: 22nd This day the 6th Mass.^{ts} Reg^t was mustered by Col^o Varrick Muster master Gen^l this is the fifth day that the troops have drew no bread on this Point as there was none.

Nov: 23^d Drew some bread this day — very cool weather at this place.

Nov: 24 & 25th Nothing new.

" 26th A smart snow storm this day — and the men in the tents which made it very tedious.

Nov: 27th The Snow blew very much, and made it as tedious as the storm which Crept into our tents very fast.

Nov: 28th Sunday. Pleasant weather this day and warm.

" 29th The Paymaster arrived with the Clothing for the Reg^t

Nov: 30th This day the chane that crossed the River was removed by hoisting the same whole between Boats and was taken to the shore to be laid up for the winter.

December 1st Five men discharg^d this day from the 6th Mass.^{ts} Reg^t

December 2^d A Still snow storm began this morning, which clear^d off with a heavy rain — made it very tedious in camp^t.

Dec: 3^d and 4th Nothing new.

" 5th Sunday . . A tedious snow storm and wind this day.

Dec: 6th Lie: Carter Ensign Bagnal, Ensⁿ Parker, set out for home, on furlow from Westpoint.

Dec: 7th Cap^t Ballard left West-point on furlow — Cap^t Reed, P. Master Tucker and Lie^t Givins went to New Winsor.

Dec: 8th Cap^t Reed P. M. and L^t Givins return^d to camp.

Dec: 9th Thanksgiving-day the Troops drew one Gill of Rum.

Dec: 10th Some rain this day.

" 11th Nothing new this day.

" 12th Sunday some snow and heavy rain this day at West point.

Dec: 13 . . 14 . . 15 . . 16 . . & 17th Nothing new.

" 18th A tedious snow storm with hard wind which made it very bad in tents.

Dec: 19th (Sunday.) Went to Gen^l Heath's and got my furlow.

December 20th Left Westpoint on furlow Lodg^d at M^r Huestins 6 miles from said point the weather very cold.

December 21st Breakfast at Fishkill — Dined at Esq Storms's lodged at Col Moorhouse's 30 miles this day.

December 22nd Lodg^d two miles from Lichfield came 25 miles this day.

December 23rd Proceeded on, the roads very bad this day, and not broke, Lodg^d in Symsberry at Landlord Garrets, 18 miles from Lichfield 20 miles this day.

December 24th This morning proceeded on Arrived at Springfield 6 O clock P. M. — Lodg^d at Landlord Edes 11 miles from Springfield — 41 miles this day the roads very good.

Dec^r 25th Proceeded on — Lodg^d this night at Landlord Tafts — 6 miles West from Worcester — 32 Miles this day.

Dec^r 26th Sunday. proceeded on and Lodg^d at Col Mackintoshes in Needham — Came 47 miles this day.

Dec^r 27th Proceeded on and arrived at Stoughton sunset, the weather has ben very cold and severe since I left camp — 12 miles this day.

December 28th Some snow this day.

„ 29 .. 30 and 31st Nothing new this day.

January 1st 1780. Pleasant weather.

„ 2nd (Sunday) very cold this day and a storm of snow this night.

Jan^y 3^d Some snow and blustering this day.¹

Mr. WINSOR said that at the time he published the second volume of the “Memorial History of Boston” in 1881 he had not been able to discover any special engraved map of Boston and its harbor prior to 1700. There is a rude plan of the peninsula, without date, but presumably of the seventeenth century, given in Bowden’s “Friends in America” (vol. i. p. 186), as from a manuscript in the British Museum; and Samuel Sewall, in his “Letter-Book” (vol. i. p. 32), under date of July 15, 1686, mentions sending to Edward Hall “a mapp of this town.” What this may have been Mr. Winsor said he had not been able to discover; and in the confused way in which the words *map* and *view* were used at that time, it may have been what was often called a “prospect” and not a plan, and may have been drawn and not engraved. The earliest map, which was noticed in the “Memorial History,” was a manuscript chart of the harbor, made by the direction of Andros, to which a date of about 1687–88 was assigned. This map

¹ The original journal is now owned by Mr. William Henry McKendry, of Ponkapoag, Massachusetts, of the Harvard Class of 1882. By him it was lent to our associate the Rev. Henry F. Jenks, of Canton, who has compared the proof with it, and has made the essential corrections in the text. — J. W.

belongs to the Brinley Collection, and will presumably be thrown open to competition in the final sale of that library. Between 1690 and 1700 there were several maps of the harbor made by French spies, in anticipation of use for them in an attack on Boston; and of these there are copies in the Boston Public Library and among Mr. Parkman's manuscripts, and accounts of them are given in the "Memorial History." Since then Mr. Waters has sent from London a copy of "A Draught of Boston Harbor by Captain Cyprian Southake, made by Augustine Fitzhugh, anno 1694." It is drawn on a scale of one mile to the inch; and copies are now in the possession of the Bostonian Society and the Boston Public Library. These maps are all in manuscript; but it would seem that an engraved map of the harbor had been published perhaps earlier than the date of either of them. While recently examining the old maps in the library of Congress, Mr. Winsor said that his attention was directed to a large engraving on copper, without date, but dedicated to the Earl of Maclesfield, and published in Cheapside, London, by Philip Lea. It was entitled "A new Mapp of New England from Cape Codd to Cape Sables . . . surveyed by the author, Tho. Pound." The coast thus indicated occupies the upper part of the sheet, which is somewhat irregularly divided by a diagonal line from southwest to northeast, while the lower part is covered by a chart of Boston Harbor, not specified in the title. Mr. Winsor supposed this Thomas Pound to be the pirate who was captured by the Boston sloop "Mary," which was sent in pursuit of him in 1689, when Captain Samuel Pease, who commanded the sloop, was mortally wounded in the encounter which ensued. Pound, owing to a freak of the types in the contemporary printed accounts, sometimes appears as "Ponnd," and at other times is called "Pounds." The capture took place Oct. 4, 1689; and Pound, who, as Dr. Bullivant tells us, was reprieved from time to time, was finally hanged. It must have been some months, if not years, before Pounds, as Mather calls him, took to flying the red flag, that he followed the more peaceful ways of a local hydrographer, as his contemporary Cyprian Southack did. Up to the present time the earliest engraved map of our harbor known to our local antiquaries has been one made, it is judged, not long after 1700, of which a facsimile is given in the "Memorial History of Boston" from the only copy of the

original which has been recorded, now owned by our associate Charles Deane.

Mr. PORTER said : —

Being at Rehoboth last Monday at the dedication of the Goff Memorial Hall, I had an interview with persons who were present at the exhuming of the remains of William Blackstone at Lonsdale, near Pawtucket, on the 6th instant, — one week ago to-day. The removal became necessary on account of extensive building operations now in progress there. The site is well known, being about two rods east of the knoll which Blackstone called "Study Hill," on the east bank of the river bearing his name, and quite near the present railway-station.

Here for about forty years lived this singular literary recluse, who enjoyed the distinction of being the first white settler of Boston as well as of Rhode Island. He was buried May 28, 1675; and his grave was marked by two plain whitish oval bowlders, one at the head and the other at the foot, rising but a few inches above the ground.

The present proprietors of the estate took pains to have the work of disinterment done as carefully as possible, under the direction of experienced undertakers from Providence. Among the witnesses were the Messrs. Goddard, of the Lonsdale Company; Mr. Lorenzo Blackstone, of Norwich, Conn., a lineal descendant of William; and Professor Gammell, of the Rhode Island Historical Society, to whom I am indebted for some of my information. After digging four or five feet they found a rusty wrought-iron nail, and then another, and then several more, to the number of perhaps a dozen. Lying near them were a few fragments of bones, none being more than five inches in length. The coffin and the skull had disappeared; but the orderly position of the nails and bones clearly indicate the length of the grave.

Everything that was found, including the two bowlders, will be carefully preserved; and when the new mill is completed a place will be set apart for the remains, — perhaps in the basement, over the spot where they were found, — and a suitable monument will be erected over them by Mr. Lorenzo Blackstone and his brother, who are descended from Black-

stone's only son, John, who settled in Branford, Connecticut. Blackstone, it will be remembered, was married in Boston by Governor Endicott, July 4, 1659, to Sarah, widow of John Stephenson. Everything connected with him seems doomed to destruction. His books and manuscripts, which were quite numerous, were destroyed by the Indians in King Philip's War; and now his favorite "Study Hill," which seemed to be immovable, will in a few days be entirely obliterated.

Mr. DEANE communicated several manuscripts from Mrs. Marcou, granddaughter of Dr. Belknap, as gifts to the Society. Among these was a covenant, dated June, 1774, sent from the town of Portsmouth, for signatures, to the inhabitants of Dover, where Dr. Belknap then lived, protesting against the Boston Port Bill; also, Dr. Belknap's reasons against subscribing the covenant.

Copy of a printed Letter sent by the Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Portsmouth to all y^e Towns in this Government — June, 1774.

GENT^l — We presume you are not unacquainted with the very alarming Situation of the Colonies upon this Continent & that the Cause is entirely owing to the late assumed Right of the British Parliament to tax the Colonies without their Consent, and that an act of the British Parliament (called the Boston Port Bill) is now operating in its full force against the devoted Town of Boston, a Town but a very few days since, the Capital of all North America for Trade and Commerce, Behold her harbour blocked up with Ships of War, Regiment after Regiment of Regular Troops arriving & landing in the midst of the Town whereby all Commerce by Sea is discontinued and thousands of innocent men Women & Infants are reduced to the greatest Distress for want of means to earn their Bread & we in this Port already feel many Straits and Difficulties on account thereof. *Shall we their Brethren, & Neighbours, calmly view their Sufferings & not lend an assisting hand to extricate them out of their Difficulties?*¹ The Cause is common, & all the Colonies are equally interested in the Issue of those oppressive acts of the British Parliament. It is our Duty to take into Consideration every probable method to save this Country from absolute Slavery; & as we *at present* apprehend that a Suspension of all our Commercial

rather to support them under their difficulties.

¹ The several papers sent from Portsmouth to Dover are all transcripts in the hand of Dr. Belknap. This sentence was probably italicized by him, and the marginal annotations at this place, and below, were written by him.

Connexions with Great Britain, may be effectual for this purpose and *as the same Measures are adopted in our Sister Colonies*, we recommend this as a likely means, under God, of recovering & securing to ourselves and Posterity our valuable Rights & Privileges & of preventing the horrors of civil War.

We have the greatest Encouragement to think that our Brethren in the Country will be fully convinced of the Propriety & Utility of the Method proposed & will be induced readily to come into the same both from Principle & Interest.

We therefore have drawn up & now inclosed a form of a COVENANT, to be subscribed by all adult Persons of both Sexes, which we have sent to all the Towns in this Province; we earnestly wish that you would use your utmost Endeavors that the Subscription paper may be filled up as soon as possible.

Signed by Order & in behalf of the Committee of Correspondence for Portsmouth.

Copy of the Covenant.

We the Subscribers, Inhabitants of y^e Town of _____ having taken into our serious Consideration, the precarious State of the Liberties of North America, & more especially the present distressed Condition of our Sister Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, embarrassed as it is by several Acts of the British Parliament, tending to the entire Subversion of their natural & Charter Rights; among which is the Act for blocking up the harbour of Boston: and being fully sensible of our indispensable duty to lay hold on every means in our power to preserve & recover the much injured Constitution of our Country: & conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of Slavery or the Carnage & Desolation of a civil War, but a suspension of all commercial Inter-course with the Island of Great Britain, Do in the presence of GOD solemnly & in good faith, covenant & engage with each other.

1. That from henceforth we will suspend all commercial Inter-course with the said Island of Great Britain, until the Parliament shall cease to enact Laws imposing Taxes upon the Colonies, without their Consent, or until the pretended Right of taxing is dropped. And

2. That there may be less Temptation to others to continue in the said now dangerous Commerce & in order to promote Industry, Oeconomy, arts & Industry among ourselves which are of the last Importance to the Welfare & Well-being of a Community; we do in like manner solemnly covenant that we will not buy, purchase or consume, or suffer any Person, by, for, or under us, to purchase, nor will we use in our Families, in any manner whatever, any Goods Wares or Merchandise which shall arrive in America from Great Britain aforesaid from & after the last day of August next ensuing (except only such

articles as shall be judged absolutely necessary by the Majority of the Signers hereof) & as much as in us lies to prevent our being interrupted & defeated in this only peaceable measure entered into for the Recovery and Preservation of our Rights, & the Rights of our Brethren in our Sister Colonies, We agree to break off all Trade & Commerce with all persons, who preferring their private Interest to the Salvation of their now almost perishing Country, who shall still continue to import Goods from Great Brittain or shall purchase of those who import after the said last Day of August, until the aforesaid pretended Right of Taxing the Colonies shall be given up or dropped.

3. As a Refusal to come into any agreement which promises Deliverance of our Country from the Calamities it now feels & which like a Torrent are rushing upon it with increasing Violence, must in our Opinion, evidence a Disposition enimical to or criminally negligent of the common safety. It is agreed that all such ought to be considered & shall by us be esteemed as encouragers of contumacious Importers.

Lastly. We hereby further engage that we will use every method in our Power to encourage & promote the Production of Manufactures among ourselves that this Covenant & Engagement may be as little detrimental to ourselves & Fellow Countrymen as possible.

July 6, 1774. The members of the late house of Representatives who had been dissolved by the Gov^r for chusing a Committee of Correspondence met by appointment at y^e State house in Portsm^h where the Gov^r Council & Sheriff came & dispersed them. They then went to Cap^t Tilton's & agreed upon a Circular Letter to y^e sev^l Towns in this Province — That sent to Dover is as follows.

TO THE TOWN OF DOVER

Whereas the Colonies in general upon this Continent think it highly expedient & necessary in the present critical & alarming Situation of their public affairs that Delegates should be appointed by & in behalf of each to join a general Congress proposed to meet at Philadelphia the first day of September next, to devise & consider what measures will be most advisable to be taken & pursued by all the Colonies for the Establishment of their Rights & Liberties upon a just & solid foundation & for the Restoration of union & harmony between the Mother Country & the Colonies. — And whereas the Members of the late house of Representatives for this Province, now met, to deliberate upon the Subject are unanimously of opinion that it is expedient & necessary for this Province to join said Congress for the above Purpose — & recommend it to the Towns in this Province respectively, to chuse & empower one or more persons, in their Behalf to meet at Exeter the 21st Day of this Instant at ten of the Clock in the forenoon to join in the Choice of Delegates for the General Congress. — In order to effect

the desired end it is necessary that each Town, as soon as may be, contribute their Proportion of the Expence of sending. It is therefore desired that the same may be raised by Subscription, or otherwise & if convenient sent by the Person by your Town appointed your Proportion of w^{ch} is six pounds ten shillings S M. The utility of which measure is so apparent, we doubt not your ready Compliance with this proposal.

J. WENTWORTH, *Chairman.*

PORTSMOUTHⁿ July 6. 1774.

P S. Considering the distressing Situation of our public affairs, Thursday the 14th Instant is recommended to be kept as a day of Fasting, Humiliation & Prayer thro' this Province.

Dr. Belknap's Reasons against subscribing the Covenant.

DOVER June 28, 1774.

Whereas there is now a form of a Covenant sent to this Town by a number of persons in Portsmouth who style themselves a Comitee of Correspondence which Covenant they say is "to be subscribed by *all* adult persons of both Sexes" I think I have a right to speak my mind upon the Subject & these are the Reasons why I shall not subscribe it.

JEREMY BELKNAP.

1. Because Tyranny in one shape is as odious to me as Tyranny in another. This Covenant or one similar to it originated with a Corresponding Committee of the Town of Boston who were not chosen for this purpose & whose doings were not known to their Constituents till they had sent forth their Covenant into the Country to be subscribed, & this Covenant I apprehend is sent out from Portsmouth Committee in the same clandestine manner, without any legal authority from their Constituents, which if it be so is an arbitrary Transaction,—it is doing what they had no right to do—it is imposing their own private opinions upon other people under the penalty of being looked upon as "inimical to & criminally negligent of the common safety." This method of imposing Covenants by private men, or which is the same thing by public Committees chosen for other purposes & acting out of their Sphere without the Consent or direction of their Constituents after mature deliberation & a free vote—is a most dangerous precedent & their presuming to add such a penalty as abovementioned is a daring usurpation of power which was never delegated to them. Here is no Liberty of Conscience nor right of private judgment left to any person but all adults of both Sexes must implicitly adopt & subscribe a Covenant drawn up by a few men without any lawful authority or else be

stigmatized as Enemies to their Country. This is a species of Tyranny springing up among ourselves unworthy the Descendants of those Men who fled into this Country from impositions of a similar nature in England, it is as dangerous in its tendency as any acts of the British Parliament which it is intended to oppose & the very first beginnings of such a spirit of lawless Imposition & Restraint ought to be checked & discountenanced by every consistent Son of Liberty & every true friend to his Country.

2. Because this Covenant is not only arbitrary but *unjust & oppressive*. It forbids the buying or using any Goods imported from England after the 31st of August next. Whereas many Merchants have already wrote to England for Goods for their Fall Supply which Goods cannot now be countermanded in Season, & if this agreement takes place must lay on their hands to their great Loss & Damage; which is the more cruel & unreasonable as those Merchants have not been consulted about this measure which so nearly affects their Property & many of them have in times past freely sacrificed their private Interest to the public good & deserve better of their Country than to be abused in this manner.

3. Because there does not appear to me any prospect that such an agreement as this will answer the End proposed by it. The Southern Colonies have not adopted any such measure, & Virginia in particular whose Trade with Great Britain is of more importance than that of any other Colony have expressly declined it for the present in the Declaration published by the Members of their late house of Burgesses. And for this Province & the Massachusetts to set themselves forward in such a critical time & bind themselves so strongly not to buy any Goods from Great Britain "until the pretended Right of taxing the Colonies shall be given up or dropped" when there is no prospect of being supported by the other Colonies is acting like persons out of their senses & blindly rushing upon their own Ruin.

4. Because the imposing a Covenant equal in Solemnity to an Oath upon all persons many of whom have not opportunity to examine the nature & design of it is a most fatal Snare to honest minds & will tend to disturb the peace & good order of Society at present subsisting, it will disunite & divide us & create animosities hatred & ill-will, as people are hereby taught to break off all dealings with others & look upon them as Enemies merely for not being of their Opinion in a point of a political nature which is at best very doubtful & concerning which people may differ in Sentiment without any breach of Charity & good will toward one another.

5. Because the Covenant itself is so vague & uncertain that no person can tell what he is to subscribe to. For after all kinds of Goods & Merchandize are prohibited it follows "(except only such articles as

shall be judged absolutely necessary by the Majority of the Subscribers)" No particular species of goods are excepted, nor no method pointed out whereby the mind of the majority of the Subscribers is to be known. If their Judgment is to be collected by a general meeting why is not that method taken at first, either by calling Town-meetings or a Convention of the Province by their respective Committees to deliberate upon the Propriety of the measure & determine what articles shall be excepted, that so the merchants may know what articles to import & not run the risque of importing prohibited goods & exposing themselves to the Odium of their Countrymen — But if the Opinions of the Majority are to be known by every one's putting down a number of excepted articles with his name to the Covenant, what a strange Confusion will this make? Who is to judge & how are we to know what the mind of the majority is? And is this important Committee of Correspondence to determine after all what Goods are to be excepted & give out their Orders accordingly?

6. Because the Covenant supposes — that no persons can refuse to join in the measure hereby imposed but from "preferring their private Interest to the Salvation of their now almost perishing Country" which is a supposition utterly void of any Foundation in Reason & Truth & breathes a spirit of imposition & Cruelty equal to any Species of Tyranny temporal or spiritual that ever disgraced mankind as it pretends to judge the secret tho'ts of mens hearts & the motives of their Conduct which can only be scrutinized at y^e supreme Tribunal.

7. Because this is a measure which nearly concerns all the Colonies upon this Continent & if it is necessary to be done it will doubtless be agreed upon at the approaching general Congress — it is therefore highly improper & assuming for any one or more single Colonies to be beforehand of the others in their Determinations.

DOVER, July 4. The Selectmen & Committee of Correspondence of this Town met & agreed to suspend this matter till they shall hear what is the Result of the approaching Congress, upon the Subject.

The PRESIDENT announced that the Council had re-appointed the members of the committee for publishing the Proceedings, which consists of the Recording Secretary, *ex-officio* chairman, and Messrs. Clement Hugh Hill and Alexander McKenzie.

Dr. PEABODY presented a memoir of our lately deceased associate, John Langdon Sibley.

MEMOIR
OF
JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY, A.M.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

THE name *Sibley* is supposed to be compounded of *sib*, which denotes *kindred* and also *peace*, and *lea*, which means *field*. *Peace-field* is, therefore, not an improbable signification; and, like many English surnames, it may have originated in some incident of local history of which there remains no other memorial. The arms of the family, according to Burke, are "Per pale azure and gules a griffin passant between three crescents argent." The name is found in records of several counties in England as far back as the thirteenth century. The first person of the name who is known to have come to America was John Sybley, who arrived at Salem in 1629, and became a citizen of Charlestown. Richard, the ancestor of the subject of this memoir, is supposed to have been the son of John. In the fourth generation from Richard was Jonathan, who was born in Hopkinton, New Hampshire, in 1773, studied medicine with Dr. Carrigain, of Concord, New Hampshire, in his time a man of high and extended reputation, received in 1799 the earliest diploma given by the New Hampshire Medical Society, and subsequently became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. In the autumn of 1799 he settled in Union, in the then District of Maine, a town at that time of less than six hundred inhabitants, and was the first, and for nearly forty years the only, physician resident there. In 1803 he married Persis Morse, of Sherburne, Massachusetts, who had two brothers, already residents of Union. She was born in 1772, and died in 1847.

Dr. Sibley had a practice more extensive than lucrative, his patients being scattered over a large and very sparsely settled

rural district. While successful and justly prized as a physician, he was favorably known as an occasional contributor to the principal medical journal in Boston. He occupied a prominent place in the life of the little community that grew up around him, held for many years a commission as Justice of the Peace under the government, successively, of Massachusetts and of Maine, and took a leading part in all enterprises for the general good. He was in every respect a man of exemplary character, and is especially remembered for his inflexible integrity. As a father he was affectionate and self-sacrificing, yet at the same time a rigid disciplinarian of the earlier type, and especially strenuous in exacting of his sons the maximum of study and of school-work. His wife was intelligent, well educated, kind and genial in her temperament, gentle and tender in her domestic relations, and capable of supplying to her children what might have been deficient in her husband's sterner mould.

Our late associate and munificent benefactor, the eldest child of Jonathan and Persis (Morse) Sibley, was born at Union, Dec. 29, 1804. His name indicates his father's political creed. John Langdon was, not without reason, the most popular man in the anti-Federalist or Republican party in New England; and the preponderance of that party in the District of Maine, while Federalism, though moribund, still had the ascendancy in Massachusetts, was not the least among the inducements for the people of Maine to seek a separate State government. That Dr. Sibley should have named his oldest child for a political leader, and his second, William Cullen, for an eminent Scotch physician, is of some interest, as showing him to have been a man whose sympathies transcended his very limited sphere of active duty, and who hoped for his sons a larger life than his own, — in fine, whose ambition for them merged the instincts of kinship, which oftener than not give name, especially to a first-born.

Dr. Sibley must have been his son's principal educator till he was fifteen years of age. The only schools in Union were district schools, kept but for a small part of the year, and if we may judge from their cost, of a very low grade of their kind. We find that while more than once the town voted to refund the school-tax, on certificate that an equal amount had been expended — probably in some other town — in tuition

"by a master or mistress . . . duly qualified as the law requires," a petition of Dr. Sibley "to have his proportion of the school-money, and apply it to schooling his own children in his own way," met with no favor. The inference is that his children received the whole or the greater part of their instruction from their parents.

On the Doctor's rare visits to Boston the stage-coach, in which passengers had leisure to inspect and talk about every object on the way, had taken him through Exeter; and his attention had been drawn to the old Academy edifice, then the most ample and stately educational structure on the road, though to a later generation unattractive but for the precious memories that hallowed it. On inquiry he ascertained that the Academy had a charitable foundation on which deserving students received free tuition, with a weekly allowance sufficient to defray the cost of board and lodging, — a foundation which has on its records some of the most distinguished and honored names of the dead and the living. With his limited means of subsistence, aid of this kind alone could enable Dr. Sibley to realize his earnest wishes in behalf of his son John, who was accordingly sent to Exeter in 1819, and remained there till the summer of 1821. Two years were then sufficient to fit a boy for college; not that the requirements for admission were so very much less — in Greek and Latin they were greater — than now, but vacations were short, athletic and social recreations few, and study was the student's chief occupation, instead of being, as it is now to a deplorable extent, a collateral pursuit, so that two years of school-work were fully equivalent to three at the present time; and students enter college at a later age now, not so much because they have learned more, but because they have spent more years often in learning less. Young Sibley must have maintained a blameless reputation and a high standard of scholarship at Exeter, else he would have been dropped from the foundation, which from the first has never given a foothold to youth who could not or would not do it honor.

He entered Harvard College in 1821. He took at once and maintained throughout his course a high rank as a scholar, was rigidly faithful in all college exercises and duties, and received honorable appointments at the exhibitions of the Junior and Senior years and at his graduation. At the same time he

supported himself, with hardly any aid from his father, and with very small assistance from the beneficiary funds of the College, which then amounted in their principal to less than their present annual income. He was of necessity very economical; and so were the great majority of his fellow students, whose entire annual expenses were more than met by less than what a student of the present day might regard as an inadequate allowance of pocket-money. We suppose that he must have kept school in one or more of his winter vacations; for it was only the very few rich students who did not resort to this among other means of subsistence. We are quite sure that at one time he gave instruction in sacred music, in which he was, if not an adept, as well versed as the teachers of his day. His is well remembered by his coevals as among the leading voices in the college choir, which was then renowned for the quality of its musical service, the organist having been a man of acknowledged genius, while Sibley's classmate Brigham, as a vocalist, as those think who used to hear him, can never have had a superior, seldom an equal. Among other employments, Sibley served for his first year as President's Freshman, his duty being to deliver messages on college business from the President to officers and members of the College. There were other services, such as monitorships, by which students were enabled to meet a part of their college expenses; and we have no doubt that Sibley filled some such place during his three remaining years. As early as his Sophomore year, if not earlier, he began to work in the Library, undoubtedly with a view to the compensation, though very small, but with the conscious and manifest aptitude which determined the course of his subsequent life.

On graduating he received an appointment as Assistant Librarian, on a salary of one hundred and fifty dollars a year, which was half the salary of his principal. The office was discontinued after one year, on the appointment of a Librarian who, with twice his predecessor's salary, was expected to devote his whole time to his official duty. Mr. Sibley had then been for a year a member of the Divinity School, in which he completed his course in 1828, having shown all due diligence as a student, and at the same time supported himself, with scanty aid from a meagre beneficiary fund.

On leaving the Divinity School he entered on the active duties of the ministry, and in May, 1829, was ordained at

Stow, Massachusetts, as colleague pastor with Rev. Jonathan Newell, who was then very aged and infirm, and died during the following year. Mr. Sibley as a parish minister won the warm regard and affection of the families under his charge; and among his visitors during his last illness were younger members of some of those families, with whom his pastorate had been a cherished tradition from their parents or grandparents. He was assiduous in all offices of sympathy and kindness, and had an instinctive discernment of the occasions on which such offices were needed or desired, so that his was always a welcome presence in the homes of his people, while they saw in him a pattern of the Christian virtues which he inculcated from the pulpit. In 1833 he resigned his pastorate, and seldom appeared in the pulpit afterward. The reasons for this course were numerous rather than individually strong. While embodying Christianity in his life, he was not specially interested in the critical study of its records, which was then, more than now, the habit of the profession. Then, too, he did not write with ease and fluency on subjects not connected with history or biography. At the same time he had a home-longing for Cambridge and the Library, from which he was removed by a half-day's journey or more. The lack of family relations and ties also made his change of condition all the easier, and may have turned the scale in favor of new plans and pursuits.

He entered on several publishing enterprises, the chief of which was the "American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge," conducted in connection with the Boston Bewick Company, which supplied it with wood-engravings in the best style of the art as then practised, and not without substantial worth by the higher standard of our time. Of this monthly journal, which was published for three years, Mr. Sibley was for most of the time the principal editor, and so far as there were losses to be incurred, the chief proprietor, though, if there were profits, they went elsewhere. This magazine was designed to occupy a place like that of the "London Penny Magazine." It was, in fact, a non-alphabetical encyclopedia of history, biography, zoölogy, architecture, music, and popular science, containing in each number a medley of information of transient importance, with a large amount of matter of permanent value, while the copious pictorial illustrations were of a

didactic worth far exceeding their artistic merit. Its editorship required and manifests strenuous and wisely directed industry in the collection, choice, and arrangement of a vast variety of materials. There seems no reason why it should have failed, had there been bestowed upon its circulation a skilled labor commensurate with that employed in editing it. But in operations of this sort Mr. Sibley, whose rule for life was, "Owe no man anything," deemed himself happy in losing no more than the economies of previous years enabled him to pay. At the same time he acquired a knowledge of the relations of the author and the publisher to the press, an experience in proof-reading, and a familiarity with the typographic art, which he subsequently found of inestimable value.

Mr. Sibley, on leaving Stow, took a room in Divinity Hall, which he occupied till his marriage. He rendered valuable aid in the Library so far as other employments permitted, but not officially till 1841, when his previous office of Assistant Librarian was revived on the removal of the Library from Harvard to Gore Hall. This office he retained till 1856, when he succeeded Dr. Harris as Librarian-in-chief, — a charge which he resigned, on account of age and infirmity, in 1877, still, however, retaining his place in the Catalogue with the prefix of "Emeritus." He thus had thirty-six years of continuous active service in the Library; and during the whole of that time his was a service of vigilant, earnest, and intense activity, in its kind and direction, as we believe, unequalled. When he was appointed, a librarian was regarded chiefly as a custodian of the material interests of the library. His chief duty was to preserve the books from loss and injury, and to employ all available means for their increase. He was not expected to afford encouragement or direction in their use. Each function had its fitting time. When libraries were small, the range of subjects of inquiry limited, and the standard authorities within reach in every department few and well-defined, the chief necessity was that books should be kept safe and multiplied; and it is due in great part to the faithful guardians and indefatigable purveyors of an earlier generation that librarians of the more modern type are so richly furnished for the work in which they are employing learning, judgment, and even genius of a high order, in extending and enhancing the beneficent service of the libraries under their charge.

During Mr. Sibley's administration, and when not directly, almost always indirectly through his agency, the Library was quadrupled in the titles in its catalogue and in its annual income available for the purchase of books. He seemed Argus-eyed in the discernment of sources of supply, and equally alert in discovering the hiding-places of old books and pamphlets and in laying claim to fresh issues from the press. Collections that had long lain neglected in garrets and lumber-rooms were carefully examined, and often with rich "finds." Even junk-shops were ransacked and dealers in paper-stock waylaid; and not infrequently the only known copies of documents of great historical value were rescued at the very threshold of the paper-mill. At the same time many publishers were made to understand that gift-copies of whatever they printed were due to the College, and the same obligation was successfully urged on not a few authors, whether alumni or elsewhere educated. Visitors also were so hospitably received, and persons who needed to make temporary use of the Library were so courteously treated, as often to elicit a donation of books as an expression of gratitude. Several of the largest gifts and bequests of money to the Library were the result of Mr. Sibley's immediate effort or influence; others, of his endeavors to keep this special need of the College prominently in view before its graduates and benefactors. In addition to his general care for the Library, there were several departments in which he was at great pains to obtain complete collections. Thus he never failed somehow to procure every town history that came to his knowledge. As to the War of the Rebellion, also, he spared no efforts in bringing together books, pamphlets, loose sheets and cuttings, — in fine, whatever could be of avail for the future historian of the war.

Mr. Sibley's industry in behalf of the College was by no means confined to his official duties. He edited ten Triennial Catalogues, commencing with that of 1842. For his first issue he corrected many dates which had before been erroneously given, ascertained dates — especially of honorary degrees from other colleges — which had been omitted, and supplied middle names in full, — a very arduous work, yet practicable, inasmuch as middle names had come into common use within the memory of men then living. In the edition of 1845 he inserted, for the first time, the dates of the deaths of graduates,

requiring an amount of research and correspondence which hardly any other man would have had the courage to undertake or the perseverance to carry through. Meanwhile, making use of some interleaved catalogues which came into his hands, he distributed such catalogues among persons on whose vigilance and accuracy he could rely, so that he might have not only the death-record of those who died, but notice of such offices and honors as were to be inserted to the credit of those still living; while he kept himself daily conversant with the journals, reports, and documents of every kind that could furnish materials for his use. In later editions there was an "appeal to graduates and others," for detailed information, under specified heads, concerning "any graduate who may ever have lived in the towns where they reside." The successive editions show, also, such progressive improvement in the arrangement of their contents and in the details of typography as to place Mr. Sibley's last catalogue in contrast rather than in comparison with those published prior to his editorship. It may well be doubted whether in a record of that kind there has ever been attained a more nearly entire elimination of error, or a smaller proportion of omissions of what, if known, might have claimed insertion.

From 1850 to 1870 Mr. Sibley also edited the Annual College Catalogue, — a less severe, but by no means an easy task for one who meant that the work should be wholly free from omission, mistake, and misprint, which was his successful aim.

In connection with these labors, we may not unfitly name Mr. Sibley's pamphlet entitled "Notices of the Triennial and Annual Catalogues of Harvard University, with a Reprint of the Catalogues of 1674, 1682, and 1700" (Boston, 1865, 8vo, pp. 67). This little book is full of matter of interest to Harvard graduates, and comprises incidentally an account of the various methods and agencies by which the author had been enabled to make his own work so eminently thorough and trustworthy. His only error was in printing a very small number of copies, instead of depending on the *esprit de corps* of Harvard graduates for an extended sale. We are glad that the substance of this work has its permanent place in the Proceedings of our Society.

Joseph Palmer, M.D., (H. U. 1820,) had, not without large aid from Mr. Sibley, published annually at the Commencement

season a Necrology of the graduates of Harvard College, with biographical notices. In 1870 he was too much enfeebled by what proved to be fatal illness to perform this labor; and Mr. Sibley took it in charge, issuing a complete list of the deceased graduates of each academic year from 1870 to 1885, inclusive, with such salient dates and facts in each life-record as had been entered in his copious memoranda or came in any way to his knowledge. Dr. Palmer, in the last year of his life, collected and published in an octavo volume his annual series. We hope that the like may be done with the sixteen years' record furnished by Mr. Sibley, which would preserve many names, dates, and facts that ought not to be lost from memory.

While he kept his room at Divinity Hall, his expenses were incredibly small, not because he was penurious, but because he had been trained and for a large part of his life compelled to live on very little, and his wants had always been within his means. To the day of his death what were necessities to most men were to him superfluities neither needed nor desired. But no sooner had he the scanty salary of an assistant-librarian than he found use for the surplus income which his economy created in aiding the poor students around him by gifts, and by loans without security and often never repaid; while there was probably no one of his beneficiaries that would have been willing to live as frugally as he himself lived.

In 1860 his father died, leaving to him, his only surviving child, the savings of a long life of strenuous and self-denying industry, amounting in the whole to less than five thousand dollars. Of the disposal which he made of this inheritance we can best tell in his own words. We will give in full his letters to the Principals, Trustees, and Treasurer of Phillips Exeter Academy, barely breaking the series to record the one event in his life most essential to his happiness and well-being. We publish these letters as a chapter of autobiography, for in all their details they are eminently characteristic of the writer. It ought to be said that at the time of his last donation his whole property was less than the entire sum that he had given to the Academy, so that, while he would have submitted to the utmost straitness before he would have claimed any portion of the income of his donation, it was the dictate of a wise discretion for him to retain a contingent claim upon it.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
Nov. 26, 1860.

GIDEON LANE SOULE, LL.D.,
Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.

SIR,—The last will and testament of my father, Dr. Jonathan Sibley, who was born at Hopkinton, N. H., Jan. 4, 1773, and died at Union, Me., Oct. 16, 1860, contains the following item: "1. I give and devise to the Trustees of the Phillips Exeter Academy in Exeter, N. H., the sum of one hundred dollars, to be applied by them in any manner which they shall deem expedient for the benefit of said Seminary; and this bequest I make in grateful remembrance of the favors which my son, John Langdon Sibley, has received at that institution."

It gives me pleasure, in accordance with his wishes, to send you one hundred dollars. I also add another hundred dollars, which I wish to be considered as also given by him. If agreeable to the Trustees, it will be gratifying to me to have the income laid out for the purchase of books for the charity scholars, some of whom when I attended the Academy were so straitened in their circumstances that it was almost impossible for them to raise money for that purpose; but I do not wish any one to have any part of it if he uses opium, ardent spirits, or tobacco in any form, except when prescribed by a physician. If my suggestions are adopted, I wish to have pasted in the inside of the first cover of each book a label, of which I send several copies, and an electrotypes for printing others.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., NOV. 18, 1861.

GIDEON L. SOULE, LL.D.,
Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.

SIR,—Herewith I place in the hands of the Trustees one hundred dollars, to be added to the two hundred dollars given about a year ago to constitute the Sibley Book Fund of Phillips Exeter Academy. I wish it to be considered as given by my late father, and the income to be applied as if the sum a year ago had been *three* hundred instead of two hundred dollars.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., NOV. 25, 1862.

To the Trustees of Phillips Exeter Academy:

GENTLEMEN,—For several years there has been in my will an item leaving a legacy to the institution through whose charity I was supported while fitting for college. But the liability to loss of property particularly by literary men, and the litigation which might attend the

settling of the estate of one who like myself has no near kindred, lead me, with certain reservations and restrictions, to anticipate my purpose. Accordingly, reserving to myself the right to all the income, demandable by my written order or by that of my guardian, — if the kind Providence which has always so blessed me as to make me feel humbled at my unworthiness, shall ever render one necessary, — I, John Langdon Sibley, Librarian of Harvard College, now place in your hands, and by these presents quitclaim in trust to you, the Trustees of Phillips Exeter Academy, and to your successors in office, forever, the following property, viz.:—

| | |
|---|---------|
| Twenty shares in Limerick Bank, at Rockland, Me., at 70. . . | \$1,400 |
| Twenty shares in Medomak Bank, at Waldoboro', Me., at 100 . . | 2,000 |
| Cash | 1,100 |
| Total nominally | \$4,500 |

This property I give to constitute a fund by the name of the Sibley Charity Fund, with the following restrictions, to be modified hereafter if I think proper: The fund shall always be kept separate from every other fund, and all other funds. The accounts shall be kept in separate books. The accounts of the Sibley Book Fund, however, may be kept in the same books, if thought advisable, but the two funds must be kept distinct. If at my death any part of the income of the Sibley Charity Fund remains in the hands of the Trustees, it shall be added to the principal. The Sibley Charity Fund shall be allowed to accumulate till it amounts to ten thousand dollars. After it amounts to ten thousand dollars, one fourth part of the income, as nearly as it can be done conveniently, shall be constantly added to the principal. The other portion of the income shall be appropriated to the support of students "of poverty and merit." If, however, the fund shall ever amount to one hundred thousand dollars, on a specie basis, the entire income, if it be thought advisable, may be appropriated, so long as the principal amounts to this sum; but if the principal is reduced below this sum, only the proportion above specified can be appropriated till the one hundred thousand dollars as principal is restored. And it is my wish that the Christian, middle, and surname of every recipient of the charity, the place, with the day, month, and year of his birth, his parents' names in full, the sums he receives, with their respective dates, and the period for which he receives the assistance, may be carefully recorded. I wish that this gift, though I inherited the property without any restrictions or conditions, may be considered as coming from my father, Dr. Jonathan Sibley, who was born at Hopkinton, in New Hampshire, 4 January, 1773, and died at Union, in Maine, 16 October, 1860, — inasmuch as I received the whole of it from him. It has in my eyes a sacredness which I could not attach to any property acquired by my own exertions. And knowing the sympathy which he always

felt for students "of poverty and merit," and his partiality to the institution which took under its fostering care his son when he first went from the domestic fireside, I do not think I could appropriate it to any purpose which would be more gratifying to him if he were living. And as this property was acquired by the *most rigid economy* both of my father and of my mother, Persis (Morse) Sibley, through a long life, and for many years of it by a *self-denial* which it would not be expedient for me to illustrate by details, it is confidently expected that it will be vigilantly guarded by the Trustees; that in investing it the first consideration will be its safety, the second the income it will be likely to yield; that no person will be allowed to receive any part of the income if he uses ardent spirits or tobacco in any form, or opium, except by the written prescription of a regularly educated physician; and that no recipient will spend it or be allowed to spend it or any part of it in any way inconsistent with the *rigid economy* and *self-denial* through which *alone* the property *could* have been accumulated by my parents, who always lamented that they were prevented by poverty in early life from being better educated. And though, with the exception of reserving to myself the income during my life, I do not make the terms of this gift CONDITIONS, I rely on the honor of the Trustees to observe my wishes as sacredly as if the violation of them would lead to a forfeiture of the gift. And though I have no near kindred, yet if by adoption or by marriage I should hereafter form new relations, and any or all of the persons who in consequence thereof would naturally rely on me either for support or for education, are deserving and should need the income, or part of it, after my decease, I desire and authorize the Trustees to make appropriations for the purpose so long as the necessity therefor continues.

Given under my hand and seal this twenty-fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

SEAL.

Witness:

JAMES W. HARRIS.

THOMAS J. KIERNAN.

On May 20, 1866, Mr. Sibley was married to Charlotte Augusta Langdon Cook, daughter of Samuel Cook, a Boston merchant. Miss Cook was then living in Somerville, on the border of Cambridge; and he took up his residence in her house for a few months till she purchased the house on Phillips Place, Cambridge, which was his home for the remainder of his life. It hardly needs to be said that the remaining letters

of this series are a sufficient proof that Mrs. Sibley was in full sympathy with her husband in his plans of beneficence, as in his whole remaining life-work.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
March 4, 1868.

GIDEON L. SOULE, LL.D.,
Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.

DEAR SIR,— Herewith I send to the Treasurer of Phillips Exeter Academy five thousand dollars, in six per cent bonds of the Agricultural Branch Railroad, with accrued interest since Jan. 1, 1868, for the purpose of increasing the Sibley Charity Fund. What I have already given for this object I think about equivalent to five thousand dollars, beginning to yield interest when the first payment was made in November, 1862. I wish the present gift to be held by the Trustees on the same terms and provisions and with the same limitations in every respect as if it had been part of that donation; and I request that the whole of the income continue to be added to the principal during my lifetime, unless I give different directions. Having thus alienated my right to this property, I wish to call the attention of the Trustees to the statements near the end of my communication in November, 1862, and to express my desire, if my wife, Charlotte Augusta Langdon (Cook) Sibley, who concurs with me in making this donation, should survive me, that she may by a written order over her own signature, draw for her own use as much of the income of the whole Sibley Charity Fund as she may wish. None of these remarks are applicable to the Sibley Book Fund. Please to confine the knowledge of this communication to the Trustees. The bonds are \$1,000 each, numbered 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, coupons payable semiannually, Jan. 1 and July 1.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
April 21, 1868.

S. C. BUZELL, Esq.,
Treasurer of Phillips Exeter Academy.

DEAR SIR,— As a comment on your letter of March 12, I think the least objectionable course for the general funds of the Academy, as well as for the \$5,000 in bonds which I sent to you in my letter of 4 March, to be added to the Sibley Charity Fund, will be to credit the bonds at their par value. If, when they come to maturity, or when it may be thought advisable to dispose of them, they should be below par, deduct the depreciation; or if above par, add the excess to the Sibley Charity Fund. In the mean time add for accumulation whatever is

realized from the coupons, which at present, after the United States revenue tax is deducted, amounts to \$142.50 semi-annually.

My former gifts to remain as they are.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 6, 1874.

ALBERT C. PERKINS, Esq.,
Principal of P. E. Academy.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to yours of 28 January, perhaps it will be well to fix the time at 1 January, 1875. If, on or before that day, \$25,000 shall be raised and paid into the Academy treasury, I will add \$5,000. If an earlier day is likely to prove as successful or more so, please substitute it. In all appeals keep my name out of sight; let it not go into any circulars or newspapers. Say a "friend" of the Academy, or use some equivalent. Of course I shall want the control and disposition of mine, as stated in my former communications; and let the subscribers appropriate their subscriptions to what purposes they please, if they have preferences. If I cannot pay my subscription on the precise day, it will come soon afterwards.

As the Sibley Fund altogether exceeds what I originally proposed, I wish to modify my gift by requiring that after my death and that of my wife, at least one third of the entire income shall be continually added to the principal (the remaining income being constantly appropriated to the support of students of poverty and merit under the condition I have formerly given, if there be so many students deserving of the charity) until the *entire* INCOME of the Sibley Charity Fund shall amount to at least twenty thousand dollars annually. After the annual income amounts to at least this sum, the principle of accumulation may be continued as before, and the surplus over the twenty thousand dollars may be used for the erection of a building or buildings, or for the payment of salaries, or for the support of more students, or for any other purposes which the Trustees may think the exigencies of the institution require.

Mrs. S. sends her compliments, retaining very pleasant recollections of your call.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
April 24, 1877.

ALBERT C. PERKINS, Esq.,
Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.

DEAR SIR,—Herewith I send to the Treasurer of Phillips Exeter Academy a check for three thousand dollars, for the purpose of increasing

the Sibley Charity Fund. I wish this gift to be held by the Trustees on the same terms and with the same limitations in every respect as if it had been part of the donation made by me 25 November, 1862. And I request that the whole of the income continue to be added to the principal during my life and that of my wife, unless I give different directions. Having thus alienated my right to this property, I wish to call the attention of the Trustees to the statement near the end of the communication in November, 1862, and to express my desire, if my wife Charlotte Augusta Langdon (Cook) Sibley, who concurs with me in making this donation, should survive me, that she may, by a written order over her own signature, draw for her own use as much of the income of the whole Sibley Charity Fund as she may wish.

As the Sibley Charity Fund altogether exceeds what I originally contemplated, I wish to modify the conditions of my gift (as in my communication I reserved to myself the right to do if I thought proper) by requiring that after my death and that of my wife, at least one half of the entire income shall continue to be added annually to the principal (the remaining income being constantly appropriated to the support of students of poverty and merit, under the conditions I have formerly given, if there be so many students deserving of the charity, or if not, to the necessary expenses of the Academy) until the *entire income* of the Sibley Charity Fund shall amount to twenty thousand dollars annually. After the annual income amounts to this sum, and so long as it continues to be so much, the principle of accumulation may be continued as before or not; and the surplus over the twenty thousand may be used for the erection of a building or buildings, or for the payment of salaries, or for the support of more students, or for any other purposes which the Principal and the Trustees may think the exigencies require.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

This gift is to be kept a secret.

The Sibley Charity Fund now amounts to about forty thousand dollars. With reference to his connection with it, Mr. Sibley strongly insisted on the concealment of his name. It was with the utmost reluctance, and in the hope that his example might be followed by some of the richer alumni of the Academy, that he consented to suffer the disclosure of the secret at the academic festival held in 1872 for the dedication of the new Academy building, and in celebration of a half-century's service of the principal, Gideon Lane Soule, LL.D. Dr. Palfrey, who presided at the table, made the announcement.

Mr. Sibley, who was present, and had yielded only two or three hours before to the urgent solicitations of the Trustees, was forced upon his feet by shouts of applause, and in a speech of unsurpassed *naïveté*, pathos, and unstudied eloquence, with a modesty and a filial piety that disclaimed all praise for himself, and won from all who heard him the most reverent regard for his parents, told the story of his early life, of his native home, and of the patient and loving toil and sacrifice of those to whose memory the Sibley Fund is dedicated. Some of the incidents which he related indicated on his father's part an almost unprecedented surrender of his own imperative needs for his son's benefit. Thus he said that when he needed a Greek Lexicon, his father sent him the requisite sum, writing that though his eyesight had begun to grow dim, he thought that he could dispense with spectacles another year, and thus afford the cost of the book.

Meanwhile Mr. Sibley was not unmindful of the needs of other institutions of learning and of beneficence. He made a generous benefaction to Bowdoin College, and was always ready to render aid in any worthy educational enterprise. He repeatedly gave generous donations to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and was one of the largest contributors to the endowment of the Cambridge Hospital. In fine, he had always a ready ear and an open hand for deserving claims on his charity.

Mr. Sibley had, of course, written much for his Magazine, and had undoubtedly furnished articles for other uses; but his earliest independent publication was "A History of the Town of Union" (12mo, pp. 540), which appeared in 1851. This has the two essential requisites for such a work, accuracy and completeness. The geography of the town is so faithfully delineated that one might almost draw a map of it, with river, brook, and pond, from his description. The history goes back to the granting of the Waldo Patent, which included Union. The successive stages of its growth are indicated in numerical statistics as well as in words: we have, in full, lists of town officers, and copies of all important votes and documents; the doings and misdoings of the mother church and its unruly members are recorded; the local zoölogy is not forgotten; and the genealogy of every family is given, with names and dates, and the occasional seasoning of a personal trait or anecdote.

The work is so thorough and exhaustive that it could be enlarged only by being continued.

This, in great part a labor of love for his native town, gave hopeful presage, which was more than realized in the author's success on a much larger scale. How early he conceived the idea of the work which will perpetuate his name with honor while the College lasts, "Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University," we do not know; but the materials for it must have accumulated on his hands very rapidly from the time that he took charge of the Triennial of 1842. The first volume (large 8vo, pp. 618) appeared in 1873. While he was busily engaged on the second volume, he became aware that his eyesight was greatly enfeebled and obscured, and on his consulting an oculist it was found that cataract was forming on both his eyes. Operations for its removal were performed — for one eye in 1876, for the other in the following year — with entire success so far as surgical skill was concerned, yet without restoring to him such free use of his eyes as he needed for consulting manuscripts, ill-printed pamphlets, and the various often almost illegible sources from which he drew very largely for his sketches of life and character. He, however, hardly suspended his labor except while after each operation he was obliged to remain for some days in a darkened room. With his copious and orderly arranged notes, his retentive memory, and his intimate knowledge of the authorities to be consulted, and with the skilled and unceasing aid of his wife, who was both eyes and hands to him, he was able to make good progress in the forthcoming volume, which was issued (pp. 557) in 1881, and showed no traces of the physical infirmity and disability under which it had been prepared. With a somewhat improved condition of the eyes, yet with so restricted a use of them as would have discouraged a man of less strenuous purpose, he commenced the third volume. While engaged upon it, he was repeatedly interrupted, for weeks and even months, by severe attacks of painful illness, yet returned to his desk with every respite, and was able to finish the volume (pp. 457) in the spring of 1885. His waning strength barely sufficed for the revision of the last proofs of this volume, which betrays no token of impaired mental vigor, and contains the most difficult of all the biographies, that of Cotton Mather, whose life-story is told with minute accuracy,

without prejudice either favorable or adverse, and with full appreciation of his marvellous learning, industry, and fertility of mind. To his memoir is appended probably the most nearly complete list of Mather's publications that has ever been made, comprising four hundred and fifty-six titles, many of them with descriptive comments.

It is impossible to overestimate the worth of these volumes. They are entirely unique, so far as we know; and it might have seemed an utterly hopeless task to take the names of men as they stand in the Catalogue, and to assign to each of them his due place in the history of the College and of his time. Yet there is not one of them for whom this is not accomplished. As to some the facts ascertained are but few, and of no general interest; yet even they generally belonged to families still extant, and glad to learn something concerning those who bore their names two centuries and more ago. Others, and very many, were men who occupied a somewhat conspicuous position, ministers, magistrates, physicians, more or less distinguished, who were essential factors in the life of their time, and whose biographies, in themselves interesting, throw light on else obscure passages in the history of their towns or of the colony. Others still were men of acknowledged eminence, of whom, however, there are no fresh or easily accessible memoirs, and of whom Mr. Sibley tells all that one wants to know, in his own concise and perspicuous style, with the occasional interpolation of quaint extracts from their writings or those of their coevals.

The work could not have been better done, nor so well by any other man that we know, nor yet at a later time; for the memorials, written and traditional, of our colonial days are constantly dropping out of sight and out of mind, how rapidly in this fast age of ours few are aware. But the time is not far distant when these volumes will be the sole authority for many of their contents, and our posterity will bless the historiographer on whose authenticity they can place firm reliance.

The third volume closes with the Class of 1689. Mr. Sibley, as is well known, has made pecuniary provision for the continuance of these biographies, and has also left ample materials, in memoranda, letters, and documents, which will be at his successor's service. Nor is the task that remains to be

compared, as to magnitude and difficulty, with that which has been performed. In the eighteenth century the New England press had become prolific, and the knowledge of men in public life, or of those belonging to families not extinct, can be obtained with a good degree of ease. But the earlier generations needed a master-hand to disinter their memories.

The last few months of Mr. Sibley's life were a season of debility and suffering, with few and brief intervals of relief. Until the late autumn he enjoyed short interviews with his friends, but was incapable of mental effort and of continuous thought. In the early summer there was a slight improvement, and he cherished a strong hope that he might be able to officiate as chorister in the singing of the seventy-eighth Psalm, to the tune of St. Martin's, at the Commencement dinner,—an office which he had filled for thirty-six successive years. But as the day approached, he became himself aware, as those about him had been previously, that such an effort was beyond his ability. From that time he was confined for the most part to his room, and gradually lost his hold on passing events and his interest in the outside world. The closing hour often seemed very near; but with a natively strong constitution, unimpaired by luxury, indulgence, or indolence, he resisted and overcame repeated paroxysms of disease that threatened an immediately fatal issue. His illness had every alleviation and comfort that could be afforded by the most assiduous, skilful, and loving care; and if death was ever thus kept at bay, it was so in his case for weeks and months. He died on the 9th of December, 1885.

In our estimate of Mr. Sibley's character, emphatic stress should be laid on his integrity,—we do not mean in the details that make up the common virtue of honesty, but in all the minutiae of thought, word, and deed. He made rigid adherence to the truth and the right in the least things a matter of conscience. He would be lavish of time, and of money if need were, in determining an obscure date or the proper orthography of a name in which no person living would ever detect a mistake, not from the pride of accuracy, but because he thought it wrong to state what he did not know, or to omit in any work that he undertook the full statement of all that he could ascertain. The same rigid truthfulness governed his speech in ordinary conversation. What he professed to

know might always be regarded as authentic, and he was slow to surmise beyond his actual knowledge. In business transactions he was ready equally to claim and to give precisely what was due, except that he never urged a claim where it was the part of charity to yield it; and while he was unwilling ever to be a debtor, or to leave a bill unpaid for a single day, he was a willing and indulgent creditor, even while his own income was scanty and precarious.

He was thoroughly generous to every one but himself. There were those who for years depended on such subsidies as he gave them to eke out their slender means of subsistence. From his house and table poor homes and meagrely spread tables received liberal supplies. His hospitality was often extended for weeks and months to those who could not afford a home of their own. Without parade or ostentation he welcomed every occasion for doing good, and we doubt whether for the last forty years of his life there was ever a time when he did not spend more for others than for himself. It was characteristic of his lifelong habits, that he gave special directions that his funeral should be as simple and unexpensive as was consistent with propriety, and that the amount thus saved should be given to the poor. No man can ever have been more indifferent than he was to the possession of money. Not far from the period of his last donation to Phillips Exeter Academy, he put what property he had into the hands of a friend, under whose prudent care and skilful investments it increased very rapidly. But he never at any one time knew even approximately his own financial condition, and at the close of his life his was the rare case of one's having fully twice, perhaps three times the amount of property which he supposed himself to possess.

His beneficence, while not sparing in the bestowal of money, was by no means confined to almsgiving. He was applied to continually from all quarters for information on the subjects on which he was known to be of authority, and he was always ready to devote any amount of time and labor thus to serve a person even wholly unknown to him, and that, too, when his own work was the most pressing and engrossing.

In his home-life he accounted himself, and not without ample reason, as pre-eminently happy; but while in the nearest of home-relations he was richly and signally blessed, he mani-

fested such rare domestic virtues as to make it a marvel and a mystery that he postponed the opportunity for their exercise till so late a period of life. As a friend he was true and loyal, abounding in kind offices, yet with the seeming consciousness of receiving the very kindness that he bestowed. In dress, manners, appearance, and personal habits, he preserved to the last much of the simplicity and many of the unconventional ways of his rural birthplace and his early life; but there was in him the very soul of courtesy, and those who knew him best had often fresh surprises in his fineness and delicacy of feeling, his tenderness for the sensibility of others, and his choice of the modes of performing kind acts in which he could best keep himself in the background and ward off the painful sense of obligation. He can have had no enemies, while to very many who held him in dear regard he bequeaths a precious memory.

Mr. Sibley became a member of this Society in 1846, and at the time of his death was the sixth in seniority of membership. He was also a member of the Historic, Genealogical Society, and an honorary member of several historical societies in other States. He was for many years a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

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